fol. 1. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Letters Vol 4.

Letters of Mr. Baxter and his Correspondents

81 H. Hickman to Mr. B. July 20. 1659
82 G. Firmin to Dr. Manton concerning Mr. B's
remarks on his book
83 Mr. B. to John Elliot in New England
84 Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. B. Dec. 9. 1657
85 J. Humphry to Mr. B.
86 Francis Corbett to Mr. B. Nov. 8. 1685
87 William Allen to Mr. B. Dec. 13. 1658
88 Lord Drummond to Mr. B. Nov. 8 1670.
89 Copy of a Letter from Matthew Silvester
to an unworthy Minister. Sept. 25. 1665
90 Tho. Beavan to Mr. B July 12. 1669
91 Mr. Ellis Bradshaw to Mr. B. 1669
92 James and Ann Truman, Maryland to
Mr. Silvester 1671
93 Tho Beavan to Mr. B. Aug. 3 1669
94 W. B. to Mrs. Baxter
95 Tho. Hotchkis to Mr. B. Sept. 13. 1673
96 Raimundus Gazæus Eccles. Parisiensis
Pastor, Ricardo Baxtero. April MDCLX.
97 Edw. Fowler to Mr. B. and Mr. B's Answer
Sept 29 and Oct. 7. 1671
98 Richard Tayler to Mr. B. Oct. 10 1672
99 Mr. B. to Lady Coote in Ireland. Jan. 29. 1668
100 Ricardo Baxtero. Lugd. Colon. April 1680.
101 Various from A Pinchbeck to Mr. B. and Mr. B. 1655
102 W. Thomas to Mr. B. and Mr. B's Answer Aug. 1659
103 Eph. Bendall to Mr. B. 1673-4
104 Mr. B. to John Humphries. July 28. 1682
105 Mr. B. to Mr. Tho. Beavens Aug. 16. 1669
106 Various to Mr. B. 6 in Number. Viz
1 From Michael Edge. Feb. 2. 1656
2 " do. Dec. 14. 1658
3 " P. du Moulin Aug. 20. 1658
4 " do. Sept. 27 1659.
5 " Tho. Bampfield March 26. 1660
6 " John Broadnax 1659
107 Epistola Pastorum consociatorum ad Duraeum

108 J. Howe to Mr. B. Jan. 1658. Two Letters.

109 Various to Mr. B 7 in Number. Viz.

1 From London signed by Lechmere and others Dec. 1. 1655

2 From the same. Dec. 15. 1655

3 From the same. without date.

4 From Salop, signed by T. Hayes and others Nov. 27 1650

5 From Michael Stephens, Tho. Lokier and Audley Bowdler

6 From William Taylor Oct. 20

7 From Nat Brooksby Aug. 29. 1654.

110 John Hookes to Mr. B. and Mr. B's Answer. 1670

111 Four Letters from Earl Lauderdale to Mr. B. 1658

112 J. Humphry to Mr. B. and Mr. B's Answer. 1673-4

113 Lady Hollis to Mr. B. and Mr. B's Answer.

114 Various to and from Mr. B. 9 in Number. Viz.

1 Mrs. Mary Rogers to Mr. B. Sept. 16. 1658 and Mr. B's Answer.

2 J. Corbyn to Mr. B. and Mr. B's Answer
Mr. B's Answer Wanting?? Answer is present!

3 Mr. B. to Edward Rous Esq. Sept 17 1657.

4 Mr. B. to Charlton Aug. 6. 1658

5 Admonition of John Doolittle. May 28. 1657

6 Admonition of Mr. B. to Sim. Harrington and Wife Nov. 26. 1656

7 Admonition of Mr. B. to George Nicols. Jan. 28. 1658

8 Admonition of Mr. B. to Pearsall and P's Answer Aug. 1. 1657

9 Letter of Mr. B's dated March 19 Saturday Night 11 o'clock.

115 Mr. B. to Mrs. Katherine Gell 1656 and 1658 and Mrs. G. to Mr. B.

116 Edmund Ellis to Mr. B. March 1657.

117 John Th. to Mr. James Greenwood. Dec. 3. 1670

118 F. Rous to Mr. B. May 5. 1657

119 H. Newcome to Mr. B. April 30. 1661

120 Simonis Potter. Litera ad R. B. Sept. 1. 1660

121 Sam. Welles to Mr. B. May 28. 1661

[illegible] Letter to Mr. B. Lond. [illegible]

LETTERS

fol. 2. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

123 Tho. Bampfield to Mr. B. April 14. 1660
124 Mr. Warner to Mr. B. Two Letters, and Mr. B.s
Answers. 1657
125 Ab. Pinchbeck to Mr. B. June 24. 1653.
126 Mr. B. to Mr. Pinchbeck July 5. 1654
127 Mr. B to the same Aug. 26. 1653
128 Edw. Bowles to Mr. B. May 11. 1661
129 Mr. Pynction to Mr. B.
130 Rob. J. Abbott to Mr. B. Feb. 27. 1650
131 John Tombes to Mr. B. Oct. 29. 1659
132 Henry Bartlett to Mr. B. Aug. 28. 1652
133 Henry Smith to Mr. B. Feb. 12. 1650
134 Henry Bartlett to Mr. B. Dec. 30. 1662
135 Do. to Do. Nov. 3. 1652
136 Robert Abbott to Mr. B. Jan. 7. 1651
137 Peter Ince to Mr. B. Nov. 16
138 Tho. Doughty to Mr. B. Dec. 15. 1657
139 Mr. B. to Mrs Katherine Gell. Dec. 15. 1657
140 R. R. to Mr. B. Salop. July 17. 1661
141 William Allen to Mr. B. May 30. 1659
142 T. Beverley to Mr. B.
143 Anonymous to Mr. B, March 31. 1662
144 Tho. Hunt to Mrs. Ruth Bushell at Mr.
Baxters Sept. 25. 1623.
145 James Berry to Mr. B. 1638
146 John Hinckley to Mr. B. Feb. 7
147 John Hickes Junr. to Mr. Hollis Mr.
Wainsborough and Mr. Silvester Nov. 27. 1699
148 Robert Beresford to Mr. B. Dec. 1. 1686
149 Mr. B. to Dr. Manton
150 Giles Firmin to Mr. B. Nov. 14. 1660
151 Anonymous to Mr. B. Dec. 27. 1658
152 Mr. B to Mr. Silvester July 6
153 William Duncumb to Mr. B. Oct. 20. 1652
154 Mr. B. to Mr. Bennett July 26. 1681
155 John Barbor to Mr. B. Jan. 7. 1681
156 Charles Gataker to Mr. B. Sept. 25. 1654
157 John Humphry to Mr. B.
158 Nath Stephens [illegible] Mr. B

159 John Humphry to Mr. B.
160 John Horne to Mr. B. Aug. 13 1655
161 Henry Pearsall to Mr. B. May 24 1655
162 Mrs. Mary Rogers to Mr. B. Aug. 22
163 Frances Youell to Mr. B. and Mr. B's Answer 1659
164 Mr. B. to the people of Kidderminster.
165 A. Warren to Mr. B. Aug. 10 1653
166 Mr B. to Anonymous respecting Predetermination
1658
167 Mr. Swaine to Mr. B. respecting
Anabaptists. 1652. Imperfect.
168 P. Ince to Mr B. Two Letters
169 Various between Mr B. and Mr. M. Poole
1657
170 Mr. Newcome to Mr. B. 1656
171 Mr. Maynard to Mr. B and Mr. B's
Answer 1658
172 B. L. to Mr. B. Sept. 4. 1659 the day after
Oliver Cromwell's death.
173 John Brand to Mr. B. 1654
174 William Allen to Mr. B. 1658. Four Letters.
175 Tho. Lambe to Mr. B. 1660
176 W. Mewe to Mr. B. Two Letters 1653-9.
177 Mr. B. to Mr. Mewe 1659
178 Mr. B. to Mr. Heynes. 1652
179 G. Firmin to Mr. B. 1654
180 Mr. Beverley to Mr. B. 1686

My Sir

1 Tho I intend god willing to come into the Country
next weeke yet Mr Kedon being with mee I could
not let him passe without giving you thanks for your last
letter & for the booke that was sent along with it in
which I canot tell whether I should admire most your
iudgment or your courage but the church of god hath
reason to blesse god for both. & I wish some such books
were written in Latine that divines beyond seas may
not bee scandalized as if these changes were either
caused or approved by Presbyterians. Dr Whichcot's
story was this that one of his knowledge being beyond
seas I thinke at Rome some grandee told him that
they had sent a company that would turne themselves
into all colours, & counterfeit any opinions if they might
but worke confusion & mischeife. tis so long since I did
heare the story that I have forgot the circumstances
but the Dr went & told it to the L O: Protector.
not long since Mr Bampfeild the late Speaker was
with mee & told mee that whilest hee was Speaker
one who had lived long beyond seas came to him & told
him that the city did abound with popish priests &
that but that morning did meet the very Rector of
the English Society & offered if he might but have
some company to assist him he would make discovery
of them & bring them to Justice. No more at present
but onely to thanke you for stirring mee up to pray
for poore England, which I hope I shall doe
whilest I have breath in my body. ~~[illegible]~~ so
long also shall I remaine yr very loving friend
X July 20th [illegible] H Hickman
50

Mary Rogers to Wm. B. Aug 22

[illegible]

(Nº 81)

To his much honourd
ffriend Mr Richard
Baxter at Kidderminster

Mrs Mary Rogers to Mr B Aug 22

to Mr. B. 1634

Mr Beverley to Mr B 1636

Honoured & Deare
Sr.

Since I saw you last, I met with a minister that hath known Mr Baxter [illegible] a Long time, & honours him as I doe, for a man of great parts & grace. he hath Mr Baxters piece against me, hath viewed it well, & hearing that I had an answer prepared for him, he was very desirous to see it [illegible] before I sent it away. I could not well deny his desire [illegible] me for it, & having but that day finished it [illegible] sent it to you, I [illegible] with my leave, because it is very like he may put out some words, & adde others, & therefore [illegible] get to write upon you desiring you would send it by [illegible]

As for the wrong which Mr Baxter hath done me

1st. Some judge this to bee a wrong that whereas I mention not [illegible] a Letter of his name, he put my name into his title page [illegible] said, it was an unhandsome Act of Mr Baxter. the minister (a godly man though a Conformist) who first told me of the [illegible] for grant I had named Mr Baxter. when I told him not a letter of it. Soberly said he hath Mr Baxter no friend to tell him of this magisterial Spirit?

2ly. In his title page, he hath told the world I [illegible] Heavenly Meditation. this other ministers observe [illegible] page is printed.

3ly. In page 9. he charges me with reducing the Rule to [illegible] sinfull nature & crooked Lines. this noted by other ministers [illegible] I saw it.

4ly. In p: 24. I am but a gentle Conjurer (which that [illegible]) of short & seldome preaching.

5ly. That whereas I neither mentioned Author nor [illegible] would Conceale it, Lest wanton heads should [illegible] heard there was so much as a question made about [illegible] a day, that he should tell the world it was [illegible] taken very ill by other ministers, before I knew it [illegible] Divines, grieved at it, & asked me if it were not that [illegible] might not have been known. & [illegible] Mr Baxter [illegible] father was reputed a person of a very gracious [illegible] for secret prayer frequent. & [illegible] much in meditation. much troubled when [illegible] when ~~[illegible]~~ business altered him than [illegible] the Sabbath very strictly [illegible]

From those premises which Mr Baxter hath [illegible] I am Conjured, & Concluded a man [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~, that [illegible] which report I was amazed [illegible] till I saw his Booke [illegible]

now Sr [illegible]

why did he [illegible]

[illegible]

hath bleed with those that know me not. though I have cause for cause to ly in the dust for what I know by my selfe, yet ~~[illegible]~~ I have not been reputed such a one as he hath represented me now almost 40 years, from Mr Cotton Mr Norton Mr Rogers Mr Wilson in Newengland I could have shown testimony that I was not so esteemed there. what hath been my conversation since I came to [illegible] he may enquire. I know Mr Baxter hath spoken some words of me, which I did desire: but now sir, the errours are so grosse, that my Denomination is [illegible] worse, & that the notion I passe under is rather an enemie to the strictnes of Pietie. ffor his sharp language, I was told of that before I saw it, & did expect it.

Sr my principle is this. The Holy scriptures are able to make the man of God perfect 2 Tim. 3. 16. 17. I will not dare to impose that on people, to bee beleived, or practised but what I can clearly make out by plaine text of Scripture, or at least by necessary & cleare Consequence from the Scripture. I will not yet to reason [illegible] I am sure there is reason in the Scripture whither my dim eye see it or not. But how Mr Baxter hath proved the Rule he imposes in his 3d Argt. & His Methodical meditation in this piece against me, from the Scripture, Let the Reader judge, when I come to the triall.

This question concernes us all christians, it doth not looke at one particular. how much trouble it hath caused to serious christians, I suppose he knoweth, & I know. but very much is not answered; since I heard serious christians say, if that bee the Duty God requires, as Mr Baxter hath imposed, then few might never come in Heaven.

Pardon me this trouble good Doctor. I know not where Mr Baxter lives, nor how to send him. If you see him, I pray present my service to him; if I doe publish any thing, I will bee carefull that nothing bee [illegible] unbecomming a minister. if there be any sharpnes, I will file it of; for it is a thing I detest, especially when I deale with a person of his worth. resolved I am not as yet to publish ~~[illegible]~~ my Name may bee vindicated, & the truth further cleared. which as yet he hath not done sufficiently. At my former & hearty affection to yor selfe, & relations with you

I am:

Sr yor servant.
G. Firmin.

Sr if you please you may communicate to him what I write. had I seen it before this month August I had answered it before. but I thought not to meddle with it at all, till I heard some things in it, ill taken by other ministers & [illegible] so much concerned it. Before I sealed my letter, a faithfull minister living almost a hundred miles from me comming to see me, tells me my answer to Mr Baxter is expected. I have quite altered the way of answer; what is grievous to me I will write to him in private; only his putting my Name in his title page, that I might mention. but that will occasion no sharpnes. Sr I hope shall you finde one sharp word in it. & I doubt not, it will bee my last about this question.

Honoured & Deare
Sr

Since I saw you last, I met with a minister that hath knowne Mr Baxter a long time, & honours him as I doe, for a man of great parts & grace: hee hath Mr Baxters piece against mee, hath viewed it well, & hearing that I had an answer prepared for him, hee was very desirous hee might see it before I sent it away. I could not well denye his desire, being something [illegible] [illegible] and for it, & having but that day finished it when I sent it to you, I was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] my selfe, because it is very likely I may put out some words, & adde others, & therefore have sent this messenger to waite upon you, desiring you would send it by him.

As for the wrong which Mr Baxter hath done mee.

1st. Some judge this to bee a wrong, that whereas I mention not so much as a letter of his name, hee put my name into his title page. A gentleman said, it was an unhandsome Act of Mr Baxter. the minister [illegible] [illegible] godly man though a Conformist] who first told mee of the Booke [illegible] for grant I had named Mr Baxter: when I told him not a letter of it. Soberly said hee, hath Mr Baxter no friend to tell him of this magisteriall spirit?

2ly. In his title page hee hath told the world, I have Excepted against Heavenly Meditation. this other ministers observed as the title page is printed.

3ly. In page 9. hee charges mee with reducing the Rule, to our impotent sinfull natures & crooked lives. this noted by other ministers before I saw it.

4ly. In p. 14. I am but a gentle censurer (not in that, but a favourer) of short & seldome preaching.

5ly. That whereas I neither mentioned Author nor [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ but I would conceale it, lest wanton hearts should take advantage, if they heard there was so much as a question made about familie prayer [illegible] away, that hee should tell the world it was familie prayer: this was taken very ill by other ministers, before I knew it. some of our able Divines gazed at it & asked mee if it were not that: but for aught [illegible] might not have been knowne. & let Mr Baxter say what he will, my father was reputed a person of a very gracious & heavenly conversation, & for secret prayer frequent. & familie prayer [illegible] though not [illegible] much in meditation. much [illegible] when died. the latter end of his life when ~~[illegible]~~ buyinge allowed him, then twice a day in familie. Sanctified the Sabbath very strictly to the last.

From these premises which Mr Baxter hath laid in his Book, [illegible] censured & concluded a man ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ that labours to breake downe the strictnesse of [illegible], which report I was amazed & could not tell whence it should arise till I saw his Booke, then I saw the ground of it.

Now Sr [illegible] this is wrong enough, yea if true what hee hath said, why did hee not give warning to all to take heed both of the Booke & of my ministrie. Verily such a one as hee hath described [illegible] & such charges, is surely not fit to bee in the ministry, I would my selfe warne people to take heed how they trusted their soules with him, who hath [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] sinfull natures & crooked lives. who shall except against heavenly meditation [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] short & seldome preaching [illegible] hath blotted with those that know mee not. though I have cause for [illegible] to sigh in the dust for what I know by my selfe, yet ~~[illegible]~~ I have not been reputed such a one as hee hath represented mee, now almost 40 years from Mr Cotton Mr Norton, Mr Rogers, Mr Wilson in Newengland. I could have shown testimonie that I was not so esteemed there. what hath been my conversation since I came to England, hee may enquire. I know Mr Baxter hath spoken some word of mee, which I [illegible] I did deserve. but now see, the rumours are so grosse, that my Denomination is from the worse part; & that the notion I goe under, is rather an enemie to the strictnesse of pietie. For his sharp language, I was told of that before I saw it, & did expect it.

Sr my principle is this. The Holy scriptures are able to make the man of God perfect 2 Tim. 3. 16. 17. I will not dare to impose that on people, to bee beleived, or practised but what I can clearely make out by plaine text of Scripture or at least by necessary & cleare Consequence from the Scripture. I will not goe to reason first; am sure there is reason in the Scripture whither my dim eye see it or not. But how Mr Baxter hath proved the Rule hee imposeth in his 5th [illegible] & His methodicall meditation in this piece against mee, from the Scripture, let the Reader Judge, when I come to the Triall.

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With my service & heartie affection to your selfe, & whoever is with you
I am:
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yor servant.
G. Firmin.

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From these premises which Mr Baxter hath [illegible] in his booke I am conjured & concluded a man [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ that labours to breake downe the [illegible] which report I was amazed [illegible] could not tell [illegible] till I saw his booke, [illegible]

now Sr [illegible] this is wrong enough [illegible] who did he [illegible] of my ministry [illegible] such charges [illegible] my selfe [illegible] with him, who [illegible] [illegible]

hath Bleed with those that knew me not. though I have cause for time to sy in thought for what I know by my selfe, yet ~~[illegible]~~ I have not been reputed such a one as he hath represented me, now almost 40 years from Mr Cotton Mr Norton, Mr Rogers, Mr Wilson in N England. I could have shown testimony that I was not so esteemed there. what hath been my conversation since I came to England, he may enquire. I know Mr Baxter hath spoken some words of me, which I [illegible] I did desire. but now Sr, the errours are so grosse, that my Denomination is from them, [illegible]; & that the notion I passe under, is rather an enemie to the striving of Pietie. For his sharp language, I was told of that before I saw it, & did expect it.

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This question concernes us all christians, it doth not looke at one partie. how much trouble it hath caused to serious christians, I suppose he knoweth, & I know. but very much [illegible] since I heard serious christians say, if that bee the Duty God requires as Mr Baxter hath imposed, then wee must never come to Heaven.

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All my service & hearty affection to yor selfe, & relations with you
I am:

Sr
yor servant.
G. Firmin.

Sr if you please you may communicate to him what I write. had I seen it before this month August I had answered it before, but I thought not to meddle with it at all, till I heard some thing in it, related to me by other ministers & a [illegible] so much concerned it. Before I sealed my letter, a faithfull minister living almost a hundred miles from mee comming to see mee, tells mee my answer to Mr Baxter is expected. I have quite altered the way of answer; what is grievous to mee I will write to him in private, only his putting my name in his title page, that I must mention. but that will occasion no sharpnesse. mee thinks Sr you finde one sharp word in it. Sr I doubt not, it will bee my last about this question.

Most deare & reverend brother.

I thanke you for your communication of your last
papers also to mee, which shew both your love of peace
and your wise moderation about ye meanes of it, I
shall only give you these few notes about the matter of
your objectors exceptions. 1° About his first objection
let mee tell you, that their talke of one or two in a
parish fit for Church=communion, doth but signify,
that they goe not upon ye Apostolicall antient termes,
but having put downe the true and antient test
(which is the consent to the baptismall Covenant,
and their particular Church=relation; or ye profession
of the essentialls of Christianity = not confuted or
disproved, and their subjection to their particular
pastors), they have indeed no certaine test at
all to set up instead of it, but vary as ye pastors
opinions or Charity vary. And the many cause
of their censoriousnesse is their ignorance of
the people. To deale freely with you I am
not acquainted with any considerable number
either of the episcopall or congregationall pastors, that
ever undertooke the laborious way of conferring
with all the parishioners, house by house ~~by~~ and
man by man; but (to passe the former) the latter
sort have taken it for granted at a venture that
all the people are bad which are not notifyed to
them by some conspicuous profession above the
rest, and having gathered churches of those
neglected allmost all save publick preaching
to the rest (and now they preach to few but their
owne Churches) only if they met a man occasion-
ally, perhaps by a question or two they tooke ad-
vantage to detect his ignorance to confirme

them in their generall Censoriousnesse: But we had lately
in England (and yet have through Gods mercy
though turned) a sort of ministers, who were
for the Waldensian Governmt (described by La-
sitius and Commenius) mixt of Episcop: Presb.
and Independt, and set upon union and addicted
to no party: These by agreemt, either got all
their people to come to them, or went, to those
that could or would not from house to house.
In my parish were about 4000 soules, and
neere twenty miles circuit of ground; we fi-
nisht it in a yeare, setting apart two dayes
a weeke (two or three of us) on purpose; we
dealt not wth ym captiously to disgrace them; but
tenderly & patiently to instruct them in all the
principles first, & then set all home by earnest
conviction and exhortation. By this meanes there
were very few in all the parishes whose measures of
knowledge, and affection, and parts, and lives we
had not a competent acquaintance with: And we
found abundance that were not noted for any extraordina-
ry profession nor ever came to private meetings to be
solid godlie people: Some had Superiours who forbad
them; and some had Callings wch hindered them; and
some had an invincible bashfullnesse, etc — And we
found some noted professours, constant at our private
meetings, who were utterlie ignorant of the essentialls
of Christianity (about the person and office of Christ)
And abundance that we found ignorant, seem-
ed in a little time instructed and resolved for
a holy life. And this course was just set up,
and beginning to spread all over England (8
or 9 Counties had begun by agreemt to attempt it)
at 1659 when confusion buryed all, etc —
If our brethren had as well tryed and knowne
the people, they would not talke thus of one
or two in a parish. I hope through Gods mercy

in the parish that I lived in, many are Godly
(in the judgment of such as our Censorious bre
thren themselves) for one that is ungodly; There
being for the most part but a house in the side
of a street that pray not in their families, and
since I came from them, even in these times,
few in the Towne that professe not the way of
strictnesse, and few indeed that oppose it. I
have since lived many yeares where I now am, in
a Country village, where Dr Featley was Pastor
and after him Mr Nye, and another very worthy
person both of the Congregationall way. I can
heare but of one person now living in the par
ish (and one other now turned Quaker) that ever was
by either of the last admitted to the Sacrament. yet
allmost the whole Towne and parish come now (when it
is so dangerous) to my house to heare. (at the Church
doore) (But I confesse I draw them not from the
publick assemblies, which is now the mode and marke
of sincerity) And (though I goe not to them, as I did
with my owne charge, yet) I meet occasionally with
a very considerable number of them, that I hope
will be in heaven; And of all the whole Towne
and parish I heare of no considerable number
that speake agt us; And those few that do, because
their judgmts are agt private preaching, some of
them, I verily believe, are as seriously religious,
and mortified persons, (in the Common-prayer-booke
way of worship) as most of the Congregationall Church
members yt I know. And I heare not of one (though
the Towne is full of Innes and Ale houses) that
ever speake agt Godlynesse or strictnesse it selfe.
I tell you all this to confirme you in the Charity
which you here expresse to the parish Churches
and by my experience to assure you, that it
is much long of our selves that they are no
better. It is an easy (lazy) way, to take 4 or 5

ſtrict profeſſours for our Charge, and to force all the reſt into diſaffection; by looking at them a farre off, and Calling them all ungodly. There are more ſparkes of penitence and holy deſires in many that make leſſe oſtentation, then they that wyl not, think. And the ſeparating ſort of Profeſſours, have done ſuch things in England as were never done in the world, ſince Munſter tragedy, that I have heard of, and have laid us all where we are at this day. And I aſſure you further that in 1658 & 1659 when ye queſtion was at ye higheſt whether the pariſh ~~Chur~~ Churches ſhould be taken as null, ye experience of our ſudden [illegible] reformed, or reforming ſome of them, (by the means aforeſaid) had this effect,

To my Reverend Brother Mr
John Eliot Pastor of the Church
at Roxbury in New England

(N° 83)

Reverend & much honored frend

4 Yor great civilities to Mr Sharp, & that pious & kinde Letter
of the 27 of 8ber wch by him forwarded, Oblige me againe to give
yow the trouble of my insignificant yet hearty thankes. His esteem
of yow I found much increased, And though yr humility makes
yow seem small in yr owne eyes, Give yr frends leave (I pray
yow) to take other & more just measures of yr merite.
You judge aright Sir That afflictions have much concurred
to dispose me to the relishing of Gods pretious trouths, And
great reason have I to bless the Lord That ever I came under
those rods; Well may I say, Till I was afflicted I went astray,
Formality & negative duties, (wherin many a poore Heathen
outdid most of us) I meane Pharisaicall pleasing my selfe
with outward Church priviledges, & not being guilty of
open prophaneness was in my prosperity too great a part
of my Religion; That I had orthodox trouths swimming
in my head with some cold desires & soone dying affections
I thought all was well enough: But alas Till the Lord
opened my eare to instruction by such afflictions as the
world account most sharpe (wch I have reason to esteem
the most gratious dispensations of my life) I did too
little minde Heart worke; Yea so very bruitish was I
That the bitt was not enough, No less then whipping
could drive me in to sober consideration. Many a time
doe I thinke of that necessarie trouth You so often
repeat That want of consideration destroyes many:
And till my wayes were hedged in on every side, I never
came to any sincere measure of retirement into my selfe
Untill all crutches were stricken from me my treache-
rous heart was still dreaming of creating to it selfe a
Rest here, And it was onely Experience (wch some
call the Schoolmistris of fooles) That taught me to feel
or relish that trouth, That nothing on this side [illegible]
can satisfy a rationall immortall soule. Now [illegible]
The Eternall free Love (That act of the [illegible]
forth meate & sweetnes to me) Must have all [illegible]
Yet thankfully to acknowledge so usefull principall means
of strengthning me in my way homeward as I have found

yor wrytings, Is so furr from Robbing the great Agent
of his glorie, That I looke on it as a duety.
Yor civill offers (as Mr Sharp related them to me) Might
invite me To aske yor help toward those in power in rel
tion to my outward Estate, But as that is too difficul
So I conceave it not worthy of yor paines: Ther for I sh
not trouble yow with any relation of my condition. Yo
help & direction toward the one thing necessarie Is
that I shall beg of yow. Yor prayers That I may in fa
submitt to the good will of God who will make all wor
together for good: That I may finde more & more t
sanctified use of what ever he measures out for me w
patient contented submission: And I may be delivere
from pride & deadnes of heart. Be pleasd al
to recomend to me some bookes of practicall divinit
either old or latter, And who writes best of pra
call cases of conscience. I should be glade to rea
if any English or forrainer have handled well th
Question of Scandall, Wherof this is a branch, Ho
furre one is bound to forbeare what they conceav
after examination to be Lawfull, because some
other good Christian condemns it? For some press
1. Corinth. 8. too furr in my opinion toward that.
But I doubt I rob yow of too much time Yet bec
yow did not answer it, I must renew my former
To see yow if yor occasions call yow to London
In the meane time I doe make use of yor booksell
Mr Underhill to convey this to yow, who knowes how
addresse yor answer to me. I know yow will wi
complement excuse this trouble, seing it comes from
who is most sincerely & heartily

Sir

Yor most affectionat fr
& servant
Lauderdal

sor Castle
1657

To the reverend & worthy
friend
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the gospel
at Kidderminster

To the reverend & much
Honored
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the Gospell
At Kedderminster

Lauderdails letters

(No 84)

Deare Sir

You must pardon mee that I returne not your papers yet. [illegible]
engrossed presently, & a person of honour gave mee a booke [illegible]
give him my thoughts of it, that interrupted mee, but I am now [illegible]
it over a second time; & I judge that the history of the controversy is so
very proper that it will assure the reader that hee may expect the
rest is to bee said upon the matter. The arguments also in the third
hee are so full & evident & abundant, that I doe not see how any bo
can lift up their hand agt them. I perceive that what little glim
rings of things I had attended to, is set forth in the full light & s
by you: so ~~that~~ if I were not something engaged, & accordingly I ga
the Printer my paper before I had yours, I should hardly let ~~[illegible]~~ mynd
out. Neverthelesse I doe apprehend that upon my paper coming abro
wee shall have some body (& I suppose one of note) after what they
in this point
to say agt ~~[illegible]~~ your Life of Faith (wch book I take to bee more pr
ble to a Divine then most books you have wrot, yet not so much u
ees or a book of Mr Vincents or the like.) & then the stay of these pa for a
or two will bee an advantage to the world. I would not have you bee
ged in any new controversy about this point wherein you have alre
writ so often, but that your work wch remaines may bee done at o

For my part I did take notice of what you wrot to mee in your lett
& written my papers according to those intimations, but I hold it not n
ary to make any use of those papers wch are to come out therefore, [illegible]
making up whatsoever is deficient in mind. I must confesse if my Antag
(as some it is like I shall quickly have) shall give you occasion to alter o
thing in the explanatory part of this point wch is the maine & whole
deep [illegible] all the difficulty, I shall not bee sorry, for though I doe appre
that there is no distinction here but you see cause for it, yet others know
that there is no distinction there but confusion wch ~~[illegible]~~ you [illegible]
fess that are not so fare will think that you distinguish things
seriously, & it is the guidance you [illegible] under that you distinguish things
to nothing (so Stillingfleet said to [illegible]), but they should say what you will, that is but fit to bee w
distinctions you can make any thing good, that imputation of Xts righteousnes
and agt never an easy thing to deny imputation in a right sense, so to bee
our justification: but to maintaine it in a right sense, so to bee n
in a bad sense, is that wch makes so many distinctions wherein you give mee lig
I must needs say that there is one thing wherein you give mee lig
stration wch yet doth not [illegible] in my thoughts & that is
[illegible] justification, the one is righteous
durable righteousnesse belonging to our justification, the one in the covenant of grace. when in yo
inherent
covenant of workes, & the other, in the covenant of grace
some a great while agoe, you distinguished of a Legall righteou
[illegible] a great while agoe you distinguished [illegible] to bee our Legall righte
Evangelicall, & made Xts righteousnesse to bee our Evangelicall & so supposed us
our faith & obedience to bee our Evangelicall & so supposed us
to two Lawes, & to answer the accusation of the Law by one, & of the
[illegible] by the other, I thought it very troublesome, & that wee sho
justification is by the Law of grace onely, & there shall bee nothing
at the day of judgment but whether men are righteous by that Law
[illegible] conclusion that the ground of our Protestant doctrine in this
[illegible] that they conceive a sinner justified by the Law of workes
I thinke it is also that
[illegible] must bee Xts righteousnes
[illegible] our [illegible] agt this of

11

preceptive part of the law & the retributive part. To make justification to be
by the righteousness of Christ according to the precept is the error: but to
make Xts righteousness (to wit ~~his~~ whole submission to the law of mediatorship
in life & death) to be the matter of our justification in rigour to the latter I think
you come right. Now I cannot but have some thoughts still in my mind
that this freedome from the Laws condemnation & pardon, must be distin-
guished from justification. Justification is the freeing us from the penalty of a
Law by pronouncing us guiltless of the breach of it, or that we have kept
& so have right to the reward: but to free us from the penalty or give us
the reward when yet we are pronounced ~~of~~ guilty, this is a deliverance fro
the Law, not justification. I doe therefore (or am apt still to think) that
this deliverance of man from the Law of works so as not to be condemned
by it, notwithstanding he breaks it, provided only he can plead perfor-
mance of the covenant of grace, is the very business it selfe wherein the n
of Redemption consists (or Reconciliation): & Redemption must be disti-
guished from Justification. Being justified freely by his grace, through the
redemption wch is in Christ Jesus. The one of these is made the mea
or foundation through wch we have the other. I would have there-
fore all that clutter that must goe to the explaining justification &
imputation of Christs righteousness in relation to this righteousness
pardon or ~~[illegible]~~ freedome from the Laws condemna-
on to be laid upon the score of our Redemption. Our Redemption is the
deliverance is from the Law of works & of innocency, that notwithstanding we
are ~~transgressours~~ of them, it shall not condemne us so long as we are in
~~[illegible]~~ by the Law of grace unto wch we are delivered or redeemed. It
is Christs performing the Law of his mediatorship satisfied God so as to give us
~~[illegible]~~ insomuch as the whole world are alike concerned in them, as to the
without conditionall pardon, God was in Xt reconciling the world to himselfe
not imputing their trespasses. They must goe to our reconciliation or Red-
tion wch is for all & the justification wch is only of the believer shall
by the single righteousness of the covenant of grace, & not by the righteous-
nes of Christ also, any further than as that procured the covenant of g
the very worke it selfe of our Redemption. Sir I ~~will~~ take liberty to
write my thoughts without arranging, as to one that will gather up my mea-
ning, if there be any thing in it, however it be expressed, & I must
say this moreover that whereas there is a righteousness of God reve-
aled in the Gospell (or that wch was made on faith, but not so disclosed) m
with the apostle opposed to that of works in the business of justification
I doe verily believe our divines are quite out in making this all one
with the righteousness of Xt, & you perhaps too in making it one with the righte-
that of pardon. I have in my papers opposed to the passive part in the words g
[illegible] me upon an implicit judgement because I see & am sure you
more then I yet so able to obtaine my owne sense, & this I am highly
pleased with that by this righteousness of God we must understand the
[illegible] of the new covenant. That is, Gods condescention on his part
[illegible] by the ~~[illegible]~~ Law of innocency wch he might d
[illegible] rights (opposed to this new disclosed righteousness) & a
the performance only of the Law of grace, that is the righteousness
[illegible] our justification by it only in Gods acceptation of our
[illegible] as much as it [illegible] pleases for the m
[illegible] of Redemption wch ~~[illegible]~~
[illegible] that I have not

his sort & ill & can expresse my minde no better, but I write for my information, hough I pretend to informe. I will recommend you this my neglect, with the walking off from any further present trouble.

Your most engaged humble friend
& servant. John Humfrey.

Your papers shall be kept safe till I bring them to you,
& the time, when, there is no need for me
yet to set. /

(No 85/

SE 2

These
For Mr Richard Baxter
at Tottridge. /

The Postmaster of Barnet is desired
to conveigh it to the aforesaide.

Post pd 2d.

Barnet.

Deare Sr

Nou: 9. 85

6

I very thankfully receau'd your most wellcome letter, and the goodness of god
in it, I desire to admire, and adore, that I, that haue forfited all, should yet
haue so choyce a mercy, continued to me, as that I still haue a roome
in your thoughts, and a share in your remembrances, ~~and~~ that you should please to
bestow some of your precious minutes on me, which is a greater fauour
then I expected; o I offten thinke, if it were now with me as it was
in times past, how glad I should be, of one of those howers, with you,
as formerly, I pass'd ouer with silence: but justly I may take vp with
Agurs complaint, against my selfe, and say, surely I haue bin, more brutish
then any, that I haue not knowne how to prize, and improue, such mercys
till they are lost: for truly Sr I now sadly experience, the truth of
euery word, you say, that tis not solitude, and retirement, will do: for
I haue enough of that: but it is indeed a better heart, etc. that I want
and I am: for the most part so ouerwhelmd, with sadness, and sorrow
that I can do nothing: but pore vpon what, adds fuell, to it, and I find
it a very great, and difficult worke, to act faith in the deepe sence of
my owne great vnworthyness, and the great prize hath bin put into
my hand, that god may say of me, as of his people, of old, what should
I haue done more, and how litle I haue answered gods cost, and care
, vnder this loade, then, to looke for and lay hold on, the infinet mercy
of god in christ and the allsufficiency, of his merits, and sattesfaction, tis not
a litle faith, will do: but the consideration, that god hath made it my
duty to beleiue, and hope in his mercy, and to trust in him, that is
able to saue to the vttmost, all that come vnto god by him, this
is that, that is my suport: and I haue many times, great releife
from many of your choyce, and exelent bookes, which god hath made
very helpfull, and comfortable, to me. but I will put a stop to my
pen, and breake off, tho abruptly rather then rob you, of to much of
your choyce time, now you are pleased to tell me too, how litle you
haue, and I am heartily sorry, that by paine, and weakeness it is
so much lessend, I beceech god, to put vnder the euerlasting armes,
for your suport, and abundantly, make vp vnto you, from himselfe
whateuer is wanting otherwise. I was not sorry, to heare
the good Lady fitz=James, was deliuer'd from all her feares: for
I see nothing so desirable, as is a safe, and a comfortable death
tho while I liue, I would be glad, of what heauenly perfection
is here attaine-able, and that which others haue, and do attaine
when god hath such treasurs, of grace to impart, and hath made
asking the way to receauing, and seeking the way to finding, and
hath exempted none, that will not exempt them selues, and hath so
declared, his readyness, to satesfie, the hungry thirsty soul, that I am
ready to say, if it be so, why am I thus, if god is so willing, and hath
made me willing to why am I so leane, from day to day. but one
of your exelent Bookes hath told me, that a creuise a casement, or a candle
in this darke world, is an vnspeakeable mercy. I allso returne my hearty
thankes: for that choyce, lesson, you now haue recommended to me: but alas
tis such a reallizing faith that I want: but I know withall, tis the gift
of god, as well as any other grace, and on him, I will wait for it, who
hath pronounced a blessing, on those that seeke him and ~~allso~~ to those that wait for him.
I now heare by my good friend, mrs rand, how wonderfully, god doth
vphold you, vnder the present circumstances, the relation she gaue me of
it, was a great comfort to me and much refresh'd me and I do most heartily
bless god: for it, and I do stedfastly beleiue, that he will neuer leaue
you comfortless, Sr. I beg your pardon: for this long scrole I did
resolue on breuity, when I began, and I can giue no account, how I came
this: but that tis [illegible] I was euer [illegible] in your [illegible]
haue to [illegible]

These

ffor the reuerend mr: Richard Baxter
att his Loding in Southwarke

No 86

Sr it was I think about a month since I received yor [illegible]
declaring yor fervent desire to satisfie my doubtfull minde [illegible]
of separation, wch I now think hath too long kept me at too great a distance from
those whose fellowshipp in the gospell ought to be of precious esteem. / A labour
7. it is wch I am persuaded God will not forget, nor I be wanting, I hope, wth all thankful
humbly to acknowledge. / My owne concessions I sent you have returned me back
improved, & put into a better posture of service then when I sent them; & this
I did in pt foresee & expect. / But had I not been more then halfe convinced be
of my errour of separation, I should hardly have furnished you wth so much grou
work upon towards the compleating of my conviction. / I do therefore wth much
fullnesse acknowledg to you that yor labour hath not been bestowed on me in vain
that yor kinde ~~[illegible]~~ amongst other things have contributed much towards my satisf
& settlemt touching the lawfullnesse of ~~[illegible]~~ communion among sts. / So great pt of those th
wch came under my consideration, & in the issue have swayed my Judgment & reso
in this matter, I have somewhat imperfectly for the present digested under severall
wch I am here offering to some others who are not yet at that liberty in their minde
this thing, as I am; a copie whereof I have here inclosed sent you. / Wherein if yo
upon all yor shall finde any thing unduly alledged (saving what you may think so
hesitation at infant baptisme) I should be glad to have a hint of it. / If no body ou
those grounds (~~wch if they do, will be more then I in the least expect~~) upon wh
wth some good measure of composure of minde for the present built, (wch if they do
be more then I in the least expect, as to the totall of them) I shall then follow the dire
condescend & such grave advice as I can procure, about the disposing of my selfe in
lar communion. / In the mean while being under shame & sorrow that ever I shou
so farre accessary as I have been, to all the evils & mischiefe, wch separations amon
have procured, I heartily beseech you to help wth yor prayers, in seeking mercie from God
non imputation of this folly, in his future dispensations. / I confesse I was nothing so
in my resolves about separation (wch I first entred upon that way) as I was
any after baptisme; the one being the fruit of some yeers consideration, the other I
not of so many months. / And although at this time I should be as willing to repe
after baptisme, as of my separation, could I see the like cause, yet I might neede say
no conviction as yet hath commanded in me that repentance & shame in the one
hath in the other. / Sr I have often thought upon & weighed yor inferring the leg
if not necessity of infant baptisme & church membershipp under the Gospell, from
circumcision & church membershipp under the law, wch you build upon a suppo
of a non-repealmt of a covenant right wch the infant seed of Abraham
posterity had thereto. / And though I may not undertake to dispute it wth you, the
being so unequall, yet upon yor invitation, I shall let you know what suffices me
to close wth you in this argumt. / My thought is that the constitution of the old chur
as to visible worshipp, is changed, & consequently the terms of visible entrance, alt
The old church was constituted of Abrahams seed according to the flesh, of such wh
~~[illegible] of distinction~~ Now testamt for distinction sake, calls Israel after the fle
10: 18. and their formall entrance by circumcision in the flesh. / But the gospel
constitution is made of Abrahams spirituall seed, or such who are so according t
[illegible] circumcision is that in the spirit: both seed & circumcision spirituall the antity
litterall; and their formall entrance by baptisme, the laver of regenerat
~~[illegible]~~ or baptisme of repentance. / And therefore when Christ gives his
commission to gather & found his church in all the world; he doth it in these wor
teach or disciple all Nations; or as Mark expresseth it; preach the gospel to every
(wch compared, shews it meant of making disciples by preaching) and baptize them &
ingly the work of John baptist, was to make ready a people for the Lord (Lu. 1. 17) to m
church of, by calling them to repentance & baptisme out of those who were the
ready according to the old constitution. / And he charged those that came to his bap
not to say wthin themselves, we have Abra: to our father, but to bring forth fr
for or witnessing repentance, Lu. 3. 8. As if he should have said: though yor bei
we have Abra: to your father, hath been sufficient to give you a place of standing
church hitherto, yet that is not enough now, but repentance attested wth fruits is n
for that new church state called the kingdome of heaven wch is now at hand. Mo
In like manner Christ tells Nicodemus that a being born of the Spirit as well as
or being born of water, was necessary for the entring of his proselytes, Jo. 3.
well compared, shews (as seems to me) that the former church state and forme
into it, and altered upon Christs coming. / And therefore from thence f
man to be known or acknowledged in church relation, after the flesh; & co
the flesh, that is, according to this apostles dialect, as descending from Abra: could
wch some in this church gloried [illegible] wch he seemes here to glance
as elsewhere Chap. 11. 18. 22 [illegible] not many glory after the flesh, I will
they Hebrews [illegible] Israelites? so am I: and they the s
[illegible] Christ, & so of the church, he is so [illegible]
[illegible] many [illegible]

[illegible] church [illegible] [illegible] their [illegible]
[illegible] breaking parents though [illegible] [illegible] would it no
build up again that wch is taken down? and to call back that wch is past? to r
Moses again from the dead? and to furnish christ wth a church consisting in
pt of a fleshly seed instead of a spirituall? and wth dead stones instead of livi
stones wherewith to build him a spirituall house? a thing too visible in the old p
+ tiall constitution, founded on this way of admission./ Nor are infants how
denyed to be of Christs mysticall body; they may be of that though not of his visible church: visibl
membership & mysticall union, are not correlatives./ But if infant bap
should be irregular, you say how will I prove it ~~an~~ a nullity? Truly
have no minde to prove it so if it be not so, and should be glad of any thing
free it from that charge; and have in my papers acknowledged that by the a
customs its made to serve for two of the ende of primitive baptisme, an
should be glad if it could be made ~~to~~ appeare that it doth so too by m
tution; and should be glad also, if I knew how to answer my selfe in that
sometimes tempts me to think it a Nullity./ ~~[illegible]~~ If that wch i
essentiall to the being of baptisme, should be found wanting in infant bapt
would it not then be a Nullity?/ And whats more essentiall to it then a subj
subject?/ The application of all other requisites in baptisme to any other
ture then mankind, would not make it the administration of that ordinance
more would the application of them to a dead man or to a pagan; and w
but because not under the qualification ~~of them~~ corresponding wth the in
tion: Gods ordination, not mans good meaning, being that which doth d
capacitate the subject./ ⊙ Againe is not the outward signe & figure in baptis
and essentiall pt of it? according to the usuall description of the whole, as consis
of outward signe & inward grace./ If so, then doth not that use of water u
baptisme in which that signe & figure is wanting, deprive it of that wch is esse
to it?/ And if the death, buriall & resurrection both of Christ & christians be
spirituall being figured in baptisme, as it is; then where is the signe while sprinkli
wth water is used instead of buriall in it?/ Or if dipping should be used; how shal
we finde that in an infant wch will answer the outward signe & figure in bap
there does not buriall in baptisme (except in the ~~[illegible]~~ extraordinary case of
baptisme, wch as mr John Goodwin saith was done in conformity to a law & pt to [illegible]
[illegible] the party ~~[illegible]~~ seemed to be dead unto those sins in wch he continu
lived? and is there any such thing in infants or such adults? and what a
thing then is it to bury poor children before they are dead! Truly Sir the
reverence which I bear to so considerable a pt of the church of God, as f
many generations its like have owned & used infant baptisme, inclines m
in my retaining such differing thoughts, to suspect & prove my selfe a
my owne nothingnesse in comparison of them, and ~~not~~ to look not o
on my owne things here about, but also on the things of others, and
impartially, but do think God would not take it well, if I should subj
my reason & conscience, though to the best of men, till a prevailing light fr
the Scripture ~~should~~ turne the scale

As to the business of communion, my desire is & my work God assisting m
be ~~to~~ by the best & most peaceable meanes I can, to be helping those out of
snare of separation, which I have been a meane to bring into it./ a work
will advance but slowly, I doubt, because of a strong prepossession of other th
and our arguments for this are not so soon come at by common capac
as our arguments for our other way were; and therefore will cost the more ti
& paines to travaill our work./ Yor 3 articles of accommadation I like
well, but doe doubt that none but the last of them will be assented to by som
cannot be brought to generall communion. It may be they may be brought
owne those that are of the churches of Pedobaptists ~~[illegible]~~ for s
fearing God that are so, but hardly to acknowledge them true churches.
are not yet ready to make an open offer of such things, but some of us have o
heart in it; and if we shall gett such things in any readinesse this way, the
God willing, quickly acquaint you wth it, & desire yor help & concurrence t
I beseech you Sir excuse my tediousnesse; I hope I shall not use to
[illegible] I must againe let you know how full of [illegible]
upon to this trouble. Truly Sir I [illegible] my selfe to so much pas
[illegible] yor favour towards and [illegible] the prayerfull desire
[illegible] [illegible] mo

⊙ And therefore the same arguments wch tend to prove infants to be none of th
appointed by God to be baptized, tend to prove baptisme administered
a nullity./

To the Reverend and his
worthy good friend, Mr
Richard Baxter, minister
of the gospell

In

Kidderminster

Post is paid

Mr Allen

Sir 8 Drummond: 9ber 8. 1670

I find my self abosutly uncapable of expressing My gratfull Sense, of the honor you have put upon me; & the more I strive to give you an accompt of my thoughts of it, I find I am still the further from satisfying my self in the doing of it. However (seing I most Judge it is not cerimonious compliment you ether expect, or care for) I have (in despite of all the weakenesse my letter may discover) taken the boldnesse to confesse my incapacitie of deserving so nottable a testimonie of your love; upon any other score save that of charitie. Although when one reads good rules and instructions given in generall, it cannot chuse bot very much advantage them; yet when they are directed imediatly to themselves, from one whom they estime, it sinks deeper in ther minds; & is readyer to work more powerfully. So has it proved with me; Your letter Coming after I have had for some time, (that is to say since I have bein so happie as to be aquainted with your excellent works) bein possessed with an opinion (& that upon just grounds) of your extraordinarie learning, merite, & devotion; made it take so deep impression upon my mind, that I hope I shal have reason to blesse god for it. You have given me so heavenly an advice, & so plain, that I cannot chuse bot wonder at the foly, & vanity of the most part of my past life. All I know I owe nixt unto god, to My Dear Cousing Mr Drummond, For it was he by whom I was taught to considder of the concernes of an immortal soul; His example, his letters, his life, his discours, have bein the means by which The Lord God has mercyfully bein

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pleased to pull me from persuing my own pleasurs, & the vanitie of this mad world. What do I owe to God for His mercy towards me, when I consider this generation! I have bein obliedged to be in some companies (longer then my inclination led me to be) and for many hours had my ears tortured with the reproach, goodnesse & vertue met with amongst them. and what am I, that god should make that unpleasant to me, which to others is a glory: Seing the ungratitude of the world is such that (as you say) those who have greatest reason to be thankfull to god, should spit gall, & wormwood at him fastest: have not I reason to rejoyce in god; who has given me a heart to place my cheifest happienesse, in the obaying of his holy will. But upon the other part when I think with what weaknesse I serve my God, how many impertinent thoughts, run through my head, when I should exclude the world, and all its guilded folyes! how many rash words, how many irregular actions! I find then I have reason to be deeply humbled, & to Call for help, and beg importunatly for the grace of god, to conduct me through this wildernesse in which humain frailty, the divel, the world, evrie thing fights against my peace, & quiet. But the strenth of our lord is made perfe in weaknesse. I blesse God, I find the wickednesse of the world, the bad example of others, sin in all its pompe, & folytie, breeds in me more abhorrency then I can expresse: so that I need fear more from within, then from without. If I settle my belife so, as your excellent advice orders me to do. If I have that singlenesse of heart, required in a sincer Christian, & if my practice be conforme to the knowledge, it has pleased god to give me; I can easily belive that I need know no other neam nor partie, save the Christian. The Crosse is a sweeter burden, then all the honor & welth my prince could load me with. nor is ther any thing I could not cast behind me for one smile of my blessed saviour. I hope idlenesse shal not get toomuch advantage upon me. I know lazienesse, it once indulged becomes master, nay tyrant over one; & his slaverie is worse then any thing, to hinder advance towards heaven. god direct me to those things, by which I may make my self most steadable to his servants. naturally I inclyne to be much alone; bot your directions shal make me strive with my nature as much as I can. I know melancholy is imputed to a mans religion (by those who wold faine find an excuse for ther impiety) if it reigne too much they may as well impute evrie weaknesse one can fall into, to religion: bot ther is litle love where quarrels are pickt for nothing. I am confident of Gods pardon for all my sins, through Jesus the glorious mediator: if this doe not force chearfullnesse from me I know not what wil do it. I have quarelld my own humor oft, to see some of our gallants overjoyed to get a very insignificant favor, from ther goddesse of dirt, (some other mans wife possiblie) and to think my self priviledged to speak freely, to the creator of heaven, & earth; could not make away a heavie fit of melancholie; bot tho it could not make me so active as at other times; yet I could improve the oportunitie to some use. I could consider my mispent time, & sinfull life, & lay my self in the dust befor my god, for it. If I could bring my life to be an example to others I were hapie & If by any thing I possesse, I could doe good to a poor christian; I find no reluctancy to part with it. I have tryed to bring some from ther course by all the arguments, my love to them could furnish ~~[illegible]~~ me with; bot still I find I meet with passion, & misconstruction. yet I can not see men running to hell, w[illegible]t a great regrait. never shal I (by gods assistance) fear to [illegible]oun [illegible]y god. I pray god I may never make any show of religion, save what I cannot hide. for being ashamed of what is my great honor, I am not in hazard. what I know to be gods work, shal be mentained with my life and all I possesse; & when all is done I will be short of my dutie. I have picked irregularly some of the perticulars of your letter. my aising most make my excuse for all the faults & errors I have falne in towards you. I am humbly thankfull for your noticing me so charitably. let me beg the charitie of your prayers that I may have gods assistance to fallow your advice. I am much ingadget to be, most worthie Sir

your most obliged & most humble servant Drummond

(No 88)

For
The very Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter

These

Septr 25-65

Reverend & Deare Sr

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Mat: 24; 49 &c:

The sad reports of yor greate declensions from those wayes of holynesse & savoury expressions of right
& practise hath found such employment for my pen & spt at this time, as to beleeve or deale I can scarce
resolve myselfe. for wn I reflect upon your former wayes, & yr heretofore professed subjection to the gospell of
Xt. & declared enmity to sinfull courses and jollity. I can scarce beleeve or credit, what I heare concerning
you. but wn the report is backt with such a cloud of witnesses, I am constrained to wonder at yr transformation into
another shape soe unlike God & yr redeemer yea and your quondam selfe. you did run well who hindered you
Deare Sr whence is it yt evill communications have corrupted your good manners, yt healths are growne soe
frequent with you and yt loose jollity can invite you thus to change your Masters livery, and make you sell yor
birthright for a trifle? is it a time to health and drinke in, when judgment plucks out those [illegible] soe fast? doe you not
see death upon a pale horse & hell its close attendant? is not the destroying angell deeply engaged in slaughter still
stretchinge out his angry hand, to satiate his thirsty sword with the blood and wounds of a provokinge people, and
will you step into his way to test and try the strength and terrour of his strokes? should our faces like Jobs be fowle
with weepinge, and should wee make them red with drinkinge? oh what are the hearts of men when once their sinnes
are slackned! a Master in Israel and in the tents of Beliall! are yt footsteps of yr flocke growne strange to you?
is there either vertue prayse or comelynesse in such courses as these? oh Sr upon the bended knees of my soule
and in the bowells of Jesus Xt the Ld our spotlesse [illegible], I beseech you remember from whence you are fallen and repent
& doe your first workes & strengthen the thinges that remaine that are ready to dy, for evill report saith some
your workes are not perfect before God. I am amazed to thinke that you should not only be overtaken in
one place, but by consent & compact for time and place engage yourselfe in such dreadfull repetitions of
carousinge healths. did you never in your cupps see Tekel written upon the wall or in your conscience?
doth your [illegible] never loudly tell you of a fearefull reckoninge? your drinke & company had neede be good
they will proove soe deare at ye upshot. wt shift you make in prayer I know not. but humbly doe I intreate you
to tender & gaze upon Psal: 66; 18. and let your conscience bee your monitor. & will the world conclude when
they heare of a son of the Morninge fallen from heaven? you know Sr Reb: 8; 11. the name of the starre that
fell was wormwood, and by these courses a man of bitternesse will you bee both to your selfe and others. surely
when those sober spirits yt have rejoyced in your paines & practise, shall see or heare of your revoltinges
they will conclude that you either was mistaken in your practise, or did but preach & walke in jest. & if hee
God find you such a stumblinge blocke to soules, hee will either change you, or remove you. & whether God lookes
on you (which yet I hope hee doth really with his mercy) yet you will ever find, that such publicke shakeinges of
his honour & his trust in soules will meete with publicke vindications. for is not this the way to make you a trans-
gressour by castinge downe wt you have built? have not you preacht agt excessive drinkinge & loose jollity? have
you not prayed agt it & complained of it, & reproached others for it, & yet will you after all, make these the engines
of your owne ruine & destruction? and I beseech you Sr, the next time you have list & leasure to looke into yor
selfe, see if you can stand the test & sentence of your owne tribunall. and aske your heart in sobernesse this question
whether dyinge times & tipplinge hearts doe well together. surely Sr when there is a sweepinge pestilence in
a nation, I should bee loath to have a worse plague in my heart & practise. I like not sin and wrath bound up
together in the same conscience. truly I am apt to thinke, that they that can hug or dally with their sins
now in this day of Gods reproveinge controversy & severe controvements, are in greate danger of beinge
runge to hell in peales of thunderclaps— but I hope better thinges of you & wish the. & truly Sr, had I
not feared God, & prized & honoured you, as beinge loth to loose your company in duty & glory, I had not
beene thus plaine & bold. or had I knowne or heard of any other that would have beene soe faythfull and
kinde as to have told you of your faults & danger. I had willingly spared you and myselfe ye trouble
who have greate reason to pray for love & honour you whilst My name is Matthew Sylvester

M: S

fol. 20. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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LETTERS
fol. 21. of Baxter Letters in volume

Revd Sr

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As the Salvation of souls is the main end of ye Ministry in Gods church, So As I think it, the Inward & Spirit. peace & unity of ye Ch. is a main Advantage towards yt end, & wch both Ministers & People should prefer before any privat or personal Interest of Secular Advantage, or Selfreputation. But Alas! Self-Denial, though lying at the very threshold of Christianity, Seems scarce worth taking up. Hence, bee of the obscure surface, lyes so neglected, that though a jewel of inestimable price, we very rarely see it brought within the wals of the ch. more than in name & notio, wherein lies too great a pt of too many mens Religio. The more the pitty. yet som such rare soules there have been who venturing al have gained by their loss, & got or bore away most of yt they most neglected. How much of true Glory accrewed to St Augustins name by Confessions & Retractations more than by many voluminous discourses agt controverting opponents & supposed Heresies, you yourself can better acquaint the world, than I tel you. If som in things of this kind have been too easy, yet undoubtedly som agn have been too tenacious: That experience helps to mature mens Judgments no man yt is not wholly devoid of Judicious sense, or experimental Reason can doubt. That Age & Time perfects experience come as little within the lists of Debate. Hence, if I am not over willing to conclude, more than probably follows, that an over early Judgment seems to be but an Opinio, wch we ought not rashly to espouse, & perhaps (such it may be) not at all to wed. which notwithstanding; Most, At least many now of the world are so enamoured with their first opinions, that like men wth their first love, they hug them to their grave. In this kind, should somthing be indulged to Nature with the vulgar, & sense be allowed to please & play itself in a prison of its own composing, 'Twere yet somthing the better if Reason brought into the scrape were not Insnared too. Not, How shall we retain our Estates & prsnt means? That's a bait that many can fly over wel enough, But how shal we preserve our reputatio? what wil such say of us? what wil they think? what wil they speak? what wil they not cal us? Turn-coats, Apostates, Renegado's, Rotten-hearted men, that have denyed the faith? (Such good language som have learnt upon very smal occasions, how much more in things which they account of so high a concernmt?) He seems truly one of a thousand, (& one of a thousand we take mr Br to bee) that overflies these temptations, And Indeed the Difficulty might had been less, & This Danger might in som measure had been prevented had men been more wary & spare urging Disputable & Dispensable whether Truths or Duties. But when mens Bare opinions have been Proclaimed, promoted, & promulged (I speak not this, as to charge yourself) under no less a name & Autority than as the mind of God, the Eternal law, The Indispensable Comands of him yt changes not, & such like Rhetorical more & worse than hyperboles In such case 'tis a very hard matter for a man to perswade even himself to such a necessary recall & acknowledgemt, as truth may cal for. yet is it no contemptible consideratio That If a Ly ought not to be taught, no, not for the Glory of God, whether the willing concealmt or silence of any real Truth that being professed & confessed might very much conduce to ye peace of ye Ch. & freeing the consciences of many poor Christians fro otherwise inextricable doubts & scruples involves not in the same guilt. The conditio of ye Ch. seems sad enough, & what like to be God knows, if som timely remedy by his mercy & providence intervene not. wherto every one in his place should lend an helping hand, & whom should we think more inclined & willing than mr Br In whom when I read such expressions of Candor & Ingenuous fair-dealing (as yt In your postscript to the fformal Hypocrit; In the 3d ch. pa. 19. 20. &c of The knowledge of God. That pr to be in Disputes about ch. Governmt ch. 15. p. 483. Those in Reasons of Rel. pt 2. c. 13. pa. 464. 465. 466. The Two sheets & such other like) & see yt 2 sorts of men in our English ch. are no nearer an accord, I must needs say, It almost sets me in amaze, & I beleeve many more, especially such as beleeve mr Br to be free & far fro any Intended mental Reservatio, or tacit Equivocal construction, to be obliquely made of his words (in appearance plain enough) & as withal observe what Influence he hath had upo one sort of men. Ulterius progredi sure mihi Nuncius Cynthius I aurem Since most of these was writen I was awhile showed your new book, & in that smal space I had it in my hands; I took a short survey of the epistle or preface & withal so much candidness as I wish may do the desired good to the more of Glory to God, & comfort to yourself. But besides I noted a Passage yt Imployes you to be under som more than ordinary weakness, which both stops the course of my writing, makes me break off, though very abruptly, & puts me upo a new Duty viz to beg your pardon for having put you to this much trouble, who you may very well aske who made us so familiar: & to Request no other construction of this fragmt (as it fals out) than is ye Imperfect sense of one weakly [illegible] indeed, whose Ruder & Broken suggestions your wiser [illegible] ding may copiously supply, wth such additional Advantages of Reason as the Nature & circumstance of things may seem to require, recomended to your freer & fuller Judgment. I pray God to vouchsafe his Blessing upon you, & make you in your capacity Instrumental to the further reconciling of Differences promoting the peace of his Ch. & withal of his Glory which If I can see any thing, may have more furtherance fro a few serious & cool considerates than 10000 eager heats of Dispute, This whetting the wit to further contention, That calming the mind to a composed temper & peaceful Disposedness. But I had agn almost forgot myself. It is time to recomend you to the protection of Almighty God, & Rest yourself Revd Sr

Kederminster Jul. 12. 1669

your Humble servt Thomas Beavans

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(N° 90)

[illegible]

1 Reverend Sir I receiued your letter for which I hartily thanke you for therin you haue sattisfyed mee for what reasons it is in vaine to attempt the printing of it. let mee intreate you sir not to be offended with mee for puting you to so much paines about it, for I was pressed in mind to desire it might be published as thinking it might ad to the stock of knowledg, & especialy for convincing of gainsayers, that oppose the Christian doctrin concerning the blessed trinity, in vnitie & vnitie in trinitie, which I doe not in the least, but proue it convincingly. both how it is possible to be true, & how it is realy demonstrable both from scripture & reason. But why it is that you thinke that I vnderstand not the meaning of the vniuersal church, I cannot conceiue. But howeuer I shall tell you what church I meane, to wit, that of which Jesus Christ is the head, of which I knowe my selfe to be a member. & shall be loath to oppose in any thing that is not contrary to the scripture & reason. you graunt that when I say there be not three substances I say but what all men say for it is thre subsistences, which the church accounteth the same with three persons & not three substances, & that it is the same which I meane by one essence. And you affirme that substance & essence is all one (which I must needs deny) for all materiall things are substances & the also haue a being or subsistence though not of themselues yet from god who is an eternall being, & that of himselfe. But to giue him so lowe a title as a substance which will hould proprietie with the basest materiall creature, I doe account a dishonour to his maiestie. Nor dare I compare him with any kind of essence but what he hath owned as his Image, as I said in my manuscript. And that is not a substance but an essence to wit the mynd of man considered as righteous.

And god is infinit & incomprehensible, & therfore wee knowe him not, but as hee hath reuealed himselfe, in his sacred word, & especialy by way of Analogy from his creature man, whom hee hath owned as his expresse Image considered as righteous And therfor I dare prophesie that you must either keepe close to the Analogy, or you can neuer explaine the misterie of the trinitie, nor you can neuer reconcyle your faith & reason, but they will affront & crosse each other in your owne apprehention ffor the father, the word, & the holy ghost, are called three witnesses, & are said to be one, so that there must be one, & one three, or you misunderstand them. And if you calle them three essences or three subsistences, yet they must be one. And yet then they want proprietie of distinction betwixt the father & the sonne, for the father is not the sonne, nor the sonne the father, And so likewyse of the holy ghost. And therfore there is no other way to conceiue rightly of them but to calle them three properties, of one & the same infinit essence, for so they are indeede. It is the property of the father to beget, & of the sonne to be begotten, & of the holy ghost to proceed from both alike.

And

And to this the mind of man doth properly accord, to wit the understanding, the will, & the memorie, which are three properties of one & the same minde or spirit as the apostle calles it. the understanding begetts the will, & not the will the understanding, And the understanding is not the will, nor the will the understanding; And so also the memory is neither properly the understanding nor the will, nor are either the understanding or the will properly the memory. So that thus they are properly the Image of god, as trinity in unity & unity in trinity, And there is no other Image of the blessed trinity in all the world.

Now sir all that ever I red of that have taken upon them to explaine the mistery of the blessed trinity. have asserted That considered as persons, non is greater or lesse then another, nor non before or after another. Therefore if any of them be infinit. they must each of them be infinit. & so there must be three infinits. which cannot possibly be as all confess. for each of them is called god in sacred scripture the which I beleeve to be true, yet they are all three but one god, as all sober divines beleeve, & so also doe I. & that because god is infinit, & there can be but one Infinit. Thus they & I agree, And if this be blasphemy I am a blasphemer. But the scripture nowhere calles them three persons, And therefore I assert It is improper to calle them so any more then three gods. Nay in case they had each of them been caled a person in scripture, as each of them is caled god, yet it had not been proper to calle them three persons, no more then three gods. And I doe graunt that god the father is caled a person or a subsistence, Heb. 1.3. And that Christ considred as man is the expresse Image, of his invisible subsistence, & so was Adame in Innocentie, But not that therefore it is proper to calle him a second person, & the holy ghost a third person, for there I goe beyond my warrant.

But I appeale to the god of truth to judge the cause betwixt them & mee who calle this blasphemy yea horrid blasphemy as one hath donne, charging mee with pride & heresie also but the god of truth who knowes or hearts will owne the truth that is from him, & hee that opposeth or despiseth or rejecteth his truth of which hee is convinced, hee opposeth despiseth & rejecteth him. Thus sir desiring your pardon for my troubling you againe with so large a letter I rest & comit you to the guydance & protection of almighty god. Ellis Bradshawe.

Tonge ffould.
march 23. 1669.

A postscript

Sir, you say well that to flatter is not a frendly office And I heartily thank you for yor plaine dealing with mee & give mee leave also to deale plainly you knowe what Christ hath said to wit by thy words thou shalt bee Justified, & by thy words thou shalt be condemned. Now if the Church speake one thinge & meane another whether must wee Judg to be the Churches Judgment. for ordinarily God is called a substance, & that substance distinguished into three persons, the which as I conceive, in stead of explaining the misterie puts a greater cloude, & mist, of darkenesse upon it it is a darkening of the counsaile by words without knowledg. which is more then needs, The eternal generation of the sonne is by an ~~[illegible]~~ unspeakable communication, of the whole essence or godhead from the father to the sonne, without separation, or division, or diminution, each from other remaining still from all eternitie one & the same inseparable, infinit essence; so sufficiently misticall wee neede not to cloude it further, in callinge them substances, or persons especially considering that wee have no ground or warrant from scripture so to doe. And that it will not stand with true rationalitie as hath been clearly proved. As for your sixt I beleeve you will not. though you love not to ~~[illegible]~~ meddle any more then needs you must in the least seeming opposition to the ordinarie termes least you should give offence. in which I doe not blame you But rest yor loving frend & brother in the lord Ellis Bradshawe.

To my loving frend Mr
Nathaniel Hilton of
Wavington neere
London to be
delivered to my
loving frend
N. B.

From petuxunt river Maryland Aprill 8th 1671

Good Coz: 2

It was noe small pleasure to us to hear of your health & wellfare
it being one of our greatest happyness to know our english frs are well
& though we can not see the faces yet yt we may read the lines of
each other. We have cause to bless God & thank you yt (unworthy) we
are upon your heart & in your prayers, I hope we have fared bet
ter therefore: & oh yt we may be enabled by our bountifull Landlord
to pay to him the due rent of praise & fruitfullness, & not forget
him who is soe mindefull of us. Hee is pleasd to visit us with various
providences, our deare Nany dyed june 19th & one of our servants a
litle before, the rest of us (through mercy) seasoned (as thay call it)
well, most of us in the sumer (3 months of wch was hot) had an
ague & fevor wch held us about a week or fortnight, but have
had our healths this winter. I was delivered of a son jan: 16th
who lived but 10 dayes, (blessed be God) we are all well at this
time. I was sorry to heare of the loss wch Coz. H: had, & though
hir greif might cause hir to fall into travell about the time hir
husband died, I wish there be noe scandall, (I would willingly be
informd concerning it) I hope shee deservs it not. I shall be glad
to hear yt you are maryed to hir you mentioned, who I think is a
vertuous branch of very Godly parents. I am sorry to hear yt
wickedness is set up by a law to the psecution of soe many good
people, but glad to know yt those yt suffer for christ shall never
be loosers by him, for though thay may be destitute & aflicted yet
not forsaken, & though we have cause to simpathize with you in
your troubles, yet if God would thereby transplant you into this
darke corner of the world we should have reason to rejoyce.
pray psent our servis to mr White & his Lady & tell him we have
got noe skins this year, the indians dress none till sumer, good buck
skins are usually worth 6s 8d & doe-skins about 3s 4d. I pray you
psent our due respects & servis to frs at Mansfeild, to coz. Sander
son; I am glad my deare babe is with soe good a nurse. if you
have opptunity pray psent our hearty love to mr Vaughan & mr
James their famelys we should be glad to hear thay are well.
Deare Coz. the Lord be with you we are, your affectionate & obliged frs

Jam: Truman   Ann Truman

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my maide bess psents hir servis to you

(No 92)

To his much esteemed friend mr
Matthew Silvester at mr
Whites of Codgraue
theſe preſent

Revd Sr

When I writ I little thought of tying Syllogistical knots, But rather hoped an agreemt (as I hopefully [illegible]) in Theory, to win by yor means a further agreemt in practise Betw. such differing Christians; wch some of [illegible] I hoped yor might have an advantageous interest to sway their judgemts, wch is too much overballanced by [illegible] raising prejudice. This Agreemt being [illegible] to be effected wthout the retracts of [illegible] wher they have [illegible] in or sealed [illegible]. And this retract being in itself so difficult, might be the matter of a sufficient a[illegible] urge the greater diligence to remove such retracts whatsoever necessity (I mean in regard of [illegible]) for it. And when this cannot be fully attained A good step at lest toward the main end it might be could we but handsomly agree to practise indeed, what we [illegible] profess to agree in [illegible]. of this mr Br hath given us fair hopes, as by many other good expressions, so especially by yt in Res of Rel [illegible] ch. 13. S. 6. wch being fairly practised, & the stepping principles by those yt hold ym (not by mr Bax[illegible]) [illegible] revoked would put an end to most our differences, But seing it looks as though yt saying & doing [illegible] wer but one manifesto, So many I fear have held principles [illegible] the practise of this that nothing but a gt measure of selfdenial with free & declared retracts can make a Closure. How much good yor [illegible] endeavors improved this way might do (wch who yor judgemt is pondering) nothing but trial can shew. Tis [illegible]ved, very much. For confidence yt mr Br wil make good ye opinio of him; That there is no other than Candor & synserity in his words & meaning, that he plainly means as he speaks, & speaks as he thinks, out of zeal to truth, ye glory of God, & peace of the ch. I have thus far adventured to give yor trouble. Tis true, If any such ther should be, who hold [illegible] for the only Lawful Pastors of the Chs, & wil acknowledge no such [illegible] I must needs say, They are too high for me to deal wth, & perhaps mr Br too, who we beleive not to be of any [illegible] to my or ye [illegible] inclined. I [illegible] yor may know. There has been an opinio entertained, whether led by expss teaching so, or by weak informatio instilled & belike many here we in many minds, [illegible] mo Prayer is Idolatrous, The Book an Idol &c. That mr Br himself is not of this mind, I seem to have som cause to psume; That many, who would seem of his way do beleive, he is, I [illegible] this opinio caught in, or is kept up; I meddle not. Tis enough, if the error itself may be remedied. That mr Br familiarly in serious [illegible] ty retained. I dare to tel yu what we have somtimes heard. That mr Br [illegible] he coms betimes to get a place [illegible] tends upon the publick services fro the beginning to ye end, Rarely [illegible] som others to som [illegible] As if mr Br came to como prayr wth no other devotio than som of [illegible] as impertinent an incredibility as Auditors, Spectators & Spectandos, wherein they make the Communio of Sts [illegible] Catechism the [illegible] Article, or Paganize Conf. or wo. And to this so taught it would ce, without or behind the Backdoor, wher [illegible] though in terms, & form, & substance acknowledged) was, (yet) got [illegible] & would neither by words or gesture [illegible], & joyned yr togethr do manage to [illegible] of credit in the family, a King yt [illegible] words or gestures [illegible] being cancelled, Communio gesture seem to prejudice it (whether or no, they did in heart beleive it) [illegible]. Thus Communion in Sacraments [illegible] I look upon as no Communio; & those they are both [illegible] institute, both humane. Thus Communion [illegible] in prayr [illegible], what Communion remains? for the bare Corporal [illegible] of Christn Communio at all [illegible] softly Stearing [illegible] thing so much now minded) in itself no Diagnostic [illegible] papists & Pagans too may as visibly communicate in [illegible] They want not [illegible] But such as profess, [illegible] be, men otherwise. Mention the contenders of mr Brs writings towards accomodatio [illegible] judgemt. But I could heartily wish loopholes, [illegible] to creep out at. Nothing at al in this to charge on [illegible] his judgemt in the things wherein he agrees wth the lawful usages of ye ch. over more [illegible]. Concerning this of yor assent [illegible] writings, are not [illegible] or thought [illegible], or by silence relics with strange opinions [illegible] most apparent to one in yor writings [illegible] to the Chs doctrine & much of its practise, what assuredly seems most apparent [illegible] declared might balance much [illegible] believed by others, wch who notwthstanding, yor judgement freely & plainly [illegible] to a Qun. or two, beside the [illegible]. And now I am writing, Give me leave to desire yor Resolutio & judgemt [illegible] may lawfully (I mean in [illegible]) my pnt discourse. As 1t whether, or How far such one not solemnly set apart &c whether one [illegible]

1 [illegible] &c. they preach or perform other ministerial offices? 2ly (If those that are &c [illegible] call assemblies & preach, teach &c [illegible]

2 [illegible] &c. they preach or perform other ministerial offices wthin the charge of an other, or otherwise cal assemblies & preach [illegible] may lawfully exercise wthin the charge of an other [illegible]. The Grounds of this later Qun is 2. Cor. 10, 13, 14, 15, 16. & 1. Pet. 4. 15. [illegible] the leave of him whose the charge is: The Presbyterian practise formerly in vigorously opposing it, & against [illegible] when ther wer no such [illegible]; The Presbyterian practise [illegible] ministerial offices wher they [illegible] wer placed. If it be lawful, why did they oppose prosecuting such as did so perform ministerial offices [illegible] I must therfore [illegible] in my plumes. 5ly I need not contend [illegible]. But my Intentio was reconciliatio, not contention. [illegible] to warm yor affections, or [illegible] the excellency of Christn peace & unio; nor do I beleive I need, (if I know how) to warm yor affections. I take notice [illegible] to put an edge to ye keenness of yor appetite yt way. Let me [illegible] yor [illegible] grand discouragemt, to be lookt on as [illegible] to be suspected by both & loved by neither, to be lookt on as [illegible] gently befall reconcilers; viz, when parties are, to be suspected by both & loved by neither, if not more politicians & [illegible] of a detestable neutrality, & Lukewarm [illegible] & temporising Christns, if not more [illegible]. Rom. 14. 19. [illegible] I think, we should orderly al those, & wth the Apostle mind those things yt make for peace. Rom. 14. 19. [illegible] than the mutual reliance of principal persons of each [illegible] effecting wch I know not what may conduce more; than the mutual [illegible], som for Paul, som for Apollos, som for Cephas, no doubt, but [illegible] since the dominions [illegible] som are for Paul, som for Apollos, let only one of yr then strive to invite & win [illegible] may be don by each of these wch those yt are for them [illegible] when either part thinks, they have a little the advantage, then for [illegible] to accord. But here is the misery, when either part thinks, they have a little the advantage. The names of Truth & zeal, & [illegible] [illegible] there no yeelding. peace may stand in a Corner. His prudence, his courage, & his zeal might [illegible] [illegible] than on they know not whither. His prudence, his courage, & his zeal might [illegible] A prudent way enough might [illegible] [illegible], I would needs have the cases disputed out; A prudent way enough might [illegible], & the Event proves it so. yor Intendmt [illegible] [illegible] of things would not mend the distraction, & the Event proves it so [illegible] while the iron is hot [illegible] [illegible] I beleive, of many minds, If yor should please to strike, while the iron is hot, yor know not how much good [illegible] judgemt to means of accomodatio & peace, yor know not how much [illegible] [illegible] yor own & the [illegible] judgemt to means of accomodatio & peace. That age appears [illegible] mens minds are after a sort in æquilibrio, & when the preponderance that age appears, [illegible] yor expect a minde. Tis wel if yor are [illegible] mens minds are after a sort in æquilibrio [illegible] might be successfully employd. yor expect a minde. Tis wel if yor are [illegible] possibly [illegible], that now might be successfully employd. I [illegible] yor accept in good [illegible] [illegible] as an unexpected as wel as an unintended messr. I [illegible] yor accept in good part [illegible] otherwise than well meant By Revd Sr

yor humble servt

Tho. Beavans

[illegible] Aug. 3. 1669.

26

(No 93)

These

To the Revd & much hond
Mr Richard Baxter
Leave this wth Mr Nevill &c
Simonds at the Three Crowns
over agst Holborn Conduit
to be. &c as abovesd
London

post pd. post pd 3d

4

Bramton March. 14.

Most Honour'd Madam

Your letter hath given me such full and particular satisfaction in every thing, beyond all I could have wished, that it hath left me nothing to reply, but that I very thankfully and without any scruple shall accept of so good an offer, assoon as I may, and in ye meane time I content my selfe with the pleasure which ye sence of your great favour affords me. And because this family has been respectfull and civill enough to me, I would gladly leave them as decently as may be. Sr John was (as it since appeares) something displeased, when I acquainted him with my design: however he uses mild terms to my face, whatsoever he does elsewhere. he is very sparing of expressing his thoughts to me, reserving what he has to say for mr Baxter when he comes up, which will be within a few dayes. I have been here this Midsumer following three yeares, I can safely say that I have spar'd no paines to render my selfe acceptable to him & beneficiall to his child, severall have blam'd me for exceeding. When I first came they told me indeed that he had been at schoole, but he had gott nothing, not so much as the beginning of his Accedence. Since I have taught him to write, and to ~~[illegible]~~ read a Latin author competently for one of but 12 yeares of age, and I have ~~here~~ sent a translation of his to mr Baxter, which was never corrected by me. This I have done notwithstanding that for the whole first sumer he scarcely read six lines by reason of his sore eyes; notwithstanding also his more than ordinary unwillingnesse to be at any labour, besides his being altogether from under my power & favour'd by them, yea often encourag'd against me, and ~~te~~ instructed to looke upon me as his servant. I say nothing of other things, neither should I say any of this, but to give you a right measure of my present condition & employment, the rather because I know Sr John thinks he has laid a strong obligation upon me to serve hi a 7 yeares apprentiship,

and that mr Baxter is considerably obliged to him for receiving me. What he intends to say to him I know not, but my acquaintance with him makes me suspect it will be to this purpose. Mr Baxter, I tooke your relation into my family upon your recommendation not questioning but that he design'd to go through with my child: and I having but this one, cannot but be the more carefull of him and feareful least he be lost by falling into severall hands, but for all this I should not offer a word to detaine him, but that he hath made himselfe necessary to ~~my~~ child by going a way of his own, which other men are not acquainted with. This I suppose he will urge, not that he has ever considerably examined his son, nor (in truth) is a competent judge of my labour. It is not for me to direct mr Baxter how to give him an answer. But were I present this would be my answer in briefe, That could I at all (which no man can) ~~fore~~ have foreseen my future circumstances, I would never have undertaken such a work, but that yet I hop'd that neither his son nor I had cause to repent of what hath past. And that although I had not precisely taught him mr Lilies rules, yet I had deliver'd to him the Essentialls of Gramar, and that the maine reasons of my so doing were two. first to encourage the child, finding him extreme backward to any thing of great labour, & secondly to make quick riddance, as knowing very well that a yeare or two or three would hardly be seen in teaching a young child the comon Accedence & Grammar. Now all the inconvenience that I can be supposed to have done him by such a course, is that I have taught him the Latin tongue before the particular rules of Grammar, but this may be easily remedyed if either at a publick schoole or at home he learn these at leisure with other things. he is young enough & it will prove no considerable backening of him; but yet much ~~easyer~~ easilyer, if he intends to continue him at home. for I can in a day or two put any other man of competent [illegible] into the same way ~~one~~ & I am

much ho

willing to leave him all my notes. I advise only this one thing
that mr Baxter mention no other person to him, unlesse
he first Enquire, for I know him to be naturally suspi-
tious and apt to misconstrue. And now I think it
time for me to crave your pardon for having troubled
you thus long with such impertinencyes as these.
. I shall adde but my service to mrs Vermuyden, & my
duty to your selfe & mr Baxter, and my hearty pray-
ers to God to preserve you and to reward ~~you for~~
your charity to me

Your most obliged servant

J.V.B.

This

(No 93)

(No 94)

For
The Honoured Mrs Baxter at
her house in Vernon row in
Bloomsbury Square

London

2

Mr Richard Baxter
Leave this wth Mr Nevill
Simonds at the Three Crowns
over agst Holborn Conduit
to be st as abovesd
London

post pd. post pd 3d

travells. Truly Sir I must acknowledge your Letters were full of
[illegible] towards [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] my selfe to be so much y[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ungratefull [illegible]

Reuerend Brother

I haue receiued yours of the 9th of this instant & I doe by these presents returne you as many thankes for your paines & patience in perusing my papers & for your brotherly aduice, as there are lines in your large letter, it being my resolution to take it into my serious consideration ~~consideration~~ & as I doe looke upon it wholly as the fruit of your loue & ability to [illegible] 5 so I doe hope, that ~~the~~ onely wise God wil direct mee to comply therewith to the utmost of reason: & ~~[illegible]~~ you may the rather rest your selfe satisfied, because euen before the sealing of my letter my heart did misgiue mee, that there were some passages in my papers, such as sauouring of too too much heate & height & ostentation, were iustly upon that account reprouable; & the reason why some of them were not expunged or mollifyed by my selfe before my papers came to your hands, is because so soone as I had finished them, a most unexpected opportunity of conueyance by a safe hand to my brother in London offering it selfe, I did forthwith send them, ~~[illegible]~~ before I had read them ouer deliberately againe, as otherwise & as was most fit, I would haue done: for had it not bin for the sayd unexpected opportunity, I had delayed the sending them to you til the weeke following. And this misgiuing of my owne heart caused mee after the subscription of my letter to request your obseruing & notifying any such passages unto mee.

I knowing your manifold occasions & great imployments I am almost afraid of troubling you with so large a letter as perhaps this may proue; but well hoping, that none ~~lines in this letter~~ of these lines wil bee in any sort displeasing, or distastful unto you I wil presume to add as followeth,

That which Amesius sayth, That the adequate obiect of iustifying faith is ens incomplexum, Xts person, exclusiuely to ens ~~in~~complexum, which is his promise; & it hath bin usual with some Ministers accordingly to say ~~[illegible]~~ perhaps from Amesius, That it is not the promise of Xt, which doth iustify a sinner, & which a sinner must eye as the obiect of iustifying faith, but Xt onely, ~~[illegible]~~ or his person simply in the promise. And this is that, wherein I ~~[illegible]~~ doe recede from that most learned schoolman, in which recession I doe no whit question, but your iudgment wil abett mee, it being farre & farre from mee to deny Xts person to bee the incomplexe obiect of iustifying faith, & I wil doe all my care to auoyd all appearance ~~[illegible]~~ of such a denial.

Your booke styled the life of faith I haue read & whensoeuer there hath bin any occasion of mentioning it in the company of any of my brethren, I haue not forborne to call that chapter concerning iustification A golden chapter. But hauing borrowed the booke of the lady Rye & returned it long since unto her, ~~[illegible]~~ I haue it not at this instant in hand, but I wil very shortly procure it; & as it becomes mee to bee iust to all men, yea to the worst aduersary, so to you aboue all men; for I know no man (I speake ex animo & without flattery) of whom I would rather choose to learne & to bee rectifyed in things of this nature, then your selfe; & because I durst not trust my owne iudgment in opposition to yours in that 19th question, ~~I did~~ for that onely cause was I desirous, that Mr Woodbridge might peruse my papers & giue mee his opinion lest I should either wrong you by mistaking your meaning, or the truth it selfe.

Although I did ~~[illegible]~~ use the word folly, not of choice, but I say in my papers, onely in compliance with the language of the Apostle 2 Cor. 11: 1, 17, neuerthelesse I shal altogether forbeare it & instead thereof use the word Mistake; & much the rather because it becomes mee to consider not onely what language such an Authour as Mr Shepheard deserues to heare, but what such a person as my selfe ought to speake: & what blame Mr Shepheard deserues for such an error I leaue you to iudge.

As to Dr Eyre I doe intend wholly to omit what I haue in that leafe sayd of him. Immediatly upon the coming forth of his booke it was sent & lent unto mee by a learned Nonconforming Minister (one Mr Blake chaplaine to Sr Rob: Rye, whether you euer heard of him, I know not) who had the same apprehensions of it as my selfe, & obseruing it ~~[illegible]~~ to haue bin printed by Mr Symmons I did thereupon write a large letter to you (therein also inclosing the Index of my sermons concerning the Lords day, desiring your perusal thereof) but you being at that time not in, perhaps remote from the city, after my letter had layne there for some months, it was returned unto mee: & hauing read the Doctors booke the last weeke againe, I fancyed to my selfe, that my old neighbour Dr Crispe was ~~[illegible]~~ reuiued in Dr Eyre ~~[illegible]~~ ~~his booke~~ I doe conclude, that it were better (there being so much to bee excepted against in it) to ~~[illegible]~~ passe it by, then not to peruse it throughout ~~[illegible]~~ with a due refutation thereof so ~~[illegible]~~ many Scriptures being misrendred & ~~[illegible]~~ alledged either to no purpose, or ill purpose. I forgot in my last letter ~~[illegible]~~ to request you, that you would more especially take notice of the interpretation giuen in my papers of Heb. 3; 7, 8, 9, the true sense whereof is I thinke altogether ~~[illegible]~~ peruerted by the Dr in his booke. I hope, that you accord with the sense ~~was~~ expressed by mee, & if otherwise, that ~~[illegible]~~ you would haue signifyed your dissent according to that other branch of my generall request of giuing mee notice of any Scripture in my papers misinterpreted; & the rather because I doe looke upon the misinterpretation of Gods word as a greiuous ~~[illegible]~~ under what holy pretences soeuer it bee done.

Towards the close of your louing letter you tell mee, that if I had told you of particular errours in my writings ag: conformity by letters to your selfe a[illegible] spoken behind your backe to others, where it could not profit you, you [illegible] taken it wel & as much more agreeable to the kindnes of so great [illegible]

Hereupon you have given mee iust occasion to reflect upon whatever I doe eith
know, or have heard to have bin written by you against conformity (whether the ol
or new conformity) & upon what I ~~have said~~ am reported to have sayd of some pti
cular Errours therein: & concerning both these I doe returne you this answere
That I cannot cal to mind any thing you wrote of ~~the old~~ matters concerning the
old conformity except in your Disputations of Church-government, against al
errours wherein (real, or pretended) I never opened my mouth ~~wth~~ (to my best re
membrance) unto any one in the world. Onely I call to mind further One pticu
lar passage in your (Now, or Never) ~~where~~ (p: 91) where you declare against
subscription to the truth of all, that is contained in the Homilies of our Churc
~~in wch I~~ in the reading of wch passage I observed your mistake; such a sub
scription being no pt of conformity, or required of any Minister, as appeares
by the 35th Article of our Church. But as for this mistake of yours, I cann
remember any pson whatsoever, to whome I did ever speake of it.
And as for the new conformity (since the Bartholomew Act) I doe not kn
nor can I at present remember, that I ever heard, that you have written agains
it, & therfore I was not in a capacity of speaking against the errours of suc
writings. ~~yea~~ And to speake the truth further, I did never in my life (to the
of my remembrance) speake ill, or any word of diminution either concerni
you or any Minister for your, or their ~~own~~ suffering your, or theirselves to bee si
lenced for non-conformity. But musing in my selfe I think I have found
out the occasion of your words, wch I confesse to bee the truth, viz: Tha
there is one passage in your late booke against Dr Fulwood (I think
p: 19; for the booke being lent to mee, I have it not at hand) wherein you doe
(to my seeming) assert the ejected Ministers ~~are~~ to bee still the right, or tru
Ministers of those places, out of wch by the present law of our kingdom
they are ejected. ~~I say~~ this passage at the reading thereof I doe confe
my selfe to have bin much surprized & withall dissatisfyed in, & ~~that~~ according
I did declare my dissatisfaction to two ~~Non-conf~~ of my Non-conformi
Brethren, the one whereof (the sayd Mr Blake) is since then dead, th
other, I hope, is still living. Now this Errour of yours (supposing it such
doth not touch conformity (as I humbly conceive) because for ought
I know, few Non-conformists either did, or will abette you therein. Sure I am, tha
brother (now living as I hope) did declare himselfe to mee to bee of a co
trary judgment unto you in that pticular. I shal not think my selfe suffi
ently called, or warranted to name this brother (your very friend & mine) u
lesse it shal seeme good to you to name him, or them, that hath reporte
ought as sayd by mee against any the sayd Errours as written by you. I can for you
satisfaction at present say no more then this, That if any thing more then thi
hath bin reported to you concerning mee, & if you shal make it knowen to m
I wil make you a true answere to it, & if I shal find, that I have trespassed
against you, I ~~wil~~ hope to shew my selfe as ready to take blame to my selfe
any one to charge mee therewith.

For feare of being too too tedious to you in my last letter I did omit to ~~acquaint~~ informe you
~~you with~~ one thing, wch in this (notwithstanding it is come to this length al
ready) I shal presume to acquaint you with, viz: That I did purposely decline in my f
ys one Question, wch I doe iudge to bee as useful to bee proposed & answered as almost
other, viz: what is to bee answered, if a Sr of God bee charged, that hee hath lost his title
his pdon, or justification? This ~~question much cleary~~ Question, I think may ~~bee~~ very truly
& profitably bee answered both negatively & affirmatively, 1 Negatively. E.g. 1 A Sr is no
plead to the sayd charge, that there is no danger of losing his sayd title. 2 Much l
is hee to plead, that there is no ~~specially~~ possibility of losing it specially upon thi
account, or pretence, that no such losse is so much as threatned to the Sts upon an
termes, or in any case in Gods word. And having mentioned this last I wil tel you
story & thereupon addresse a request unto you. My sayd much esteemed friend Mr
Blake upon the coming forth of Mr Howes booke of Blessednes sent it unto mee wth
desire, that if after the reading thereof I were in ought dissatisfyed, I would sig
nify it unto him together with the reasons of my dissent, wch although a most ungrat
office I did not refuse, expressing to him my dissent from his asserting, That
after a sinner is become a beleever, God doth not threaten him for the commissi
of any sin wth eternal, but onely wth temporal punishment; but withal wishing
consider wisely, whether I was not mistaken in Mr How by conceiving this to bee hi
doctrine, wch is not his; whereupon hee did in his next letter give mee pticular
thanks for this notice, telling mee, that having read the booke cursorily hee ha
overlooked that errour & that I was not mistaken in Mr Howes meaning. Here
I request you, that you would review Mr Howes booke (I think you wil find
thing betwixt p: 16 & 22 at the farthest) & if you find, that Mr Blake & my selfe
misconstrue, or mistake the meaning of that learned Authour, whose booke is
[illegible] by you, you would certify mee thereof, that having gotten the booke into
[illegible] I may better bee informed of the truth of the thing upon the revi
of his booke.

For my owne part I can truly say, That I would rather it should appeare, that myselfe am mistaken
Honest meaning, then that such a foule & dangerous peece of doctrine should have bin published by him
or our booke by you mr How being in my esteeme a very learned & pious Minister.
2 I would (according to my slender ability) have answered the Question affirmatively, yet so as
not determining ~~thus~~ in the controversy betwixt the Remonstrants & Contra-remonstrants
one way, or another, but as assuming the doctrine of the Contra-Remonstrants to bee the truth,
I would accordingly have shaped my answere. But well knowing the fervency of many
of our Brethren in this matter & how angry many of them are with you for not making
the perseverance of the Sts ~~[illegible]~~ a most indubitable article of your Xtian faith,
I concluded not to propose ~~my~~ that Question for feare of provoking so many of our
Brethren at once, as that it would have hazarded ~~ye~~ all the intended & desired suc-
cesse of my labour in answering all the other Questions; & I was the rather
doubtfull, that many of our sayd zealous Brethren would have bin much imbittered
because of another story, that I had newly heard from the mouth of my deceased
friend & brother, wch I doe therfore presume to acquaint you with, because it was the
maine occasion, wch did induce mee to write the paper, wch I sent to you. Hee told
mee, that Dr Manton having lately preached in a solemne Assembly in London upon
those words either in 1 Joh: 3, 7, or 1, 2, 1st (if I doe not misremember) & having given
his sermon held forth ~~that doctrine about~~ the interest of workes in order to the jus-
tification of a sinner, hee had many eminent adversaryes, ~~and~~ by whom hee
was hotly handled ~~[illegible]~~ (in special by Dr Jacomb, Dr Wilkinson, & Dr Owen)
Whether this story bee true, whether in the whole, or any part of it, I know not but
giving credit to it from the mouth of Mr Blake, I did entertaine a resolution to
make trial, whether I might not bee able to say somewhat in these matters,
wch might bee of good use for the vindication of Dr Mantons doctrine as the doc-
trine of the gospel of Xt; & accordingly I set downe my thoughts in 3 ~~or~~ or 4
sheetes of pap & sent them to Mr Blake, who ~~put them~~ a few dayes before his
death delivered them to Mr Woodbridge, upon whose advice I did in order
to the presse enlarge them as you have seene: but what telling Mr Wood-
bridge as I had told Mr Blake (hee praying mee to ~~[illegible]~~ fit my sermons upon
Levi 26, 23, 24 for the presse) that hee may rest assured, That it is a thing next
to an impossibility for mee to procure the printing of any thing concerning any
subiect whatsoever: for I could say ~~by~~ upon experience, that upon the tendring of them
to any Stationer hee would answere mee, That I am an obscure country-Mi-
nister & my name would not in the least advantage the sale of a booke, & ther-
fore unlesse I would take ~~of~~ from him a great number at his selling price &
vend them myselfe, hee will not meddle with the printing thereof. But not-
standing this presumption touching the stationers refusal I doe not re-
pent, nor shal I repent of any labour that I have already bestowed,
or p'haps may further bestow whether upon this, or any other subiect.
I wil onely adde one thing more & then I wil give a release to your pati-
ence. If ever any Stationer should bee so hardy as to run the adventure of printing any thing
under my name, it is not my desire it should bee undertaken by him til my paps have ~~[illegible]~~ bin
~~approved it~~ in the hands of some pious & iudicious both Conformists & Non-conformists (if
~~[illegible]~~ I could procure it) bee approved by them, as those my sermons on Levi 26
& also my sermons on Rev: 1, 10
have bin; & this was the reason of that parenthesis in my pap (both Conformists & Non-
conformists) my ~~intent thereby being~~ onely intent being thereby to procure the more
regard to the doctrine held forth by mee, it being the same, wch learned men, howe-
ver of different perswasions in circumstantial matters, doe accord in. I shal cease
your farther trouble for this time, beseeching the Lord to direct & prosp us all in
all labours, ever remaining

Your truly thankful as obliged
friend & brother
Thom: Hotchkis

Stanton
Sept: 17
1673

The mention of my livelihood as
a competency was not in my paps
(as your letter sayth) but in my letter
to you, wch because it was in expresse
to have bin mentioned, I doe therfore
wish, that I had omitted the intimation
thereof.

These for his Reverend
brother Mr Richard
Baxter

Viro Celeberrimo, et Pastori Integerrimo Richardo
Baxtero Raimundus Gaches Ecclesiae Ref. parisiensis
pastor S. P. D.

Accedo ad te, vir clarissime, et frater in Christo observandissime,
neq. de facie, neq. de famâ notus, accedo tamen confidenter, quia
te optimum nosse, et de tuâ pietate mihi planè persuasum est. Legi
nempe et relegi, miratus sum docta illa volumina, pauca, fateor, si molem
spectes, sed deus bone, quam pretiosa, quam verâ Christianismi succo
plenius imbuta quibus Britanniam tuam beasti, et quibus non omnino
Gallia nostra caret. Quis autem vel ex unius paginae brevi lectione non
protinus intelligat te spiritus Dei sanctiss. afflatum, in difficilibus hisce temporibus
[illegible] [illegible], qui grassantem impietatem forti pietate, armis [illegible]
aggrediaris, et compescas. Nihil unquam, sancte professor, nihil vel a
veteribus ecclesiae patribus, ut vulgo vocant, vel ab ultimi seculi doctoribus
profectum vidi et elucubratum, quod pari successu pietatem Autoris spirans
singulis pietatem lectoris accendat: quae de vitâ aeternâ, de peccatorum
conversione, de justificatione (in quâ si nonnihil a viâ tritâ deflectas, fas
tamen quantum assequi potui, non sine ratione, non sine scripturâ) de
paedobaptismo, de conscientiae tranquillitate &c. in lucem emisisti testantur
luculentissime, quanta tua sit eruditio, et quis tuus pietatis affectus. In
talis et tanti viri sinum, quis animi mei sollicitas et anxias cogitationes
velit effundere? et quo metus agitat super luctuosum Reip. vestrae et
[illegible] statum declarare? Certè non ego sum ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, et
[illegible] in rerum vestrarum conditionem. Adeo non [illegible] intentus, ut
[illegible] [illegible] vel de illis curiosius ~~disputare~~. Dicam amplius, de Britannia
non potui non bene sperare, in eâ enim ex sua et permanente sententia, plures
sibi Deum in Angliâ servasse electos, plures pietati deditos, quam in ullo
totius Christianitatis Regno vel olim florentium vel nunc comparari possint. Quaerant in
[illegible] salutem vestrâ dispersione et fratres timidi, et hostes humani? Providebit Deus, nos
[illegible] sua quis dabit e Sion salutare Israel? Audiam ego quid
[illegible] illis [illegible] mille justis, vel integra piorum Myriade. Audiam ego quid
loquatur Dominus Deus quoniam loquetur pacem in plebem suam. Verum

x

quandoquidem Summus ille Mundi Arbiter qui nullo mediorum interventu
potest et tenebras dispellere, et lucem revocare, non vult tamen ut plurimum
immediate virtutem suam exercere, debemus, vir venerande, studia nostra
consilia, officia omnia conferre ad salutem Britanniae & firmiter stabiliendam
Nutabit opinio, in perpetuum illius status donec ad unius imperium ea
tota redeat. ut varii gentium mores, varia ingenia, ita variae apud illas
administrandae Reip. rationes, non eadem omnibus est mens. ille populus
Democratiam eligit non affectus, non assuetus dudum Monarchiae; iste
Monarchiam praefert, Nobilitatis splendori aptus, e plebis infamiae
exosus. Anglia vestra ab immemorialibus pene saeculis reges coluit, nec ullam
novit in toto orbe antiquiorem Monarchiam. idem sol lucet hodie Britannis
eosdem influxus illis affert hodie quos olim Asiis Imperiis Assyriorum
aspirabat, soli qualitas. quis sperat igitur vel Democratiam vel Aristocratiam
facile obtinere posse, in ea regione in qua unius imperium tam altas radices
egit. Mutabit tamen Anglia, inquiunt aliqui, et Mutavit consensu
ut videbatur unanimi regiminis formam, quis neget hanc commutationem
posse, quod jam factum est commode. duplex mihi suppetit responsio.
primo quaeram vicissim utrum Britanniae felicitatem prosperam auxerit
illa mutatio, profecto si tributa, et vectigalia computentur, ea non
duplicata solum, sed in immensum fere aucta, si Religionis status,
expendatur quae haeresium colluvies. quos Sectarios, quas haereses sub Rege noverant?
Secundo, felix fuerit Britannia, at vere sub unius imperio; quid
nomen moror? fuerit ille unus, non Rex, assentior, unus tamen
nec artis dominandi ignarus, et qui in solvendis Reip. vestrae publicis
conatibus non minorem se Rege praestitit. Nec ab illius obitu, aut
saltem post filium ejus ejectum [illegible] quievit Anglia: continuae vicissitu-
dines, quem heri venerabamur, execramur hodie, et uni modo fidelitatis
jusjurandum dedimus, cum mox [illegible] renuntiamus; Sicine semper ~~fluctu~~
fluctuabit nobilissima illa Insularum regina? neque ulla advolabit Alcyon
quae mare vestrum tranquillet? Equidem vereor ut pacem unquam exoptatam
habeatis, vel contra domesticos tumultus, vel contra hostium externorum
molimina, donec solium avitum recipiat tandem ille tot Regum nepos
qui vere haereditario jure Regiae Britanniae titulum [illegible] obtinuit

utut rem titulô designatam nondum possideat. Novi quæ fuerit illi conflata Invidia; de illius nimirum in verâ Religione constantiâ dubitarunt nonnulli, sive ex animô, sive simulatè. Permagni autem Interest Ecclesiarum qui Religionis præesse debet, pietati etiam religiose intendere. Non dicam, quod dici sanè possit, nostrum non esse in religionem Principis inquirere. qualiscunque ille fuerit, si potestatem alioqui legitimam obtineat, si jus regnandi ad illum pertineat, cætera committenda sunt divinæ providentiæ, Regi verò in rebus Civilibus præstandum obsequium. Pontifici Romano liberum, Reges è soliô deturbare, nisi ad illius nutum suam Religionem componant, Nobis non licet, non libet esse tam superbis; quæ Dei sunt Deo, quæ Cæsaris sunt, Cæsari reddimus. Sed jam hoc totum omitto, etenim quod rei caput est, princeps ille in verâ Religione natus, ritè Institutus, ab ejus publicâ professione numquam destitit, ne in iis quidem locis, in quibus inde aliquid detrimenti capturus videbatur, ut Cœtibus nostris sacris Rotomagi, et Rupellæ dignatus est Interesse; Cæterum pietatis opinionem habet apud suos. Numquam, fateor, Ecclesiam nostram præsentiâ suâ decoravit, dum Lutetiæ sedem suam collocaverat, quod profectò nos malè habuit. Verùm quia Presbyterianorum, quos vocant, Causa, ad nos videbatur pertinere, qui Presbyteriani sumus, et quia defuncti regis mors Presbyterianis ascribebatur, alienum à nobis animum non potuit non habere, usque dum rerum eventus certiorem illum fecerint, non a fratribus nostris, sed ab Anabaptistis ut plurimùm, aut saltem ab Independentibus illius Inaugurationi præcipua inferri Impedimenta quos etiam Calamitosum parentis fatum promovisse antea, planè perspectum habuit. Utinam facti istius Invidia, quâ tandiu Ecclesiæ nostræ conflagrarunt tandem aliquandò, et a nobis et a fratribus Britanniæ prorsus amoveatur. quod nescio an umquam futurum sit, nisi rebus Compositis filius sceptrum parentis gerat, a Presbyterianorum manibus non violenter extortum, sed amicè ac liberaliter oblatum. Age igitur, vir Dei, belli imminentis Calamitates præverte, Consilia pacis tuque fratresque tui simul inite, et date Britannis. Aspirabit divina providentia Conatibus vestris benedicet, vobisque utetur veluti sanctis Instrumentis ad felicitatem patriæ vestræ restituendam. Verùm hæc satis superque; Miraris enim quod te adeò familiariter compellam, quæ tamen me causa

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impulerit, dixi initio. nempe tuâ pietate, tuâ charitate fretus, quae omnia meliorem in partem interpretabitur. porrò Benedicat Deus studiis tuis, laboribus tuis, Ecclesiae tuae, Et toti vestrae imo et nostrae Britanniae, quae flos est et gloria Regnorum in quibus Deus purè colitur. Lutetiae Paris. Non. April. an. cIↄIↄcxl.

(N° 96)

Most Worthy & Honoured Sr

7

Having perused your little Tract upon the Question, How farr Holinesse is the Designe of Christianity, I could not satisfy my selfe to forbear presenting you with a few lines, in the first place to give you to understand my Concurrence with you in your Decision of it: and that I look upon it as so accurate & judicious that I shall think my late Endeavour to be to very good purpose, though it should signify nothing more than being an occasion of your Employing your happy pen upon that Argument. And in the next place, to informe you that I conceive I have written nothing that can induce a Candid and ingenuous mind to judg my sense concerning this matter to be in the least different from that you have expressed. For, whereas the unknown impertinent person (not to give him a worse Epithet) doth accuse me of Crying up Holinesse as the Onely design of Christianity, I cannot find that I have above once Called it so. (And indeed till I had examined my Book I thought I had not once) The place where that saying is, is Page 98, but that I used [Onely] there as an hyperbolicall expression (as, I humbly thank you, you have told the Caviller he ought to interpret it) appears, in that I have joyned [main] with it; and it is manifest by the Series of the Whole Discourse that I could not otherwise intend it. I think it sufficiently Evident to all but the Captious, and men blinded with prejudice that the most I have undertaken to demonstrate is, that Holinesse is the Ultimate Designe of Christianity. The Title of my Book saith that it is the Ultimate (not Onely) End of our Saviours Coming into the World, and the Great Intendment of his Blessed Gospel; and I never thought of taking upon me the proving of more than the Title promiseth. And in affirming it to be the Ultimate End of Christs Coming &c. there is no fair Reader but will easily Enough perceive that I understand [Ultimate] with reference to Mankind (though it is true too that Gods Glorifying himselfe doth very much if not mostly Consist in Communicating his all Internall Glory, or imparting to his Creatures the impressions of his Divine perfections) and that I mean that Christs pardoning, justifying &c. are so the Ends of his Coming as to be a means to the Effecting of the great End of Making us partakers of his Holinesse. And so much is asserted by your selfe in your 51 proposition, where you say, that we are pardoned, ~~justified~~ what is past that Love may make us sin so no more, and that justification is an antecedent means to our fuller Holinesse and Obedience to God. I confesse that I do in the Preface say also that they [are] the Whole Businesse of the Christian Institution, but those words will well bear this sense viz. that all that for the sake of which the Doctrines of the Gospell are delivered to us is easily resolved into that Businesse; and that ~~is all~~ I mean by them. And in the 3d and 4th chapters I call Holinesse the onely design particularly of the precepts, promises & Threatenings of the Gospell, but I could not imagine that any would be so unreasonably severe, as to interpret those [Onelys] to be intended by me as absolutely exclusive of other Ends, or so Criticall as to make any more of those

those Sayings than this viz. that the onely use we are to make of the precepts &c is to understand and be Effectually excited to do our duty to God, our Neighbour, our selves. In my descriptions of Holiness I considered it in the same Latitude of signification with Universall Righteousness Goodness or Rectitude of Nature (in the Title Page I joyn inward Reall Righteousness & true Holiness together, and throughout the Treatise do use those Phrases promiscuously) whereas you have consider'd it according to the strict notion of that word, as it peculiarly denotes separation from Common uses and dedication to God. But I hope that all Readers of Competent Understanding and unprejudiced will without difficulty discern that the substance of what you have delivered concerning the nature of Holiness is implyed in what I have said, and may be clearly inferred from it. And I shall be heartily sorry, if it should be thought, that I differ any otherwise from you in my account thereof (it being so infinitely important a point) than that yours is very distinct and particular, and mine more generall.

Sr had I that experience of the captious censorious & very naughty temper of more than one sort of people, that take themselves for the best Christians, that your self have had, tis like I should be more cautious how I word my sense than I have been; but yet I am very sensible that the exactest care imaginable is not sufficient to defend our expressions from the sinister and ill natured interpretations of some persons, when they have once conceived an ill opinion of us. And tis enough to forfeit all interest in their good thoughts, to dare to tell them we so much as scruple receiving their whole Long Volume of Articles into our Creed; but whosoever shall have brow enough to declare (though never so modestly) a flat dissent from any of those doctrines their infallibilityships have made the matter of their irreversible definitions, (and especially if he be so presumptuous as faithfully to expose to the world the falsity, folly and danger of them) he must prepare himself to receive their harshest censures and most severe sentences. the Good Lord make us all sensible of our weaknesses and various miscarriages and open those peoples eyes to see [redacted] how much of rank Anti Christianism and real wickedness they [redacted] cover with high pretences to Christianity, and a form of Godliness; and if it be his blessed will graunt, that at length this our Church and state may be established on the sure foundations of peace, truth & righteousness, which by the means of horrid prophaneness and daring scepticism on the one hand, and superstitious blind and bitter zeal on the other, we can not but apprehend to be in a most dangerous and next to desperate Condition [redacted] But I suffer my pen to be too extravagant, and check my self for detaining you with so long a Scribble, who so well understand the worth of time, and make such so profitable an improvement of it. I shall therefore only adde, that God would bless your worthy & indefatigable labours, and make them more and more successfull to the rightly instructing professors of Xtianity in the Doctrines of their admirable [redacted] but wofully misunderstood Religion, to the killing of their animosities, and reconciling of their wide differences, and reforming and purifying their hearts and lives (to all which noble Ends they are so Excellently adapted, and for the sake of which the Children of Wisdom do love & honour you) is the earnest desire and prayer of

Northill
Sept. 29
1671

Sr

Your very Affectionate Servant

Fowler

N 97

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To the Reverend Mr Ri-
chard Baxter, these
dd

Leave this with Mr Nevil
Simons Book Seller,
at the 3 Crowns at Hol-
born Conduit

London

To Mr ffowler (the author of [illegible] the designe of Christianity]

Reverend & worthy Sr

Upon ye perusall of yours I find nothing but matter of congratulation for your concord
nothing wch importeth any difference: And your own word [only] wch was all ye
8 was quarrelled at (besides praeteritions) I doubted not but I expounded rightly. My
case hath long been indeed as you describe it, I write as if many wranglers stood
at my elbow, thinking what every one will say against me: and yet all will not
serve to make me sufficiently accurate to escape their obloquy. (yet were I to
be a preacher again, I should say they have done me a great deale of harme:
For too much exactnesse greatly hindereth ye working of our perswasives on ye
vulgar, who lose all if some laxenesse fit it not to their proper temperament.)
The too large Creed, ~~and the ignorance~~, and ye ignorance, with selfconceitednesse
& censoriousnesse of men yt are otherwise pious, deserve as hard names as
you bestow upon them. But I take ye boldnesse to advise you to beware of yt
temptation wherewth I have been sometimes assaulted; wch is, to be too sense-
ble of, and too impatient with this unhappy infirmity of others, when it is
found accompanyed with an upright heart. And because I have been longer
in this military estate than you have be[illegible] this communication of my experience
by way of caution, is the cause that I trouble you with this returne (besides
the due acknowledgments of ye candor & civilitie of your letters): Lest that
excellency of parts & honestie of designe which appeareth in your writings
should meet with any rub which might prove a reall as well as a reputa-
tive injury to them. We are men and have all our passions, & too much
sense of selfinterest to feed ym. And who can walke in crowded streetes
& not be jurred, & sometimes, thrust into the dirt, by ye passengers
never so honest & civill? It is Ignorance yt causeth this confidence
& Censoriousnesse even in abundance of (otherwise) honest soules.
And alas! how common is ignorance in all ye world! & of how diffi-
cult cure! How few are born wth a naturall capacity, of large & cleare
& distinct apprehensions! And of those few, how few do with long
unwearyed industry improve it? And of those few, how few have
the happynesse of sound judicious teachers, yt will not lead ym into
error & faction? And how few escape ye snares of commō opini-
on, & of ye voice of ye multitude, ye streame of ye learned tribe,
or ye dictates of ye powerfull & Great, to contradict any of wch (though
selfe contradictory) is taken for uncivil arrogance. Yea alas! how
few escape ye perverting byas of ambitiō, covetousness or sensuality!
wt wonder yn if discerning & truly judicious heads are few? And if men
must be ignorant, they will be erroneous and Censorious. And even
ye Godly upright soule, yt hath ye greatest love to truth & is
most serious in religion, & most abhorreth all yt he thinketh to
be contrary to ye will of God, will be most zealous in his errors, &
agt that good wch he thinketh to be evill, having not light e-
nough to see that wch should bring him to selfe suspicion, & abate
his zeale. It is commendable in ym that they desire all men
should befriend ye truth & none gainsay it as far as they under-
stand it; and yet they are offended at that wch they thinke God
is offended with. Dogs & swine contend not about God.

when all is done, it is ye serious Christian who is a Christian
indeed, & shall be saved notwithstanding his mistakes & infir
mities. How hard a worke is it above our strength to mak
men serious and regardfull of ye things of God and their salva
tion. If we were to deale with open Infidels (who differ but by
profession frō meere nominall Christians) how hard is it to bring
them heartily & resolvedly to give up themselves to God in ye bapti
mall Covenant? & when that is done how much is still undone wch
necessary to make ym wise & stable in all ye Controversies
wch trouble ye Church? But what! Must we therefore cast
ym off? Or thinke as favourably of ye Infidels (who meddle not wt
our Controversies) as of them? Are we at so much labor & care
to convert ym to a seriousnes in ye religiō wch they generally did prof
& shall we be so weake as to expect yt Conversiō should p'sently equall y
wth Divines? Or yt their new birth maketh ym not Infants, but such as f
ture & adult, yea ye athleticall believer? or shall we be angry wth ym, or t
ym out of doors & expose ym to contempt & wrath, because they are no
as wise & good as we? Were we new born our selves as wise & as good a
we now are? God giveth another dispositiō to parents & nurses for
p'servatiō of mankind. They do not angrily reproach their children, nor
cast ym off, nor wish ym unborne, because they cry & wrangle & fig
or because they are impotent, ignorant or uncleane? But nature
teacheth ym to beare many a yeare, wth all this, & wth ye daily labor im
posed on ymselves till all be cured. It is not ye part of an understan
ing or diligent Physitian, to wonder yt men are sicke, or to upbrai
them with it, instead of curing them. It hath often grieved
me to heare some proud & lazy pastors, talke so agst ye ignorance
error, factiousnes of their people, as if this excused their neglect, c
tempt & injurious abuse of them; And as if it were not their offi
to cure their peoples faults, but they must have a people yt were
faultlesse. But Satan will endeavor to carry ye temptatiō fur
ther yet; And wth carnall graceles pastors he doth usually prevail
even to draw ym by ye predominancy of selfishnes to like bett
those people that have no sense of religiō nor care of their sou
but an hypocriticall dead imagery, so they be but quiet & obedien
to them, & love & honor ym, yn those yt are most devoted to G
& most seriously religious, & conscionable in all things else; if the
be but guilty of undervaluing & censuring them. Wch shews t
yt they set up ymselves above God, & love those yt love & ho
nor ymselves, above those yt love & honor him. No dou
but ye sins of Godly men are as odious as other mens, so far as th
are sins indeed (though yet they never come to be so great, &
therefore not so odious as other mens; as never excluding their
ultimate end, ye Love of God as God, nor any essentiall part of
Godlynes or Christianity). But it is only ye world of perfectiō
where ye spirits of ye just are perfected & where we may say
& not lie that we have no sin. To see all Gods servants heere pe
fectly freed from ignorance, error, pride, contentiousnes is great
to be desired, but not to be hoped for. As Paul would not have us to
entertaine such principles as must drive us out of ye world, where
we know yt wickednes will still be found; so must we not entertaine

Such thoughts or passions, as would drive us out of ye Church, while we know
yt ye most there will be ignorant & weake. Alas! how much more do ye best of us do agt
our selves, yn ye most troublesome Censurers do? And yet how easily do we beare wth &
forgive our selves? Nay how many errors have we our selves? & how many wrong
judgmts of things & persons do we passe? Yea daily provoke & injure ye God of
truth & holynes himselfe. Yet doth he beare wth us & men must beare wth
us, for they canot cure us? Yea those yt wrong us wrong God more in wrong-
ing us: And if he forgive ym, should not we? There is more in yt clause of
our petitio for forgivenes (as we forgive ym yt trespass agt us) yn all men see.
And indeed it greatly quieteth my displeasure agt ye Censoriousnes of igno-
rant zeale, in ye Comon professors of religio, to see wth griefe, yt it is no
lesse among ye pastors of ye flockes ym selves. Are we not now all in fra-
ctions, charging each other wth as great crimes? wth ignorance, pride, fa-
ction, & wt not? And one side is sure guilty, if not both? One part judgeth
ye other intolerable in ye Ministry, because of our ignorance & its fruits:
The other side judgeth ym Tyrannicall Church dividers & Destroyers: i
And do ye poore people Censure us any deeplyer yn we Censure one a-
nother? Or can we expect so much knowledge in ym as ye right decisio
of all our Controversies doth require, when we our selves have not knowledge
enough, to make us capable of preaching Christ, in ye judgment of
our brethren? I beseech you mistake me not, as if I wrote this by way
of accusatio, of any such impatience of your owne, But only your
case, & your youthfull entrance into this warfare, & my owne ex-
perience of this temptation (having a multitude of bookes wrote agt
me, more yn I can now number), together wth ye sad observatio of ma-
ny Learned men yt have stumbled at this stone, did persuade me to speake
this to you for preventio. Ri: Hookers Notices of ye causes of our Church
calamities (printed in those 7 notable treatises for Episcopacy at Oxford
1641) are worthy consideration. Experience hath made me past all doubt, yt
ye peevish, proud impatiencie of many learned pastors, especially prelates,
agt ye peoples wranglings & censures, hath been one of ye greatest causes
of ye Churches schismes for no lesse yn these 1300 or 1400 yeares:
And yt this is a greater crime in, & disgrace to ye Pastors, yn yt in ye people
wch provoked ym, is evident to them: As it would be frenzy & unnaturallnes
in ye mother to raile at & cast out her child for crying & wrangling wth thy
meate. We see and feele ye ruinating effect of this. And I have seen
what wonders prudent patient Love can do. Knocking men on ye head
will not make ym wise, nor is Love to be won by fire & sword & saying Love us
or we will imprison you. Foolish opposition hath long ago tempted me to
thinke too meanly & contemptuously of such opposers. But I lookt a-
bout me, & saw no better people in ye world, yn serious diligent christi-
ans who desire to please God, but through ignorance & ill teaching &
some remnants of pride are guilty of such weaknesses, except those
few antient experienced persons, among ym, who are grown to a grea-
ter degree of knowledge & Love; And ye rest are growing towards
yt degree, & experience & grace will mellow ym all at last. He
must have much grace or a very happy education, that is
not harsh while he is greene, but if we leave this sort of men
to whom shall we goe, & whom shall we prefer before ym? Not ye
Atheisticall, ye sensuall ye worldlings? Not ye formall hypocriti-
call sort, whose religio is all in ye lips & knee, & in a little life less

& outward action; who so live & talke as to tell all yt are familiar wth y
yt they are not serious by what they call ymselves, nor live to pr
vide a treasure in ye heaven, nor ever set their hearts on ye things
above; who shew nothing like a sanctifyed mind & life. Veril
if I had known no better men than some such (Learned Past
of ye Church) and did believe there were no better, I doubt
should stagger at ye Christian faith my selfe, & thinke yt
he is none of ye saviour of ye world, yt no more saveth ym
& yt ye religion hath no singular worth wch maketh no grea
ter a change on nature, yn thus to dresse up an image or ca
kasse yt hath no spirituall heavenly life. Therefore as I fi
yt christ perfecteth not his church on earth, & yet makes ye sin a
undantly differ from ye unrenewed world (or else they would no
so differenced hereafter) so I will learne of him to love & feare wth ye w
(though to hate their sins as I do mine owne) & not to thinke ye w
of Life for sicknes, nor to equalize or preferre ye dead because they
not sicke. And I will endeavor to love heaven ye better, where Paul
Barnabas are reconciled, & all our controversies are at an end
& our love & union shall have no imperfections. // In ye mean
time, if God give you or me o in any thing, more knowledge yn
those yt childishly censure us, it is our riches; knowledge is a su
ficient recompense it selfe. The rich ~~wis~~ & honourable can be ar
the obloquy of ye base & poore. And if they backbite us & account u
vile, it is better to be accounted so yn to be so: Man is a dyi
worme, & it is a small matter (as to our own interest) to be judged o
him. Prides pernicious Idol (humane applause) is thus taken downe in m
for our security. We have great need to be taught to cease fro man
& to learne to live on God alone. Wn we see others carryed away by popular esti
we should not be displeased wth God yt saveth us fro it. I have found it a usefu
remedy to my selfe, & yet I have need of more (though ye sin of pr
be never ye better) Wisedome is content wth a few approvers, & patient if
it have none: saving yt being communicative, it would do good to others, &
therefore is not content wth a few disciples. Good people must be loved fo
their goodnes, though they be troublesome by their weaknes. (But not
much as we are to our selves.) We may be happy here (in our low degree) wthout
their Love to us, but not without our Love to them. If our Lord at his resurrectio
send presently to ym, yt lately had all forsaken him, & fled, so loving & tender
message as this, Go unto my brethren & say unto ym, I ascend unto my fath
& yor father, & to my God & yor God. Joh. 20.19. I will take infirme believers
for my brethren, though they should forsake me. And yet my experience as
sureth me, yt while I doe so they will not forsake me: For love will constra
love, as wrath doth quench it: And ye children of God, though froward &
wrangling, have some discerning of ye spirit of God, & will still be knowne
to ye world to be Christs disciples by loving one another. I could give yo
some notable historicall instances, but I must crave ye pardon of
this prolixity & rest   Your unworthy Fellow servant

Totteridg. Oct. 7. 1671.

Ri: Bax

Reverend & much honoured Sr:

As ye readinge of your profitable booke called (A treatise of death) was yt instrumentall cause of my conversion, & returne unto God, soe also have I since yt time endeavoured to informe my understandinge, and rectifie my judgment, as from other mens, soe also & especially from your profitable learned & laborious works: yet one difficulty I have met wth all yt I could be satisfied about, & yt is concerninge ye conformity required of those yt enter into ye ministry by Episcopall subscription. about foure years agoe I did wth too much rashnesse, & precipitancy enter into ye ministry in ye Episcopall way, swearinge & subscribinge to you know what, but not long after my conscience began to accuse me for soe doinge, ye checks whereof I have often felt ever since: whereupon I began to seeke for satisfaction herein; and in order to my satisfaction I read all ye books I could meet wth yt treat of this subject, and also converst wth many of those divines yt are of greatest abilities among us, but yet remaine unsatisfied. I shall therefore in ye last place addresse myselfe unto you, as ye umpire in this businesse who are fitted wth all those qualifications yt render you a most excellent Casuist, & whom I have long accounted ye choysest person yt ever England bred. Now for your better resolvinge of my doubts I will 1. tell you on ye one hand what those motives are yt perswade me at present to continue in ye ministry. 2. I will tell you ~~what~~ on ye other hand what those things are yt have a great influence upon me to leave ye ministry. 1. the memory of those worthy men yt entred into ye ministry this way hath some influence upon me to continue in ye ministry, when I doe but consider there great parts, & piety of life, such (I meane) as Sibs, Dod, Preston, Bolton &c and yourselfe have confessed in some of your late books yt there are many worthy persons among ye conformable ministers of ye nation. 2. the love yt I have to ye ministry, & ye ~~g~~ good yt I hope to doe thereby (wch I can truly say was ye ultimate end of my undertakinge of it) hath also a great influence upon me to continue as I am. 3. Should I leave ye Ministry I should certainly meet wth many straights & difficulties as to my outward condition, for I have neither lands nor livings to support me and I know not well what to betake myselfe unto for my future maintenance, for weaknesse of body will not suffer me to take up Musculus his trade of diginge & I feare I should be as unfit for other imployments. 4. I may adde yt I never tooke ye Covenant. 2. I shall now tell you what are those motives that perswade me to leave ye ministry. And they are of two sorts. 1. the first relate to ye way of entrance into ye ministry. 2. the second relate to ye way & manner of ye exercise of ye ministeriall functi after admission into it. 1. Some of those things yt I account great enormities in our admission into ye ministeriall function are these. 1. At our admission into ye ministry we are enjoyned to declare our unfaigned assent, & consent to all things contained in, and prescribed by ye booke of common prayer, and administration of ye sacraments, together wth ye ceremonies of ye church. I cannot give my unfeigned assent & consent to these things. 2. we are enjoyned to subscribe to the declaration yt saith, that it is not lawfull upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against ye Kinge, and yt we doe abhorre yt traiterous position of takinge up arms by his authority against his person, or against those yt are commissionated by him,

I have many doubts concerninge those things, and therefore cannot s
scribe unto it. 3. wee are injoyned to subscribe to ye declaration y
that ye Solemne League & covenant was in itselfe an unlawf
oath. I am not yet satisfied whether it was in itselfe unlawfull o
not, & therefore cannot subscribe unto it. Indeede I did at my ordi
tion declare & subscribe to all these things, but my conscience quick
checked me for it, and as I have truly repented of this enormity
my heart, for in my judgment it is my duty, by leavinge of th
ministry to signifie my open repentance of it. 2. the enormitie
relate to ye way and manner of ye exercise of ye ministeriall fu
on are these. 1. we are necessitated to omit ye graduall, regular
ercise of ye discipline yt Christ hath injoyned us in his word, and
you have excellently made out in your five disputations, and
great a wickednesse this would be in any one voluntarily to conf
unto is manifest. 2. we are under great temptations, if not an
solute necessity of makinge irregular and sinfull administrati
of ye Lords-supper yt great mystery of our religion, by admittinge
most profane and wicked in our parishes to this great mystery,
if we exclude any, we must give an account thereof into ye Chan
cellors court, & what cost paines and trouble must we be at
this work! and when all is done & ye persons excommunica
because it is done by lay persons, they remaine excommunica
wth out any amendment at all. 2 but we are often necessitated
ye other hand to a sin of more dangerous consequence; there a
in many of our parishes those whom I account truly religio
(although they may erre in this poynt) yt out of tendernesse of
science, refuse to communicate at ye Lords-table in a mixt cong
gation, wee are enjoyned to present such persons, & beinge prese
they are cited into ye court, they often refuse to make their
pearance, for wch contumacy in not appearinge they are excom
nicated & we injoyned to declare them excommunicate in th
publique congregation; and how shall we declare them excom
municate, and in ye power, & under ye dominion of ye Devil
without ye guilt of heinous sin, whome we account ye servants
ye Lord? 3. ye shadow of discipline yt is at any time exercised
ye Church of England is done by Chancellors, officials &c meere Lay
sons. & how we should account this a just & regular administratio
of ye discipline of Christ I doe not understand. 4. once every yea
at least there come out articles of enquiry, accordinge unto wch w
are to present, & ye Minister as well as ye churchwarden is injo
ed to subscribe to ye truth of ye presentment. now should we presen
accordinge to these articles, I doe really thinke yt every one in ye p
ish yt is presentable would be presented, and what ye effect of this
would be is easy to judge, and then if we doe not present accor
inge to ye truth of them, we are necessitated to subscribe to a li
for subscribe we must, or else we shall quickly be proceeded against
theire court. these are some of those enormities & sinfull irregulariti
[illegible]

Totteridg Oct. 7. 1671 Your unworthy fellow servant

Ri: Bax

that conformity to ye laws and constitutions of ye church of England makes us guilty of, doubtlesse many more may be added. these things have I diligently weyed in ye ballance of my weak judgment and ye latter reasons doe seeme to me to preponderate and outway ye former, and doe incline me to leave ye ministry as it is exercised in ye episcopall way. and now methinks its time to apologise for myselfe, yt a person altogether unknowne unto you should trouble you wth such a tedious letter, But truly ye exceedinge weight of ye occasion, together wth ye difficulty of gettinge my doubts resolved else-where will (I hope) sufficiently excuse me in your charitable thoughts. if you desire to know any thinge more particularly concerninge me, Maddam Winnington in whose family I live, will give you satisfaction. thus not doubtinge of your willingnesse to gratifie my desires, & to resolve my doubts I remaine, and subscribe myselfe,

Your most affectionate ffriend &
Servant Rich: Taylor.

Stanford Octob: 10th 72.

Pray Sr. let me receive an answer assoon as you can wth conveniency.

(N° 98)

that encouragingly to y^e [illegible] and may [illegible] y^e [illegible]
[illegible] ye quality of [illegible] many [illegible] may [illegible]
things have ye diligently weight in ye balance of my weak judgment
and ye better reasons doe seem to me to perswade and endeavour
ye former, and doe incline me to [illegible] y^e [illegible] as it y^e [illegible]
fed in ye spirituall way, and now nothing is here to apologize for
my selfe y^t a person altogether unknown unto you should trouble you
wth such a tedious letter, but truly ye exceeding weight of ye case
together wth ye difficulty of getting my doubts resolved [illegible] of your
(I hope) sufficiently excuse me in your charitable [illegible] me. [illegible]
have to desire any thing more particularly [illegible] your [illegible] not
[illegible] will give your [illegible] my
[illegible] of your [illegible] to [illegible] my [illegible]
[illegible] y^e [illegible] and [illegible]

Your most affectionate [illegible]
Oxford Octob: 10. 72. Richard [illegible]

Pray S^r let me [illegible] an answer [illegible]
[illegible]

For ye Reverend Mr Rich. Baxter Minister of the gospell.

Totteridg Oct. 7. 1671 your unworthy servant
Ri: Baxter

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Madam!

I received by the directions of the Lady Parsons as from you the sum of ten pounds, a Legacy of your late husband (the second yt ever I received of yt kind of donation) the obligation hereby laid upon me a stranger & undeserving did bind me to endeavour to know what credible fame would make knowne of you both, whom I never had other opportunity to know; which brought me yt Information [illegible] which comanded me to condole not your loss; but the progress of Gods displeasure agt an unworthy surviving people, who at such a time as this when darkness & wickedness hath so few reprovers, doth remoove so fast those few from the earth: And wt is his desertion of the world but when he leaveth in it but little yt is good & yt partaketh of his likeness? And what is a world so deserted but the subburbs or outer part of Hell. when our little remaining light is extinguished, where are we but in outer darkness? How just will be the sentence [Depart from me yee workers of Iniquity] when it will be but declarative of what we voluntarily did ourselves, in departing from God by working Iniquity? But like will to like: all the Elements have an aggregative motion: & all the parts would be together: Fire will be no longer kept with us here below, than the charme of its disposed fewell doth detaine it (or imprison it) So Holy Soules would be with God. The Father of Spirits sent us not into the lower world to dwell or stay or rest: But a while to animate a Materiall Body, & in it to pass through certaine tryalls, & do such workes as he is pleased in; to fitt us for our true & endless rest. And who would stay here when this is done? But alas as it is ~~in~~ the same faith by which we must foresee our end, & do our worke so the weakness of it appeareth in the one as well as in the other. If by faith we better foresaw our end & reward, we should by faith also better do our work: And if we did the work of faith better, we should better taste the joyes of faith. Madam! wt hearts should you & I have if we saw the things which we (too weakely) beleeve. If we saw whither all departed soules go, & where our old companions are & wt they now enjoy & do? & wt thoughts they have of us below? And wt joyfull familiarity they have together with their glorifyed Redeemer & their God: should we (think you) more desire them to be agn with us, or rather that we might speedyly be with them? Indeed (not till we are prepared) But this sight would prepare us: It would make us think of all the pomp & vanity of this world its pleasures profits & preferments, as of childrens babbles or sick mens dreames, & of all the creatures as a glass, which is made but to shew us the face of God. When Paul biddeth us, not [to mourne for the dead as those yt have no hope] he meanes not onely the hope of the last resurrection of ye body, but the beleeving hope of the passing of soules (our friends & our owne) into the present company of Christ. Though it will not be long till ye resurrection, yet Christ will not put our faith so to it as to have no comfort, but upon so long expectations nor to set all our happyness so far off, lest conceited distance should dull our apprehensions; & lest we should think yt the soule whose happyness has had so long a suspension, may proove to be totally denyed it. And it is a most momentous observation of Dr Hammond, yt our common Greek word which we translate a Resurrection (ἀνάστασις) doth not onely signify the last resurrection (except when it is called the resurrection of the flesh or body or some coherent words so limit it) but yt it often signifyeth (as in Xts words to the Sadduces &, 1 Cor 15 &c) the next life, or state of the soul immediately after death; or our succeeding state of life. This is the happyness of a soul yt here liveth a heavenly life & is above the Interest of the Body & the power of sense & is much (by faith & Love) with God: yt besides all other preparations he overcometh his estrangedness from God, & getts a familiarity in heaven: & familiarity & acquaintance kindle love, & Love is the flaming mounting grace, which taketh some pleasure in fore-sight & hope, & longeth restlessly for more. This converse with God doth bring ~~our~~ y happyness to our foretaste which else we should have but in a distant prospect at the most & maketh our knowledge to be experimentall, feeding, & feasting us with delight, when to others the pleasures of Religion seeme but a doubtfull opinion or a dreame. Onely the soul yt will have this heavenly delight, must take heed of the misapprehensions by which Satan laboureth to trouble & confound us; And must beleeve the Infinite goodness of him who is Love itselfe, & take him for our heaven, & not heaven

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to his Malicious Enimy & ours, who would represent God in his owne deformed image & ma
us think yt he is a hater of Soules. And we must still remember yt as there is no comming f
sinners to the Father but by the Son, so we have now a New & living way opened to us
his blood & Intercession: & yt it will be part of our Glory to behold his Glory in our hum
nature given him by the Father. Nor must we under pretence of looking to none but
overlook the everlasting pleasant Society of ~~Saints &~~ Angells & Saints, & all our holy fri
& fellow servants: But faith must still remember us yt we are come to Mount Z
the Cyty of the living God & Heavenly Jerusalem, & to an innumerable company of
-gells, to the Generall Assembly & church of the first borne which are written (or enrol
as burgesses) in Heaven, & to the spirits of just men pfected, as well as unto God the jud
of all, & to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant &c Heb 12, 22, 23, 24. O how holy & jo
lives should we live if we had a lively working faith, which might serve instead of sight its
& had all these things recited in this text continually as before our eyes? Then life would be
fruitfull, temptations would be feeble, the World would be dead & nothing to us, Dutyes wo
be sweet & lively, sufferings would be easy, death would be less terrible, & our passage in
immortality would be desirous & safe. This is the best on earth which I can desire f
my self, & therfore for any other: yt we may be followers of them who through fai
& patience inherit the Promises, & have past the dangers which we have yet to pass: And y
this may be your Course & end is the request to God, of Madam

your obliged servant
Ri Baxter.

Acton Jan 29-1668

[illegible] Oct. 7. 1671

Ri: [illegible]

To the Honourable the Lady Coote in
Ireland (widdow to Colonell Chidley
Coote) these present

Venerande Domine

De morte ubi primum praeclari amici mei Domini Doctoris Polemanni (egregii literarum reconditarum devoratoris, in quas sese ingurgitaverat) moesta mihi advolavit fama (cujus in Consuetudinem aliquando Te dedisse audivi) vix habui qualis exprimerem quanta de spe ac solatia decidi; mihi enim intimus fuit & arctissimo amoris vinculo & amicitiae devinctis Conjunctissime versati sumus.

Quo haec mea spectat Epistola (Dignissime Domine) animo jam jamque pendeat volutatim, ecquae mea in Te audacia, rubor quoniam ejecit attrita de fronte, merito mirares agnoscam. Neque [illegible] fieri, quo me Tibi (Honorande Domine) [illegible] nec unquam vacari libuit) molestum vero fore, existimares velim: Neque in tantum ut hoc solum animo [illegible] & inculcatum habeas, me amorem & omnia summa in Doctorem Eruditissimum & singularia studia & animum debere, sed majus ut hoc testatum apud Te (Honorande) relinquam, quod amicissimi mei defuncti favores maximos (quocunque modo res se habet in praesenti) Spectatissimae Conjugi Ejus viduatae, nec gratiarum actione solummodo, verumetiam praemio aestimabili a me rependisuros fore, haudquaquam dubitares.

Amplissima de Te (Dignissime Vir) in ora hominum (piorum praesertim ac eruditorum) abiit fama, ut summum (quasi) dignitatis apud me & honoris Gradum teneas. Quâ de Causâ, Fiducia mea in Te (Venerande Domine) jam propense nititur, nec tenuissima de Te incessit menti dubitatio, neque sub[illegible] distrahatur animus in deliberando, nec afferat an[illegible] cogitandi curam. Inde factum est, ut Hoc Ingens Secretum meum [illegible]tabile, auribus Cognitione & hospitio dignum (meaque sententiâ Transmutationi Philosophicae praeponendum, (quod Arcanum Vitae sive Medicinae nuncupavi) sanctae Tuae fidei ac indubitatae demandem & Commendem.

Hoc tantum prece humili a Te obsecro (virtutis Ergo & humanitatis) ut Hoc secretum animo vestro abditissime occultes

Precor, quæso
ut hoc quoq; magis celandum, obtestor
fidem, ut Viduæ prædictæ dextrā fa
cires: Hoc facto (modo ne demum) Es
tu solus (Venerande Pater) Sancti Vi
Conjugis lectissimæ, Hujus mei Argumen
ti Index Expositorius, Verborū sententia
rumq; candidq Ejus Interpres: Abrupte
enim (Anglicè scribendo) Miscellanea Ver
borum a me barbarè consarcinata sunt,
& tantum mihi abfuit aucupium delec
tionis simul ac Verborū elimatio, ut in
ipsa orationis limine labefactæ & infrac
evaserunt.

misi
Has literas per manus Nuntij mei fidelis
simi (quem intus & in cute scio) si fit ut ali
quid ex illo quæras, sui simul ac Mei nomi
ut ignarus esset, labia quoq; ejus ut tacitur
nissimi Ostij essent imitatores, jussi; Gaude
re, Me, culpæ tanquam venialis ut reum
censeas, atq; sic condonares, humillim9 Tu9
(Venerande Pater) supplex vado. Jam
in præsenti hoc sufficiat, nos, prop
diem (modo si Vobis annuit Deus) mu
tuis verbis conventos fore, tunc tem
poris, omnia perspicacissimè exponā
Ingens atq; Olei mei Balsaminis Arca
num, ad intelligendum Vobis fælicit
adducam.

Ne, ac pluribus moremur: Te (Reverend
pietatis ac Morum Exemplar) Sospitet
tueaturq; Deus Ter Optim. & Omnipot. præ
sidijs Vigilijsq; undequaq; Circumun
iat, detq; prosperam tibi Valetudinem
& in omnes Ecclesiæ sævissimos hos
tes præclarū Victoriæ Triumphū ha
bis adjutorium impartiet.

Jamq; Hoc Morum Medicinæ Theatrum
(Spectabiliss. ac Consultatiss. Domine) Vul
sagaci animo atq; instructissimo per
spectū ac perlustratū habeas, prosper
ing; Ejus Limina foeliciter ingrederis
(ingredimini) Hocq; magno secreto m
frueris (fruimini) Huic Operi precibus
Vobisq; faveto. Vale. Sic orat
sic expectat sic exoptat

Lond. Calend.
Aprilis 1680:

Tuus servantissimus & in
omnibus obsequijs paratissimus

Fol. 42. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

(Nº 100)

Illm.º & Reverend.º S.r
[illegible]
[illegible]

LETTERS
fol. 43. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Mr Baxter

I thanke you for yr free reception of my letter. Others would hardly have taken it wth its apologie, & you thought it needed none. I tooke you indeed for a very gracious man & one that prized much the comon good of ye church or else I had used a larger, & wthall I ~~used~~ knew you to have flesh about you or else I had used none. I pray God give you every day a compleater victory over partiall proud & selfe flattering flesh. That you understood not my case I thinke (though I kept not a copie of my letter) was rather fro ye multiplicity of yr businesse, & the peculiar tendernesse you had toward my soul then fro any obscurity in my letter. I hinted to you the necessity of preaching the scriptures divinity & mine ignorance & insufficiency. though I have the use of a library at Westminster yet there is in it neither Du plessis, Grotius or Camero & for Polanus I have read something in him, in whom I find a double infelicity first that he lays so much stresse upon that that ye scripture is principium indemonstrabile and αὐτόπιστον & then that he is very slightly & unsatisfactory in answering his enemys objections: beside he is very large. I shall not trouble you wth my exceptions because I will not enter dispute, it being not agreable to my end in writing wch was onely Doctrinae gratiâ I asked but as a scholer from one of an higher forme though sent by my master; yet if you please, you may cleare up somethings about yr own arguments

as for ye first concerning predictions I acknowledge the argument good, God himselfe hath made it an argument Is: 41. 21. & Christ Joh. 13. 19. but yet why may not those who have received a true prophesy fro God joyn it to a doctrine of theire own expressing theire own sence beyond God's intentions as those in Acts 21 who had by ye sp. a prophesy of Pauls bonds & sufferings added an application of theire own viz. that Paul should not goe to Ierusalem & yet re fathered it upon ye sp. as v 4. they sayd to Paul through ye sp. that he should not goe up to Jerusalem when as Paul says Acts 20. 22. that he went bound in ye sp. to Jerusalem & if so why then may not yr minor (wch is But such is ye doctrine of ye Scripture viz a doctrine owned by God & sealed most frequently & evidently wth a sp. of prophesy) be denyed to be universally & secundū omne membrū true

For yr second argument I desire to know whether it be not possible after one man has begun a systeme of philosophie or law & left it imperfect for other wise understanding men who can dive more narrowly into ye designe to ad yet more toward ye perfecting of it though they be not divinely inspired, especially & most easily in a compages of laws or histories such as ye scripture is. Doe not we see in Commonwealths how after ages perceiving the failing of theire people in ye observation of some precedent laws doe ad remedies to such transgressions & new conditions to old laws, make new laws where ye other are imperfect, or ye present condition of affaires requires? & for invention have we not some whose braines have brought forth some new formes of government very rationall? suppose then Moses had, the better to draw ye people to an observation of his laws, set forth such a compleate & perfect state of man as Adam was in, & such pleasant living wthout paine & feare as he injoyed, but how not contented wth that so desireable state through further aspiring was brought to rebell agst God, whose favorite he had beene, & was therefore justly devested of his dignity & priviledges, but yet not altogether left to ruine & misery, & therefore God did spare his life upon such & such termes as he then did from God declare to them, & therefore if they would but observe such a forme of worship & such & such laws wch were very just & equitable they should live, & alsoe after death be restored to the former favour, wch they had lost, wth theire

great Kings

and might not the wisest of after ages perceiving the designe adde
still of theire own invention towards the perfecting of that wch th
had begun? I know no reason ~~by~~ but why it might be soe; &
that you speake of the rationability of it in all its parts this a
~~th~~ nothing but that it was wthin the power of reason & therefore not
above the designe & invention of wise & rationall men. so that
major (wch is That instrumt of doctrine wch being written by severall
men in severall ages of ye world doth all compose the intire f
of one systeme each part both naturall & supernaturall being co
ally practicable in carrying one & the same designe must nee
of God) may be denyed that is in respect of a supernaturall
revelation for all truth is of God.

For yor third argumt about miracles I account it ~~goo~~ good, as Ch
hath made it so & his Apostles so also hath God himselfe to M
Exodus 4 at the beginning and to this argumt I can says noth
but onely that I am very ignorant in antiquity & so know not h
the scripture was handed down to us wth attestation of those mira
& incorruption of the doctrine, if you please to shew mee a little
testimony of antiquity concerning it I shall take it as a very grea
favour, yet herein I desire you that if you thinke you have any
rise that would be more for ye glory of God that you doe not
lett it to satisfy mee

To yor 4th of ye spirits inward workeing it toucheth not my
designe of asking wch is to know in reference to teaching of oth
for as Polanus in respons: ad 1ma objec: de externo Testimonio Ho
testimoniu Sp: S: non eo fine exhibetur scriptura in cordibus nostris, ut il
ad convincendos alios utamur & eo ut unusquisque pro se solide acquiesca
in scriptura.

Now Sr that yor love to my soul & desire to doe it good be n
wrongly imployed I shall tell you that I am not for ye present in a
condition but rather sensuall & sluggish, if therefore you will say any thi
for ye quickening mee up to a greater diligence & zeale in ye work
of God & mortifying of ye flesh I shall heartily thanke you, & if you
will beleive mee this was the end of my desire to be acquainted wth y
though but in a literall discourse, that you might under God be a mean
to inlighten my mind & warme my heart, & if God shall make you a
instrumt to remove from mee my darkenesse & coldnesse, & bring m
to an humble selfe denying frame of heart, I shall for ever prayse G
that I began this course ~~of~~ writing to you: & I pray Sr if you love
soul that you would be serviceable to me herein, what ever you say,
be cleare, though short, I shall by the grace of God yeald to it (&
acknowledge it folly to seeke multiplicity of argumts for satisfaction w
one good one is exhibited. I pray Sr deale roundly wth mee & use as
a style as you please so it be christian & syncere & what ever you w
to mee follow it wth yor prayers that it may be blessed to

Yor brother in ye worke of ye minis

Kirke-house London
Aug: 5. 1653.

Abr: Pinchbecke

LETTERS
fol. 44 of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

(No 101)

For mr Richard Baxter minister of Christ
to ye church at Kidderminster in
Worcester-shire these

post pd 3d

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Oct: 8. 1657.

Dear Brother I have long intermitted writing to you partly because of ye difficulty of sending to you wch now is taken offe partly because of yor multiplicity of weighty businesse & I must needs say partly because I have sent to you once or twice about some matters of present practice & have received no answer, I am once more come to beg yor assistance I know you love ye church & would doe any thing for its good. I am now assistant to Mr Manton at Covent Garden where we have a people of divers modes ye greatest pt for ye old ceremonies & profanesse an other part who are good but too schismaticall & very few good Christians sober we are now about bringing in ye sacramt of ye supper but I perceive there will be much difficulty some will have admission at large others are united to some independent congregations & if they should come off yet they would scarce thinke ~~on~~ few ~~[illegible]~~ if any holy enough for to partake wth. Mr Manton would have all examined & some sober ones I heare stumble at that I am but an assistant he is the chiefe pastor & I desire to acknowledge him so & therefore shall propound nothing to him but onely by way of advice & so farre as I can lawfully, helpe him vigorously in his way. I desire now my deare & much beloved & honoured friend that you would send me a word or two of advice let me know yor judgmt how we had best proceed & prove shortly what you say. I should be very thankefull also if you would but send me ye proofe of that you have sayd in yor Gildas Salvianus that a pastor may call his people to an account at any time, we hope er long to have a meeting wth ye people & shall have need of all argumts, before I conclude let me tell you ingenuously that I am much inclined to mr Monice his judgmt & am exceedingly troubled in mind lest a division should be made from too many & we should looke too much like schismaticks or else that we must goe wthout that sacramt. I pray Sr thinke it not below you to send me an answer but be meeke toward yor weake brother & willing to teach mee. The Lord blesse you continually & give you yet more good successe in yor labours & let me intreat you to love & heartily pray for mee who can not but love you & blesse God for his grace in you & those gifts he has bestowed on you. Sr if you send yor letter to Mr Titans it will be safely conveyed to mee

yor assured friend & loving brother though unworthy to be called so

Abr: Pinchbecke

For ye Reverend his very much esteemed friend
Mr Richard Baxter pastor of ye church of
Chst at Kederminster in
worcister shir these

To Mr Pinchbecke

I thanke you for yor answer to my last. you tell mee of a distinction betweene infant title to church membership & adult but is there any other title than a covenant title! who stands as a member of ye church upon any other account then ye covenant; now is not that covenant ye same wth infants & ye adult? when God commanded Abraham to be circumcised & to circumcise Isaac did not circumcision seale the same covenant to Isaac that it did to Abraham? or is not ye covenant made wth infants themselves but onely wth ye parents for themselves & their children; if you deny it I prove it Gen: 17: 7. ye covenant was betweene God & Abraham, & God & his seed too. & surely baptisme is a solemnizing ye covenant not betweene God & ye parent but betweene God & ye child; or els there is one use of baptisme to ye adult & an other to infants wch as I remember you bid mr Tomes prove if he would assert it. againe Deut. 29. 10. 11. not onely the adult but litle ones stood before God to enter covenant, & so Acts 2. ye promise is to you & to yor children, now then if children be in ye covenant as well as ye adult & being in covenant is ye onely thing that makes ye church members ye covenant being ye foundation of ye church, then an externall & solemne entring children into covenant does also before ye church give a title to church membership as well as ye same does to ye adult, now if you say that in infancy they ingage by others & not by themselves I answer, that when they grow up they own that ingagemt they will own their baptisme & doe own it by an open profession that ye scriptures are ye word of God & ye rule of their faith & manners & that they desire to be in ye body of ye church. & whereas you say in yor epistle before mr Hanmers booke that infant title is distinct fro ye adult because otherwise an Atheist may be saved. I answer that by ye same reason ~~if an adult man~~ ye title of ye adult is to be distinguished because if one falls off after admission as adult he cannot be saved. for as a man may fall from ye church betweene infancy & his adultscence so he may betweene his puberty or adolescence & his old age. For mr Hanmers booke I could have wished that he had proved his maine question by scripture he onely as I thinke brings that place of Heb: 6. 2 wch mr Hughes in his ep. answers, & some understand of receiving penitents as Hammond and Camero in his Quest: on ye Heb: thinks it was a special signe of special grace & now is ceased. he calls ye membership of infants incompleat but has Cht any incompleat members or is he but halfe their head or shall they be but halfe saved are they but halfe heirs of ye promises of ye covenant, for those places of scripture you mention about covenanting I doe not remember any one ~~of them~~ that speakes of ye first membership of ye adult, or that by their then covenanting they were taken into ye church of ye adult, I believe they were adult members before, & I could wish wth all my heart that ye magistrates would call ye people to enter such a covenant solemnly & I believe those script. will prove it there duty yea I could wish that ministers would endeavour, & could prevaile, to bring men into covenant by perswasions, yea I thinke if any one should refuse such a covenant from some reasons he were to be debarred church priviledges but yet if he thought fit to deny the minister his request upon feare least he should betray his liberty or because he thought that his minister were too ambitious &c though I could not but highly blame that man yet I should be loth to deny him any church priviledge upon his so refusing, for yor answer to my request about calling ye people to an account, you aske mee ~~whether~~ whether a child be not to give it upon his fathers comand &c ~~&~~ but a father ~~& magistrate~~ & schoolmaster have a legislative & coercive power in their family or schoole for things that concerne only their family or schoole & ye magistrate has an other manner of power then a minister we must declare ye law & shew law for all or demands & not act despotically & therefore if ye people call for scripture we must give it them & that for particular practises at least by cleare consequence or generall comands that containe plainly ye particular duty, now call them to an account & they will say we deny yor power you are ambitious of comand & rule &c. these things sr I say as a learner nor would I have you take everything here written as if it were positively my own mind but only as words begging satisfaction to my mind & willing to answer others that may contend wth mee. sr I have written confusedly ptly because writing is a tedious thing to mee ptly because my memory is so bad that I can not quote passages so cleanly & punctually as I should for I forget things almost as fast as I read them & many ~~the~~ bookes I am forced to read twice or thrice & yet forget generally what is in them so have I done by many of yor bookes I have not yet read yor booke about sacramt & chiefly because of that hinderance. sr I looke upon my selfe as under a great judgmt of God from thence & it is an exceeding great burthen to mee especially because I know & find by experience that unlesse God remove that imperfection I can never be a good schollar or in any measure fit to serve God in his church. However God dealeth wth such a worthlesse worme as I am yet I blesse God from my soul for his large blessings upon others & upon yor selfe in particular & I pray God increase yor graces gifts & ye good successes of yor labours a thousand fold, when I can se no cause to rejoyce for what I am or doe I will rejoyce for what others are by ye grace of God & doe I will rejoyce to se Christs worke goe on & able labourers sent into his harvest sr I pray remember my love to mr Baldwin if you see him & continually remember mee a poore unworthy wretch at ye throne of grace

& ye Lord heare yr prayers for his church yor selfe & mee

yor unfeigned friend
Abr: Pinchbecke

Coven-garden
Novem: 25 1657.

For my Reverend Brother Mr Richard
Baxter pastor of ye church of Chst
in Kederminster in Worcester Shire
These

LETTERS

fol. 49. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Dear Sr I have often beene troublesome to you but this I thinke
5 I may say that you have beene as oft profitable to mee, I am once
more come a begging to you if yor leisure will permitt & greater
worke, that you would resolve mee these 2 questions 1 whether
all Moses his law & in particular the judiciall be abrogated & if not
all how much & by what rule we may know that it is abrogated
or what is & what not if the taske be too troublesome send mee
word where I may compendiously & clearly find the question
stated. 2dly whether a man ~~dying~~ having comitted any sin,
wch ye scripture ~~[illegible]~~ excludes a man from ye Kingdome of heaven
for, be justifyed before his repentance of it, supposeing him to
have beene justifyed before, as for example adultery or murther
or if he be how can that scripture that says noe such shall
enter into ye Kingdome of God or heaven be true or whether
those laws doe not stand in perpetuall force & so supposeing a justifyed
man to commit them ye relation of that man to ye law be not
altered & he that was justifyed before be not presently condemned
by ye force of that law untill by repentance he be related to
ye law as absolveing penitents. Dear Sr I pray count mee not
burthensome but imitate Christ who would solve ye doubts of his weake
disciples. I pray God preserve you in ye cleare knowledge & sincere
love of his truth & increase yor guifts & graces more & more, & ye
Lord keepe you humble & preserve you from any selfe confidence that
you may never ~~f~~ let any errors or unbeseeming expressions fall from
yor lips or pen for there are many that watch for yor halting
& you are much observed. you have many to applaud you & you
have many that ~~g~~ love you but little & truly I thinke that
God lets you have so many adversarys to keepe you from being exalted
above measure that you may be ye more serviceable to his church
Sr I beseech you watch over yor selfe & pray to God to inlighten &
guide you especially when you are to deale wth malevolent persons
who would make use of yor failings to ye reproach of ye Godly
remember me in yor prayers & ever account me & use me
as yor reall friend & unworthy brother

Sept. 28 1658.

Abr: Pinchbecke

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x

For ye Reverend & faithfull minister of
Christ Mr Richard Baxter at
his house in Kederminster
These

The Members of Christ haue such Interest in each other, yt ye sight of
their faces makes so small an addition, yt you needed no Apologie for writ-
6 ing to a stranger. Had I more fully knowne yor Case, I should haue better
knowne wt to returne. I do not well understand whether it be only to furnish
you in preaching or arguing to satisfye others, yt you desire argumts for ye Divi-
nity of Scripture, or whether you are assaulted with any Temptations to
doubt of it yorselfe: yet by some words I feare it is ye latter: but you say, you
know not where to read with expectation of satisfaction. I told you where are
satisfactory Argumts (in Camero's Prelect. de Verbo Dei, Grotius de Verit. Religion,
Du Plessis de Verit. Rel. Lod. Vives & Marsil. Ficinus de Verit. Relig. yea Polanus
Syntagm.) The 3 first & ye last at least you should read; wch if you haue done (as
I presume you haue done wt I haue said) & receiue not satisfaction, it is not for
want of Argumt but through misapprehensions, & for want of perceiving the true
force of ye Argumts wch you read. And why you should desire many argumts I know
not: for it is not number yt will proue, but strength. One strong Argumt is sufficient.
And if a man should heape up many, one weake one may draw ye eyes of a
tempted Reader from ye observation of all ye rest yt are strong. I had farre ra-
ther therefore yt you had given me ye exceptions you haue agt those Argumts
wch I haue used allready. And for writing yt so briefly as you mention in such
a Case, it will not serue turne. For ye argumts will not be seen in their full force
& so will be lost through a defectiue reception. // The Great Argumt by wch
ye Scripture is still proued Diuine, is, The Spirit. For a supernaturall Revelation
must haue a supernaturall Wittnes & Seale. Foure waies (to omitt others) doth the
spiritt attest the Truth of those Revelations. 1o Praedicentes inspirando: 2o Scri-
bentes Dirigendo: 3o Credentium primos donis mirabilibus instruendo: 4o Credentes omnes
sanctificando. Each of these afford most satisfactory Argumts, if rightly apprehended.
1 yt Doctrine wch God hath owned & sealed most frequently & most Evidently with
a spirit of Prophesy, is of God: But such is ye Doctrine of ye Scriptures. Ergo &c.
Here it must be understood yt every prediction is not a prophesie: Satan may foretell
from naturall Causes: or if he go farther he goes on doubtfull conjectures: & ye most
of his prophets, tho: admired while they hold men in expectation yet proue fooles &
become a scorne in ye end. Note also, yt it is Prophesies frequent & Evident such as leave
no roome for doubting of their Truth, wch ye Scripture is sealed by. Every age almost
till Xt had such Prophets. This being considered, ye Major must be confessed cleare.
For he yt denyeth it must either make God a Lyar, or els say yt he hath enabled ye
Divell by true predictions to seale to a false doctrine, & this through all ages, to
delude man kind: wch is as much as to say, yt God hath given up ye Governmt of ye
world to ye Devill, & given him power to deceiue mankind remedilessly, yea & superna-
turally assisting him in so doing wch is as much as to say, God is not God. // And for ye
minor it is left past doubt by ye many fullfilled Prophesies wch are contained in ye
Scriptures. I will instance but in two sorts: ye first is, in ye whole course of predictions
concerning ye Messiah, wch ye Scripture aboundeth withall. This was a thing yt could not
be foreseen in second Causes. The very fullnes & Evidence of one chapter (Esa. 53)
converted many learned Jewes; & ye 42 & many other chapters of yt Prophet are
plaine beyond doubt. The 2d is, ye predictions of Moses ~~& Christ~~ concerning ye dispersion
of ye Jewes, & of Xt concerning ye destruction of Jerusalem: of wch see Dr Jackson
in his Eternall Truth of Script. fully. // The 2d work of ye Spirit affordeth many Argumts
but I will now take out but one. // yt ~~Systema~~ Instrument of Doctrine wch being written by severall
men in severall ages of ye world, doth all compose ye entire frame of one Systeme ~~[illegible]~~, each
part, both naturall & supernaturall, being conjunctly serviceable in carrying on one & ye
same Designe, this must needes be of God. But such is ye Holy Scripture. Ergo &c.
The Major is Evident hence; in yt he who can make it one work wch is done by severall
at some 1000 yeares distance, must needes himself be one, & one who rules ye world all
this while, wch can be none but God. The Minor is undenyable to him yt is well
acquainted with ye Scriptures. How rationally was perfection of obedience required
of ye perfect creature, perfectly furnished for such obedience. How necessarily was
X ye abatement of yt rigor wn man was become Imperfect. So yt I may in yt call ye
Law of Grace, a Law of Nature, it was so agreeable to ye Nature of Guilty, Condemned [illegible]
to be so redeemed, & of sinfull man to be so restored & of [illegible]

man, to be so guided & dealt with on such termes. The very termes of Repentance faith, Love, Gratitude & sincere obedience, are in yt very reach of reason, as perfectly suitable to yt state of a sinner yt is to be Restored, as ye first Law was to yt state of a perfect man. And wt an admirable Transition was made from yt former of one Law unto yt other: & how strangely are they yet conjunct in their uses, & one presupposing yt other violated, is fitted in a subserviency to be a Lex Remedians, & cure all ye sad effects of yt violation. Besides how evident is it beyond all denyall, yt ye whole Law of Moses was but a preparation for Xt, & a mysticall preaching of Xt, fitted to yt state of yt People & yt Infancy of yt Church. So yt all yt multitude of Types & Ceremonies were but so many visible prophesies of Xt: who in yt fullness of time came & fulfilled all yt was written concerning him. Read what Key, Taylor, Guild, of ye Types. So yt all yt Scripture from first to last, is but one Systeme discovering yt whole purpose of God in carrying out yt one designe, of ye everlasting glorifying of his free Grace in yt saving of sinners by Jesus Xt. Xt is yt beginning & end of all. The right observation of ye Compages of yt Generall parts of this one designe in Scripture, would be usefull to beleevers & honourable to God: For no one Scripture is discerned truly & fully, if it be looked on alone, & not with yt rest, yea if you see not yt whole frame at a view, & yt one as a part of ye frame in its owne place. Truly if you saw but a true Scheme of ye Body of Theologye, as rightly taken out of this Scripture (as its Sceleton), you would see as glorious a sight in Morality, & as excellent in yt eye of Rectifyed Reason, as you would see in Nature if you had beheld ye Anatomie of yt Creation. But all Gods works lose their beauty when they are looked on but by parts. This is yt reason wee can never know yt mysteryes of yt Creature, & our Physickes will be stuffed with such a multitude of uncertaintyes & mistakes, becaus silly man seeth not all at a view as God doth, & therfore seeth not yt Compages, & therfore knoweth not yt very nature & use of things, nor ye reason of Motions & Mutations in them. This is yt reason why man is so ill (& often so lying, & wicked) an interpreter of Providences (as of the changes of this age) becaus he cannot comprehend eternity, nor see ye whole frame of Providences works from first to last with all yt parts & compages at one view, as God doth: & therfore he cannot see ye nature & reason of things. And so it is with us, when wee see not yt whole frame of Morality & of Gods most Holy & Gracious Designe in his word. // 3. The 3d Worke of ye Spirit affordeth yt great Argumt from Miracles wch I have laid downe in my book of Rest, & fullyer improved lately in some Sermons. I am confident yt this Argumt in its full force amounteth to as true a Demonstration, as any is knowne in Logick. And had you no other but this alone, Infidelity would be a most unexcusable sin. If you are unsatisfyed after ye full consideration of this, it is not for want of Evidence but of something in yor eye or in yt Medium wch is necessary to ye sight of Evidence. I say Evidence; for tho: its comonly said yt faith hath not Evidence tho: it have Certainty, wch Science hath both; yet I am inclined to thinke yt true Divine faith, rightly grounded & advanced is a Science, & hath its full Evidence; & to say as Mr Rich. Hooker, such as ye Evidence is wch yt Truth hath (or is discerned to have) such is ye Assent. But you prevent my speaking more to this, when you bid me pass those Argts mentioned in my booke. Only this much I will adde. 1o yt he yt denyeth ye Major proposition, of ye Divine authority of such a multitude of uncontrolled unquestionable miracles, doth plainly make God to have delivered up yt world to ye Government of a lying spirit: wch is to deny him to be God. For if he be not ye supreame Rector & Good & Just, he is not God. And truly I think yt point wch is so proved, as yt ye denyall of it is a denyall of ye Godhead, or of Gods Goodnes, Justice or Veracity is far fullyer Demonstrated yn yt wch is proved from Sense. And I think I have far better Evidence yt there is a God, most Good Just & true, yn yt I see this paper with my eyes to be white, or yt any object of sense is wt it seemes to be to me. I thinke it impossible, yt any Truth in nature should have greater Evidence yn yt there is a God: [illegible] as ye Intellect is more noble yn yt senses, & hath a more noble object, so is [illegible] Evidence in its objects, & as full a Certainty, suppositis supponendis. And

therfor wn ye Divell hath tempted Melancholly men to Blasphemy or Infidelity
if he have bin so malicious as to tempt ym to doubt of ye Godhead, I have oft found
a singular helpe to overcome all ye rest of ye temptations. For I could so easily demon-
strate to ym yt there is a God, (had they but ye use of reason) yt it disgraced all ye rest of
his Temptations wn they saw ye falshood of this & ye confutation of ye rest. The like I
may say of Gods speciall Providence & his great Attributes. 2o For ye Minor (yt such miracles were)
I pray Consider but two things yt 1o ye speaking with tongues, healing &c were so comon yt 1o ye most
Believers had some of those Guifts. 2o & they were ordinarily exercised in ye publick As-
semblys ~~in~~ in many Cityes & in severall ptes of ye world: 3o & yt for many yeares togethr.
4o specially note yt ye Apostles did in severall Cases convince their adversaryes by an appeale to
these miracles. Wn Paul was opposed by false Apostles among ye Corinthians, he tells ym
of signes & wonders & mighty deedes wch he wrought among ym as ye signes of his Apostle-
ship 2 Cor. 12. 12. And he is faine to restraine ym from ye excessive use of ye Guift of tongues
in ye open Assemblies 1 Cor. 14. And wn ye Galathians followed false teachers, he appeales to ym
by wt doctrine it was yt they received ye spirit whereby they ~~daily~~ wrought miracles
among ym. Gal. 3. 1. 2. 3. 5. And he gives ym chiding exasperating language, calling ym foolish
bewitched men: & before they took him for their enemy for telling ym ye truth: (not
yt they revolted to Infidelity, but to joyne together ye Law & ye Gospell) Now is it
not as plain as ye light, yt if Paul had told an exasperated people where he had so
many enemyes) of Miracles wrought among ym, & askt ym How came you by this
spirit & power you? & advised ym to interpret & not to affect tongues so much, if
all this had bin false & forged, would not they have said, The man is mad to tell
us yt we have such Miraculous guifts & tongues who know no such matter? &
would not this have made Christianity a scorne & have turned all ye Chns from it a-
gaine, & made any reasonable man abhor it (it being a thing yt so many must
be suffered for) wn they see Christianity stand on such open shamelesse falshoods, wch ye whole
Chns might as easily discerne as ye light of ye sun? || 2o Consider, yt ye wonderfull Pro-
vidence of God hath transmitted ye sacred writings to us by ye most unquestionable
way yt ever writings in ye world were transmitted: even by a more infallible way yn
ye Statutes of England have bin transmitted to posterity. He yt knowes not this, it is
bec he is a stranger to Antiquity. And if any say, This is not sufficient to ye vulgar yt
cannot be acquainted with antiquity; I ans. 1o They may better say, The vulgar can have
no Assurance of ye truth of ye Lawes & consequently of their Estate or lives, bec they are
ignorant of antiquity: 2o wt plainer course could we possibly devise for God to have
revealed his mind to us by, except every man in every age & yet of ye world must
needes see ye Miracles with his own eyes. For he yt was at ye next doore might as well
doubt bec he saw it not, as wee. And if God must worke a miracle before every man in
every corner of ye world in every age, before yt man must believe, ye miracles would be
no miracles, but utterly lose their force by yr Comonnes: & yn no man would believe for yt
& yn Naturall Governmt would be overthrowne. Yea yn wt need were there of any Scriptu-
For if God must work a Miracle before ye eyes of every man yt must believe, yn he
may as well reveale his Law from heaven immediatly to every particular man, yt he
no Heralds for promulgation. To expect this as necessary or reasonable is unreasonable.
4o The 4th Worke of ye Spirit affords us two more Argumts. The first from ye Goodnes & Greatnes of ye
works of Sanctification on ye soule. The 2d from ye Connaturality or Agreemt of those works
& ye word of God. || 1o That Doctrine wch is sealed by ye constant operation of such works
for Goodnes & Greatnes, as are certainly wrought by ye spirit of God, must needs be
Divine. But such is ye Doctrine of ye Scriptures: ergo &c. || The Major is undenyable.
Two things are requisite for ye proofe of ye Minor. 1o To shew yt such works are wrought. 2o
to shew yt they seale ye doctrine of ye Scripture. And ye first is knowne to those yt have
ye spirits workings on their owne soules, in any good measure, & are not clouded with
temptations so as to be disabled from discerning ym. Only remember by ye way, yt this
work of ye spirit is such an Argumt, as none can make use of fully, but ye sanctifyed
who do enjoy it: & I thinke this is ye chiefe way of ye spirits witnessing now in us
to ye Truth of Scripture. Yet ye wicked might see much of ye Goodnes & Greatnes of this
worke in ye Godly, if malice & inobservancy were not added to their darknes. As
bad as ye Godly are through ye remainders of Corruption yet there is so great

difference betweene ye [illegible] workes, as might well be discerned. yt there are such workes in [illegible] as holy desires & breathings after God & everlasting blessednes, Delight in holy imploym[ts], hatred of sin, mortification of fleshly inclinations, watching agt ye most secret stirr[ings] of ye heart, with many ye like, they yt have ym may know. yt these workes are [of] God appeares, in yt they beare his Image & superscription. 1o No Lying spirit is a spirit [of] Holynes, nor will do workes so Good, as to reduce ye fallen world to their obedience [of God], worke out & mortifye all iniquity. 2o None but God is able to do it. So Great a worke is [it] to prevaile agt naturall Inclinations, Customes, & strongest Interests of this potent flesh yt so [illegible] us. 3o Besides, usually ye very manner of ye working, as well as ye matter, convince[s] those yt feele it yt it is of God. 4o And so doth ye potent maintaining of it agt oppositions, & temptations both of prosperity & adversity, even somtimes to ye losse of life.

And 2o yt these workes do seale to ye Scriptures is unquestionable 1o In yt ye first [illegible] ym is to perswade men of ye Truth of Scripture. 2o In yt they are all promised by Xt in the Gospell, & all wrought in ye performance of yt promise. 3o In yt ye Scripture is ye very Instrumt by wch they are all wrought. 4o In yt they are wrought on none in ye world but on Believers. For tho: a few droppings of ye Spirit in Comon Guifts might fall on a Socrates, a Seneca, & yet not the forementioned work of Sanctification. Where is ye people under heaven yt have those strange meltings & new moldings of their hearts & lives, & yt ever lived such a Heavenly Conversation, as ye sound Believers in Xt amongst us do. where & when did under any Religion do wt Xtianity hath done? for a Saint of God to doubt of ye truth of Scripture, who hath felt it so cast downe & raise & change & restraine & elevate his soule, doth shew much forgetfulnes & ungratefull overlooking ye workes of God, & ye prevalency of temptation. And yt it is not ye meer efficacy of ye word, but a supernaturall efficacy of ye Spirit by yt word wch I now argue from, & wch is evident in Believers. //

5o The last Argumt is this: wt ye Spirit of God do worke in Believers a Complacency in & a Conformity to all ye [illegible] of Scripture Doctrine, yn yt doctrine is certainly of God. But ye Spirit of God doth so worke [illegible] // As ye seale makes sure an Impression on ye waxe wch is its owne likenes in every [illegible] by wch it may be knowne, so doth ye Spirit make ye Impresse of Divine doctrine upon or hearts: & thus we are all taught of God. So yt as there is a Conaturality betweene Nature & ye Law & Instincts of Nature; so is there a Conaturality betweene ye Principles & duties of ye Gospell & a Renewed soule. So yt there is a transcript of ye Gospell on or hearts, & so God writes his Law in or hearts. So contrary is Xtn doctrin to carnall Interest, yt mans heart would never receive this Impression if there were nothing to cause it but ye bare word: But ye arme of ye Spirit doth it by ye Instrumentality of this word. // Moreover hereby ye soule hath an approving relish of ye Scripture doctrine, so yt savouring ye things of ye Spirit, perhaps it may be said to apprehend ye Goodnes of ym by this feeling or tast besides ye Reasoning way. And this should not seeme impossible, to ym yt know ye Nature of ye wills motion, & of ye Creation of ye finall cause. How much is done by a meer secret Sympathy, or Conaturality, per modum naturæ. Me thinks I tast such a sweetnes in Xtn doctrine, yt if all my reasonings were silenced, I hope this Tast would not permitt me to let it goe. 1 Joh. 5. 10. 11. He yt believeth hath ye witnes in himself. wch witnes I think lyeth in ye matter of these two last argumts conjunct. Let Satan wrangle as long as he will there is somthing in a sound Xtian yt will beare witnes to ye Scripture, & not suffer him to loose his hold: There is a Spirit yt there is a nature & there are former experiences of ye power & sweetnes of Scripture yt will not suffer him to forsake it; tho: superficiall hypocrites may. //

If God sent you no more for Argumts, I hope you may receive these as returned from him: Only pray for ye Eyesalve of ye Spirit. And againe, let one Good Argumt seeme sufficient, & looke not after many. The maine worke lyeth in answering of yor Exceptions, wch will best be done by one at hand. In ye name of God I beseech you maintaine an abhorrence of ye sin of Infidelity & receive no temptation lightly, but with trembling & resistance. Tho: I would have men know why they Believe as throughly as may be wt is ever knowne, & yet Satan cavills & wearyeth you with injecting doubts, cast ym away & satisfye him not so farr as to heare him dispute at pleasure. You may perceive by ye involuntary[nes] of yor Doublings, & ye incessant Violence of temptations, yt they come from ye Devill & yor are [illegible]. Most Melancholy men are sorely assaulted with ym. I know not yor Case, but these argumts wch you have desired to yor use, desiring God to adjoyne his Blessing. Remaine

Kederminster July 5o 1653. Yor Brother & fellow servant

Rich: Baxter

Deare Brother 4

1° I never receivd any of yors but wt I answered, save one about Predetermination & knowledge of future contingents.

2° I dare not presume to give advice for the orderinge of Mr Mantons Church: & therfore I pray hold me excused.

3° Mr Morrice his termes, as in his Proposition I have nothinge against, save yt I know not wt he meanes by a Dogmaticall faith: I can say no more to you of those things yn I have done in my Disp. of Right to Sacraments. We finde here no way better, yn 1° to distinguish betweene Infant title & membership, and Adult: & to take all ye Baptized as Infant members, but not as Adult till they are admitted into yt ranke (wch Confirmation should doe) upon personall profession, wch is the Condition of ye title of ye Adult. 2° To Catechize & personally instruct all the Parish once over (yt will come) & note in a booke who are tollerable in knowledge & life (for many are starke Infidells). 3° Then to invite all the Parish yt owne their membership in yt Parish Church, to come to ye minister (on days appointe by course) & signifye their consent or owninge him, & their membership. 4° Those yt refuse, after long waitinge & warninge, cast out yorselves from or charge. 5° Those yt come in, take all their names in a booke, & if any of the intollerably Ignorant come desire ym first to learne awhile as Catechumen's, & yn come againe: & if any scandalous come, tell ym yt they must expect ye exercise of Discipline accordinge to Math. 18. 15. 16. 17. 6° The rest yt consent, publish their names in ye Congregation, on some day appointed, & let ym there all make profession of their faith (conjunctly) & their consent to their Church state, & submission to ye Pastors teachinge & Governmt &c.

4° ffor Proofe yt you may Examine ym, I know no more needfull yn to prove yt you are their Teacher & Ruler, in order to their attainment of knowledge & life. Are they not comanded to submitt to you & obey you, & wt need there more? This must extend to all yt belongs to yor office: And yt personall teachinge doth so, I know none yt deny. Its full proofe yt a Child is bound to come to his father wn he calls him, or a subject to ye Magistrate, or a servant to the master, because they are bound to obey ym. And so they are to obey the Pastor. Will you aske for proofe whether a Schoolmaster may Examine his Schollers or call ym to say ye lessons they have learnt? Its enough yt they are bound to obey him as a teacher. If we call ym to no more yn is usefull to their owne Edification by us, as their Teachers, ye generall comand of obeyinge obligeth ym. Heb. 3. 7. 17. 24. 1 Thess. 5. 12. Sir accept this hasty answere from

Yor Brother Ri: Baxter.

Octob. 24. 57.

To my Reverend Brother
Mr Abraham Pinchbecke
minister at Coven Garden
these dd

hrough this hasty answer to yor last: 1o The word Title taken strictly signifyeth fun-
mentum juris: & so ye Promise or Grant of God is ye only Title: but in a larger sense it com-
rehendeth mans Condition, wch is thus a subordinate Title. The Covenant as mutuall con-
sisteth of these two pts or Titles; & so [a Covenant Title] is so far ambiguous. Ex pte
Donatoris we have but one Title, wch is ye [Free Guift through Christ]: but as to ye
ubordinate Title ex pte nostri, there is more yn one: I had rather call this conditio
tituli, yn ye title itselfe, but yt I comply wth custome. Now ye condition of Title to
nfant Priviledges, is [The Parents Believinge Dedication of ye Child in Covent to God]
but ye Condition of Title to Adult Ch: state & priviledges, is [a personall faith] or
Covenantinge or Profession at least (wch coram Ecclesia is ye Condition): I suppose
you will make no Question of this much; & yn I will not differ wth you about the
word [Title] beinge as little in love wth it as you. So yt you need not seeke to con-
vince me yt Infants are in Covenant & have ye Covenant Title, but you should prove
yt ye Condition on or parts is ye same in Infancy as at age. And if so yn either no In-
fants are in Covenant for want of personall faith, or all Apostates are in Covent
yt renounce ye Christ whom in Infancy they were engaged to. // 2o But you say yt
when they are growne up, they owne yt Engagement, they will owne their Baptisme
& do owne it by an open profession &c] Ans. 1o you grant then, yt a new condition is re-
quisite, else let ym forbeare yt profession & owninge their Baptisme, or owninge God or Xt
& ye H: Ghost, & bid you refuse ym if you dare. Their Parents faith or Profession was
ye condition at ye first, & will not serve wn they come to age: but ye condition yn is their
owne faith or profession. There's no more doubt of this yn whether ye Turkish
Janizaries be Christians & should be admitted to ye Sacramt. Pardon, if in so palpable a
case (besides knowne Scripture grounds allready mentioned) I tell you yt its a part of
ye very Popish canon Law, & is out of Augustine inserted into ye Decret. part 3. dist. 3
cap (mihi) 1241 [Parvulus autem qui baptizatur, si ad annos rationales veniens, non
crediderit, nec ab illicitis abstinuerit, nihil ei prodest quod parvulus accepit]. Or if
you more regard a Greeke Canon, Zonaras hath ye like, in Comment. in Epist. Canon:
Can. 45. S. Basil. M. Epist. 2. ad Amphiloch. [Si quis accepto nomine Christianismi
Christum contumelia afficit, nulla est illi appellationis utilitas]. Zonar. Qui Xtum
credidit et Christianus appellatus est, cum ex divinis praeceptis vitam instituere
oportet, ut hac ratione Deus per ipsum glorificetur, quemadmodum illis verbis praecipitur
sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus &c. Siquis autem nominatur quidem Christianus
Dei vero praecepta transgreditur, contumeliam irrogat Christo, cujus de nomine
appellatur, nec quicquam ex ea appellatione utilitatis trahit]. 2o And if a personall
profession & new condition be requisite to continue ym in ye Church, & give ym ye privi-
ledges of ye Adult yn no doubt, but ye most cleare expresse & open profession, is
most fitt & suitable to ye end. And ye Pastor beinge ye administrator of ye ordinance
& Governor of ye Church, it must be under his hand or direction & approbation. But
t must this profession be? you say [they owne their engagemt]. Ans. Either
you meane [they approve of their Parents Dedication] or [they ymselves do personally
renew ye same Covent & profession]. The first is nothinge to ye purpose. A man yt
turnes Turke may approve his Parents act in his Baptisme, though he will not stand to
ye Covent yn made. The latter so no doubt is necessary. But wts yt? you say [yt ye
Scriptures are ye word of God, & ye Rule of faith & manners, & they desire to be in ye
body of ye Church] Ans. 1o ye first I am not against, though it be hard to prove, yt
any was ever Baptized into ye Scripture; or yt any yt by Tradition, without ye knowledge
of Scripture, beleived ye Essentialls of ye Xtian faith, was refused Baptisme. 2o And to
beleive ye Scripture to be true may stand wth ye renouncinge any proper Covent wth Xt.
3o And to desire [to be in ye Church] is meant either de nomine, speakinge those gene-
rall words; wch is to no purpose: for a man yt knoweth not wt a Church is, or be-
lieveth not in God ye Creator Redeemer or Sanctifyer may implicitely desire to be in
ye Church. Or you meane it explicitely, & yn I grant it, yt it is sufficient, for its ye
same yt I plead for, yt is, to enter a personall Covent wth God ye Father, Son & H. Ghost
personally & explicitely owne & renew ye Baptismall Covenant. No less will
serve by yor owne words: And wt ye Baptismall Covent is I will refer you to my
Disp. of Sacramts. There is good reason yt personall profession, & Covenantinge be
solemne open, or notorious to ye Church, ere ye person may be admitted to ye privi-
ledges of ye Adult, as yt ye Parents profession be open to admitt him to Infant pri-
viledges. You say [By ye same Reason ye Title of ye Adult may be distinguished
or they may fall from it &c. Ans. Still we tell you yt yor prop title be ye

Donatoris is but one, but ye condition on or pt is more yn one. And yn I deny yor
Consequence & need not shew you ye difference. A Janizary or notoriously ungod
ly ꝑson yt was Baptized in Infancy, doth not fall from a ꝑsonall faith, nor
ceass ye Condition yt entered him into Covent, but ye fruit of ye Covent ceaseth to
him, becs yt condition was but pro statu infantili; & so becs he addeth not ye
other Condition (of adult priviledges) wn he comes to age according to his promis
he falls short of an adult Church state & priviledges. But ye Adult Apostate
looseth not his title for want of another condition ꝑformed, but for not con
tinuing wt he was & did ꝑforme (or seeme to do). Do you thinke yt ye Parents
Dedication will serve for continuance, as it did for entrance? // ffor mr Han
mers booke, if I had not observed yt he said too little from scripture, I had not
added wt I did. And on yt account I am importuned by some of great esteeme
to second him by some fuller proofes, but I know not whether I shall have time.
To yor next. &c. I answere. Xt hath incompleate members: who ever doubted of
it (till Hagar yt reproacheth me for yt word) but it followeth not yt Christ
is but halfe their head, or yt they shall be but halfe saved. Membership hath
more priviledges yn Union with Xt & Salvation. An unbaptized beleiver is bu
an incompleate member, & yet Xt is more yn halfe his head, & he shall be more
yn halfe saved. But he shall not be so much as halfe partaker of ye externall
Comunion of ye Church, or any of ye ordinances prop to ym. Tho Parents are more
yn halfe Parents to an Embrio, & yet he is not a compleate man. An infant is
but an incompleate member of ye Comonwealth, & yet ye Prince is more yn halfe
his head. If you take a lease for yor Son of 1000li ꝑ anum, & agree yt ye fin
shall serve for his Infant state, but wn he is at age he shall pay a rent or
forfeit his title & receive no comodity, here ye infant is an incompleate tenan
capable of nothing but his provision & tutelage, & shall not have it in his owne
possession & confirmed to him till personall Rent or Homage. He yt is uncapab
of internall operations & Consolations prop to ye Adult, & of all their externall pri
viledges & Ch: Comunion, both for want of age (or naturall capacity) & of a new
Condition of title (a morall capacity) is an incompleate (& yet a true) Ch: member
But such are Infants Baptized &c // ffor ye texts wch you mention: Do you think
yt all yt were Baptized at age, upon a ꝑsonall profession, were adult members b
fore? And for ye rest, if they were adult members before ye pticular Covenanting
yt I instance in, yet not before some other of ye same kind. ffor if they can bea
members without a ꝑsonall covenanting or profession of faith, yn Infidells are me
bers. And I do not talke of a Ch: of ye Adults & another of Infants, nor of ta
king in ꝑsons Circumcized (yn) or Baptized (now) in Infancy into ye Ch: by an af
Covent, but of continuing ym in ye Ch: & of entitleing ym de novo to all ye p
viledges prop to ye Adult upon a personall covenanting. // ffor wt you adde
about yor Judgmt I answ. 1o How far ye Magistrate should interpose, is nothing to
ye ꝑsent busyns: But sure ye minister hath as imediate power from Xt to Guide
or Rule by Teaching, as ye magistrate by force: And so if you would give the
Sacramt to a refuser, ye magistrate hath no reason to hinder it, much less as
Asa would have done, to take away his life, yt would not be a Covenantor. Su
yt was more agt his liberty, yn yor denying him ye Sacramt. 2o ffor my pt I
will take him for an Infidell yt refuseth to confess Xt, & for one unfit for
Comunion of ye visible Church yt refuseth to obey ye Church or ministers of Xt
yt shall call him to confess him. If he do neither in ye termes & maner prop
ed to him, nor in any other, ꝑsonally covent with Xt or profess ye essentialls of Xtian
I make no difference betweene him & other Infidells, but yt he is an Apostate
alsoe. But if he will covent & profess in his owne maner & kind, & refuse
obey ye Pastor in point of time & maner meerly lest he betray his liberty, I shal
take him for a schismatick & unruly & scandalous; & as he takes it for his li
berty to be from under Pastorall Guidance, his liberty he shall have as a rebe
lious straggler without ye pticular Church: but far be it from me to make such
a scorne of ye holy office wch I am in & of ye ordinances of God, as to take on me
to be ye guide of ye man yt takes it for his necessary liberty to refuse my guida
as such. I will not so deceive ye sinner as to make him beleive he is a regular
Christian under Pastorall Governmt, wn he openly disowneth it in ye thing, tho
he owne it in ye bare name. // To yor next. 1o Do you thinke yt a Schoolmaster
Parent or Magistrate may act despotically? they are to Rule by ye Lawes of God
as well as we. 2o Our power of Governmt is no less truly such in its genere, yn a
Parents Schoolmasters, or Magistrates in theirs. They have power to comand & punish

ye disobedient by ye sword) we have power to comand & punish ye disobedient by a
due application of ye censures of Gods word & an answerable execution. We canot
goe agt Law, nor no more can they: We canot adde to Gods Lawes any precepts
about his worship, but only determinative of Scripture Generalls; nor no more can
they. But were there never so great difference in other things, in this there is none:
If I may not as a Teacher call a pson to learne in order to ye end of my office,
yn no more may a Parent, Schoolmaster or Magistrate call ym to come to ym
on any busyness in order to ye ends of theirs. Is it not difference enough herein
yt we allow all ym a compulsive coercive power, wch we yeild yt we have none!
But if my Comand bind not conscience indirectly from my office, no more will
ye Comand of King or Parent in their place. You say [ministers must shew Law
for all or demands] Ans. True: A perticular Law for all things universally and
immediately due from ye Church to God (for no power on earth can make such
comands: God only must make universall Lawes) But a generall comand of Scripture
is enough, for cases where God hath gone no further, but left it to officers or others
to determine of ye pticulars under yt generall. So yt if I shew ym in Scripture yt
Pastors must Rule ym & they must obey, & yt we must do all to Edificn orderly &
Decently &c I thinke I have shewed ym sufficient Scripture for their Obeying
me if I call ym to be instructed, unless they can prove yt it is in some such
season or maner as is destructive to ye ends. And if you meet with any minister
yt thinks otherwise, let ym plainly tell their people so & not deprive ym of their
Liberty yet, & let ye people learne to refuse to heare ym till they shew ym a Text
of Scripture yt saith A. B. or C. D. are ministers of Christ & yt they must
read this chapter rather yn another, & preach on this text rather yn another;
let ym not singe ye Psalme yt you set ym lest they loose their liberty till you
shew ym a text, yt you must read or set ye Psalme. Let ym not come to Church
till they see a text giving you power to call ym together to yt place rather yn
another: And let ym refuse to come to yor Lecture on ye day you appoint it, or
to any day of Humiliation or Thanksgiving, till you shew ym a text appointing
ym yt day, or you to appoint it. If you would have ym bring their Children to
one place for Baptisme, let ym choose another: If you would have ym drinke
in one cup at ye Sacramt, let ym refuse it, till you shew ym pticular texts
comanding ym all these. Either we Rule by Power received from God as his
Officers, or as Physitions by meere Consent without any Authority: If ye former,
yn we have Authority to require ym to come to us to be taught, & to determine of
Circumstances not determined of by God (as Time Place &c) or else we are no
Rulers at all: If ye latter, yn I have ye Liberty of a Physitian, & (for my ends sake
& ye honor of my profession) I will be a Physitian to none yt will not be ruled
by me. I am a free man as well as they. I was not borne under an obligati-
on to give this or yt man ye Sacramt: And if they are free to dissent, I am
free to dissent: If they have a Liberty I have a Liberty: If I am obliged, they
are obliged. If they say, I am ambitious of Rule for determining of a meere
Circumstance (wch some body must determine of & who else shall do it) they
may say so much more for my becoming a Pastor, yt is, a Ch: Guide or Ruler: If they
can but prove yt I was ambitious of ye office, they have cause to blame me: If not,
they have small reason to say I am ambitious of doing ye worke of ye office.
But as ye honor is but for ye worke, so too many pretend to disowne ye honor
in humility, yt they may evade ye worke through a tired fleshly lazy temper.
Sir, I fit my answere to ye matter & not to you, supposing you, as you intimate,
to speake but wt is ye mind of some others. The Lord strengthen & direct you
& blesse yor labors. Remember my love to laborious Mr Manton. Mr Baldwin hath
had a very long sicknes, wch hath left him distempered though he Preach again,
& I hope will overgrow it. I remaine

Yor Brother

Decemb. 15. 1657.

Ri: Baxter.

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To my Reverend Brother Mr Abraham
Pinchbecke Minister at Coben Garden
London these

Dear Brother

To yor last (by mr Moss) I crave yor acceptance of this breife returne
9 1o I may well take yor friendly caution agt erringe, as a warrant to forbear
my bold solutions of such difficult Questions as you propound. Its oft repeat-
ed by Augustine, yt he had mett wth many yt were willinge to deceive, but never
wth one yt was willinge to be deceived. Though concupiscence may make ym
desirous yt pleasinge falshoods were truths, yet can it hardly make ym wil-
linge to believe ym for Truths while they know ym to be false: or at least they
canot do it if they would. If I erre so, it is most like to be through weak-
nes, wch I can easily lament & wish to be delivered from, but not so easily
overcome. And if I say any thinge to cases yt are beyond my reach, I must
unavoidably manifest my weaknes, either by passinge over difficultyes & so
beinge unsatisffactory, or else by comunicatinge my mistakes. As yt reason
wch you give from mens suspicions & exceptions hath made me of late years
speake more cautelously yn heretofore, & perswaded me to forbeare acquaint-
inge yt world wth any of my conceits wch are not agreeable to those wch they
have received, & to cast by such Papers as I thought were like to offend ym
by any shew of novelty &c, so I am sometime inclined to forbeare hereafter
to answere to any difficult Questions, yt be not of very great necessity, yt so I
may be sure to give no erroneous answers, & not to wronge ye understandings of
those yt I desire to profitt. But yet I confess by ye power of truth (if I
mistake not) & an estimation of its interest above any other, I am strongly
provoked to blab out any thinge, that I do confidently thinke to be true and
weighty; & if it be such as trouble not ye peace of ye Church, let it trouble my
reputation & spare not. But as I take yor counsaile for caution very thank-
fully, so I desire you to helpe me by yor prayers to obey it. || 2o To yor
first Question (wch is of great moment for ye understandinge of Pauls Epistles)
I must confess yt after long study of ye point, I am not able to tell you, wt ptes
of Moses Law are in force, if any be, nor to make any sense of divers passages
of Paul, if ye whole Law be not taken downe, or ceased wth yt republike. So yt
(as over violent as I am accused to be agt ye Antinomians) I have this 7 years
if not 7 more bin of ye opinion yt Moses Law as such is ceased or abrogate. But
1o The Law of nature remaineth still in force, 2o & all ye Positives of Christ, by
wch two together he governeth his Church. 3o And so much of ye Materials
of Moses Law are still in force, as the Law of Nature. It bindeth us under another
forme, but not under yt forme, as part of yt Covent or Law of wch he was the
Mediator; no not ye Decalogue itselfe. 4o But yn I adde, yt ye Reasons of yt Law
may be still in force, & it is very usefull to us for ye better understandinge of the
Law of Nature itselfe, wch is become obscure in many things to lapsed man.
Gods determinations in ye Law of Moses do expound ye Law of Nature to us in many
points. And so it is very usefull to us to read yt Law as such an exposition, though not
to take it formally to be in force. And wt need we more to bind us, yn ye Law of Na-
ture & ye Law of Grace by Xt, wth ye help of Moses Law for an Expositor (e.g. in
ye case of prohibited degrees of marriage &c). If yt be done away yt was
written in stone (as Paul plainly saith) yn surely ye Decalogue as formally
Moses Law is done away. || 3o As to yor other Question (exceedinge considerable)
bec I have said so much to it in my directions for Peace of Conscience, &
more especially in my Disput. of Justification, in a leafe after ye answere to Mr
Tombes, pag. 397. It is as good for me tell you yt I have no better answere yn
yt to give you, as to transcribe it. So many difficultyes rise before me in holy studyes,
as would be a greater temptation to me, but yt ye consciousnes of my great weakness
easily causeth me to lay ye blame upon my darke understandinge wn ever I am at a loss.
x I beseech you continue by yt greatest favor, yor hearty prayers to oblige

Yor weake Brother Ri: Baxter Octob. 12: 16

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publike concernments may well swallow up private dissatisfactions.
Happy they in whom there is a cheerfull indifferency for all conditions.
I trouble you with my sons lre for better conveyance

To Mr Trinckbecke

Fol. 58. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Worthy Sir,

About the week before I received both yours in one day, for which I heartily thank you. Sorry that my son is in such an incapacity as not to profit by your assistance than which I could not devise any other so likely to do him good, being well assured that no other will take the like paines with him. And thats the misery that hee needs such a cure as no physitian that I know or can imagine will undertake. The Ministry having so much work in these busie times, and the work with him being so difficult and discouraging through his obstinate setledness on his unsettledness, and confidence in his apprehensions. That physitian would work that hath not nature to help him. I could wish hee [illegible] had [illegible] studyed Scripture but only as it fals in, in polemick controversies, wherein it is ordinarily darkned (if not corrupted) by a controversial spirit which requires a great deal of grace to keep it from partiality; And the writings of men of parts have been very unhappy to younge [illegible] who cannot but be taken with their affirmings, and are not mature enough to judge of the solidity. Besides that one thing which (above all) spoils all, and that is, the exalting of natural (which is now corrupt) reason above its due pitch, and making that which should bee the servant the judge; and which should receive a law, to bee a law, and to some men it is palmarium et Theologiae caput (as Stegman speaks in his dedicatory epist.) mysteria Religionis et fidei articulos legibus humanae rationis aptare, et perenni Theologico-philosophicarum argutiarum diluvio auditorum animos inundasse &c. wherein my son is more than others involved by the study of natural Theology, and a presumption (I doubt) upon natural parts, which it is not his manner to exercise to assist any that would do him good, but to resist and fortifie against what runs crosse to his praeconceits, which whosoever will doe, hardly shall any prevail with him or convince him. For long premeditation will create an evasion. An humble mind, a self-suspecting, a reason-suspecting heart, a praying spirit, are the way to make a man idoneus Auditor, which God alone can give, and when he gives them the man will doe the work himself. I love reason as well as other men, but when a man is once got out of Scripture to deale with reason, its hard to set up shop, for summus philosophus nondum est natus. You will give me leave thus to expatiate.

But I must returne to my son, and let you know that though I presumed so far upon your love and goodness, as to offer him to your good assistance (which was my only probable way to doe him good) yet I never meant to doe [illegible] much injury (who have so much work) as to expect the continuance of uselesse endeavours. I am much bound to you for doing so much, and it is a satisfaction to me (as it is to those whose friends die that they have consulted the physitian) that triall is made of this ~~[illegible]~~ way of setting him in the right way. I shall now take some other course with him, and trouble you no further save only to intreat you to give him the best counsell you can out of the experience you have of him. That truly ~~[illegible]~~ I am at a stand what course to take. would hee bee willing to come to me I should then take your advice, and shall move him thereunto; but to have him with me with discontent and against his spirit, is very unsutable to my spirit. And hee hath refused hee cannot with content bee with me, whereof I know no reason but this, hee knows wee do not like his opinions. Yet when hee hath been with me I have seldom spoken of them, nor ever carried my self so harshly to him as that hee should bee afraid of my house. Assure your self, if hee be not with me the fault shall not be found on my side. But if hee cannot find in his heart to live contentedly with me I must leave him to himself, resolving to maintaine him no longer at the University, nor elsewhere. As for B.D. if hee come not to mee (which I have told him I desired that hee might help me to finish my work and I him, to begin his) I shall by no meanes meddle with it. If hee come to mee and carry himself as becomes a son I shall afterward do that and any thing that there is cause for. but to do it before is but to give him a determent from mee. Wroxeter had been a fit place for him (better than a chaplaincy) but that hee is so unfit and unfixt for any place. I utterly dislike his preaching so long without a call, and was never unwilling of a call in his own way (though I think there is more of God in the other) but the thing is this, I dare not interpose my consent to his coming (any way) into the Ministry, being under so great an unsettledness (and I fear more) in those things which are so weighty. If any think good to order him into it, I shall pray it may doe well, but for my part I may not have a hand in it. It is above me to know what to doe with him, and his condition such (though I thank God that so much is good) that (were it not that my own sins may well moderate me) it were very hard to bear it. Only I live upon hope, and many tell me (as they did Monica) (I cannot say tot lacrymarum, my temper denies that, but) tot precationum filius non potest perire. I beseech you adde to your paines, your prayers, wherein only I can requite you, and acknowledge what I cannot requite, but the Lord will not be unmindfull of all your labours of love whatever the successe bee.

Aug. 31. 1659.

Your much ingaged Brother

William Thomas

X

Sir. I am glad to hear of concerning to my son your thoughts about original sin & divers other things give cause of fear but that of trembling) I have written for the papers that have passed betw. you, & have invited my son home at the end of the quarter so hee will bee with content with mee — but I doubt he will divert, every mans mind being to be with those of his mind.

Mr Underhil (if there bee occasion) may find any thing safe to mee in his last way

publike concernments may well swallow up private dissatisfactions.

Happy they in whom there is a chearfull indifferency for all conditions.

I trouble you with my sons lre for better conveyance

Reverend Sr

1. I forbore long to write to you, because I had nothing of moment to acquaint you with. At last I wrote by London way, engageing Mr Underhill to send it to you: but by your son I understand you received it not. Having found that your son did differ from me, in some points (most philosophicall, about the very being or nature of all habits & inclinations; & the possibility of Gods effectuall causing a free act &c) I was forced to dispute these with him first: because they being supposed in the dispute of originall sin, & speciall grace & many of the rest in wch we differ, I could do nothing further, being here stopt at the entrance. But all is to no purpose. Your son professeth his unfitnesse for present verball conference, in order to his satisfaction: It must be by writing: I desired him to write expeditiously, he in one roome & I in another: we tried it one day: but this also he will not proceed in nor stand to what he speaks, or so suddainly writes: & so when he revoketh it I lose all my labour. I have since proceeded to make one more attempt in his deliberate way, but to no satisfaction of his or mine: for we agree not in our principles: so that in a word, I find my weaknesse to be so great, that I am uncapable of serving your son or you, in the businesse that you expected my assistance in. And therefore I advise you to let your son loose no more of his time here: for lost it must be: & time is pretious: For my part seeing conference, & present writing are unsatisfactory to him, I am utterly uncapable, through ye multitude of my imploiments to follow him any further in his way of copious long deliberated writings: especially wn I see yt they alsoe are uselesse. He desireth to live as a chaplaine. I thought it most convenient that he should live with yourselfe: For methinks there should be more forbearance & consequently more quiet & comfort betweene a Father & an only son, then among strangers. I can live comfortably with him, (he being of a quiet disposition, & a blamelesse life) much more may you &c. I thought from the beginning that his abode here would be but to his losse, & experience now forceth me to tell you, that you must expect no more from me, but what I may as well do at a distance as if he be here. I pray desire him to send you a copy of all the papers yt have past betweene us, yt you may se how the case stands. I thinke to give him shortly my thoughts about originall sin but I can as well do it if he be elsewhere as here. One or other draweth him most weekes to preach for them: wn he is at home, he joineth with us in the publike worship. To the rest I thought not meet to urge him. The Lord direct you & quiet your soule in submission to his disposalls, & blesse your labours for his Church. I remaine

your Brother
Ri. Baxter.

Aug. 6. 1659

ffor my Reverend Brother Mr
William Thomas Minister
at Ubley in Somersetshire
this

(No 109)

~~Wt~~ Deale 20th Janr: 1673/4

Worthy Sr

As vnaquainted my kind respects salute you &c
Having since my Arivall att London from Germany (being the last Summer) endeavoured severall times to have discharged an Ingagement that was (there) imposed vpon me by delivering verbally a message to you, I was disappointed in my Endeavours herein whilst I was at London, & from thence my occasions calling me away deprived me of the happinesse of being acquainted wth you, am therefore constrained to supply ye want by my pen rather then bury in silence a message wch I hope will be acceptable to you & to all ye Lords people, & as to wch I could not be satisfied untill I had Communicated the same unto you as followeth, &c.

That in the time of my Abode (march last) in the Citty of Brem, (vpon ye Borders of Germany) I had the happinesse of being acquainted there wth a faithfull minister of gods word, one Mr Underrecht who made knowne vnto me that your Labours published in Print, had been (& were) very vsefull in those parts, & gave great satisfaction to many that were Readers thereof, & to him as being one who had recd great Bennefitt by them therefore Earnestly Injoyne me to acquaint you therew, & w acknowledge himselfe yr Debtour, & as an Instrument (vnder god) thereby of much good to him, the Perticulars as to wch I cannot at present Instance, but in Generall as aforesd, & in short I have according to my Promise, (as my ocations would Permitt) imparted this unto you; &c. Now that the Blessing of the Lord may attend yr faithfull Labours, in Publique & Private, in this Land & others. That this yr honourable important work of God may goe on & prosper, & that you amongst the faithfull Labourers in Gods Vineyard may be hereby incouraged, forasmuch as it is knowne yt yr Labours is not Vaine in the Lord; I add my Prayers that you may be a further Instrument in the hand of God for the good of Soules, to ye Glory of his Name; so earnestly beseeching a Christianlike Remembrance of me in yr Addresses to God in private & amongst the Assembly of Saints, & that I may be of that number, & may be kept from Sin, & ye Temptations of fforreign Parts, whither I am going: I conclude,

Revd Sr yrs to my Power
& weake Ability
Ephraim Bendall

Sr I have been here a Considerable time waiting for a Wind being bound for Barbados, & New Engld in either of wch places I Intend (god willing) to Reside. In ye meane time if you should honour me wth a line, I should highly esteeme yrof & you may please to direct it to ye Signe of ye Dolphin in Deale aforesd, &c

(No 103)

Att
To the Reverend Devine
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of Gods word,
These At Sent
On
London

~~Mr Humphrey seeing you intend to write to the R R Bp of Oxford, because I have no acquaintance with him, if you think it convenient adde this wch followeth as from me.~~

Reverend Sir!

As I ~~doubt not but his Lp hath~~ am to suppose that you have the great Conduct (as your own) in such Aca-
3 demicall decrees, so we owe ~~him~~ yourself with the rest, our thanks for ~~[illegible]~~ your
disowning all dangerous principles, & trayterous & rebellious prac-
tices, & for ~~their~~ your just care of the [illegible] peace, & of the life & honour
of the King, & his successors: ~~[illegible]~~ to the booke called My Politicall
Aphorismes; as I repented the writing of it & publickly retracted it long agoe,
& oft, in divers writings & publike professions, so I do consent to ~~their~~ your
Decree for the Burning of it, so farre am I from vindicating it:
How much of the Doctrine of it I owne or renounce I have so fully
declared in a booke called The second Plea for Peace, yt I think it su-
perfluous to do it againe; where also I have renounced many more
opinions as disloyall than the University hath done. The first Con-
demned Proposition with many such, as asserted by Mr Hooker & others of the
Church of England, & the multitude of Politike writers, I long agoe con-
futed at large, both in Christ. Direct. Par. 3. & even in these Polit. Aphorismes.
But I am now ~~by weaknesse & [illegible] unable~~ through sicknesse & age unfit to discusse such matters, that
I cannot so much as find those five propositions de facto in my retracted
booke which the University charge it with (though many more I find which
I retract). 1 That if lawfull Governours become tyrants ~~or~~ governe otherwise than by the
Lawes of God & man they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had
to their Government.] This I cannot find; but a great deale to the cleane contrary
pag. 111. 112. 126. 128. 129. 372. 373. except yt every essence of the Kingdome or
Government be destroyed, by hostilitie [illegible] against the whole,
& not against a party only. Yea I thought I did somewhat more than I
had elsewhere found, in proving that even Infidel yea & Atheist Kings
must be obeyed in all that's good & not resisted. I confesse I
~~[illegible]~~ cited the Apostolicall Constitut. li. 8. c. 2 saying, Neq; vero Rex impius
Rex est amplius, sed Tyrannus. Neq; Episcopus ignorantia aut malo ani-
mo oppletus, episcopus est, sed falsus Episcopus, non a Deo, sed ab ho-
minibus promotus. And I cited Augustine de Civ. Dei saying, Ubi non est
vera justitia, juris consensu sociatus coetus hominum non potest esse, et ideo
nec populus: et si non populus, nec Res populi, sed qualiscunq; multi-
tudinis quae populi nomine digna non est. Ac per hoc, si Respublica
Res est Populi, et Populus non est qui consensu juris sociatus non est,
non est autem Jus ubi nulla est Justitia, procul dubio colligitur, ubi Justitia
non est, non esse Rempublicam. But ye first I confute, & ye last I owned
not, in Augustines latitude. ~~[illegible]~~ Nevertheless I had rather they burnt my booke, than
the Apostolicall Constitutions (tho' Clement supposed) or Augustine de Civ. Dei. ||
II I confesse that I then thought yt ye Parliament had had a part in
Legislation: But Bp [illegible] sayeth much agt it, ~~Bu~~ & I shall now leave it
for my duty to leave such cases to those that they belong to. That wch
induced me to it was 1o Their practice: 2o The words [Be it enacted
by the authority thereof] 3o The Ks answer to the 19 Propositions.
4o The consent of all ye Lawyers yt I had enquired of. 5o And the
consent of Bps & Church Divines: I thought had it been treason to hold
it, such men as Hooker, Bilson, Jewell, Abbot &c would have been
at least reproved for saying much more. But I find not where
ever I said yt [ye K may be overruled by ye other two] wch they adde. ||
III The 10th Prop. [Possession & strength give a right to governe, &
successe in a cause or enterprize proclaimes it to be lawfull &
just. To pursue it is to comply with ye will of God, because it is to follow
the conduct of his providence.] I doubt there is some edition of yt
booke yt I know not of, where some body hath put this in: for it
is not in my booke yt I can find, and I must not say yt ye Univer-
sity would say it if it were not true. But I have written so much
to the cleane contrary, & in preaching & print & in speech to
Cromwell, hath laboured to prove it false, & defended Mr Gee's
booke agt it, yt I must say, what's become of ye credit of History
IV The 15th Prop. is also charged on me [If a people by oath & duty are
obliged to a Soveraigne shall sinfully dispossesse him & contrary to their
Covenants, choose & covenant with another they may be obliged by their
later Covenant notwithstanding their former] But here all this is left

A Short ~~to the Vicechancellor of Oxford~~ in reference to the Judgment and Decree of ~~that~~ the University of Oxford past in their Convocation the July 21 1683 agt certain Pernicious Books & Damnable Doctrines, Destructive to Government. To the Vicechancellor [illegible] that they are bound to defend their lawfull soveraigne to ye uttmost of their power: 2° And may not oblige ye subjects to another to his or any mans wrong: 3° Nor till he be dead or utterly uncapable, & the Nation hath endured as long as without Governmt it can subsist: 4° And that they owne not the Usurpers rebellion or usurpation: 5° And if they do it before this absolute necessity, their Oath to ye usurper obligeth them only as false Oathes do in the guilt of perjury for breaking it, but not unto the duty of keeping it; as not dissolving their former Oathes. Had you described my errour, it had bin thus done; for thus I described my opinion there:|| And in your eares I may say, I durst not so deale with our King & all Kings on earth, as to make all Oathes of allegiance to them void, if the nation by our ancestors had bin obliged by unbroken Oathes to others. Do you think yt we be not bound by our ancestors Covenants. And was this land never sworne to Brittains, to Saxons, to Danes, before it was sworne to Normans. & to the house of Yorke before it was sworne to the house of Lancaster. & after yt sometime to one house & sometime to the other. And is our oath void to our King because of all these former oathes, or any of them. I dare not here subscribe consent:||

V The 27th Prop. is charged on me [K. Ch. the 1st made warre uppon the Parliament, & in such a case, the K. may not only be resisted, but he ceaseth to be King]. The first part I retracted long agoe; The last I cannot find yt I ever said: citing Grotius for somewt like it, is not owning it, when I there professe yt I owne it not. When I went furthest in those retracted sayings, it was but this, yt when it is not, 1° bare hurting but destroying, & 2° yt not single persons or a party but the whole nation or the very essence of the Republike & common good, & 3° yt not by a passionate act, but a resolved course, than every Republike or Kingdome hath by the Law of Nature a selfe defending power; & reges & perdere, & hostis Reip. & publicus hostis to the whole land are inconsistent, as Grotius saith. And the Bp of Winchester well saith, None but a mad man will do it. And I thinke the Spaniards yt made sport by murdering so many millions, in Mexico, Peru, Hispaniola &c, & setting their mastiffs to teare them like their prey, as A. Bp. Barth. de Casas & the Jesuite Acosta eyewitnesses tell us, were to be numbred with such mad men; And its like the Spaniard would have utterly destroyed the Low Countries if they then could, when ye K killed Charles his eldest son, & Alba set up his shambles among them. And when ye Irish murdered two hundred thousand, its like they would have destroyed a protestant nation if they could; which Papist Lords & princes are bound to do by the Council of Lateran sub Innoc. 3.||

Besides these V Prop. I confesse my thoughts & books were then guilty of the 2d Prop. viz [That there is a mutuall compact tacite or expresse betweene a Prince & his subjects] But I never said yt ye breaking of this was his forfeiture, unlesse as aforesaid || it were the destroying of the essence of the Common wealth. Bp Morley is offended at my saying yt such contract or consent constitute Republikes. But as to that & ye first Prop. [yt civil authority is derived from ye people] I then maintained 1° That yt there be Magistrates is by Gods institution: 2° The chiefe part of their worke & power is made by Gods owne Lawes. 3° Monarchy is of Gods Approbation. But 1° whether ye species shall be Monarchy or Aristocracy or Mixt. 2° wt shall be the degree of power [illegible] propriety in cases not determined by God, 3° And which shall [illegible] or [illegible] & family yt shall have ye power, I thought had

fin of Men, & yt by way of [illegible]
needs thinks otherwise, I have Instruction in those few yt have
Is it not as dangerous as any thing you have condemned to subvert
all true foundations of title to our King & all the Kings on earth? And
what is the Title or fundamentum, unles yt [illegible] have any King
I accuse you not, but would learne. We doubt not but as in Gene-
ration God gives yt soule, but humane Congresse causeth the Union
of soule & body, & the various temperaments, shapes &c: So God is
the donor of Magistracy to a due Recipient, but yt it be
rather fixt on this Recipient family than another, & of this de-
gree & temperament, is it whose cause is now enquired after. ||
1° Must Revelation by Scripture or Vision name the family.
where is yt text yt nameth it. || 2° Is it Conquest yt is ye title.
I do not think Cromwell had right. Nor doe I with Hobs & Spi-
noza believe yt Possession & Strength is Right. You (wrongfully)
charge this errour on me; therefore you owne it not. Let us not
dare to tell any Greater Neighbour prince or any Rebell, yt he hath
Right if he can dispossesse yt King. || 3° But is it the Justness
of the warrs yt gives the title. What Conqueror will not say his warre
is just? & who shall be judge but he. And all ye Kingdoms, & all their
posterity will think yt they are not guilty of the sin of yt Army wch he
conquered: And man having free will, the Conquered may choose to die
rather than be subject: wch if they do not, they are subjects by consent. ||
4° Or will you lay it uppon Paternall right as Naturall. I hope you will
not put all Kings to prove such a Right of primogeniture, as continued
from Noah, & not founded in Contract. Nor expose their title when
ever such right of continued primogeniture is disproved. || 5° There
being therefore no Title within my notice pleadable, but, 1° by Revela-
tion from heaven, 2° or by Conquest 3° or by Naturall Primogeniture,
4° or by Consent or Contract, if I erred in fixing on this, it was
because I knew of no other, & was afraid to dethrone all Kings
on earth. || But as to ye Formes of Consent or Compact I said pag. 182
[The commonest way of Constituting formes of Governmt is by a forced consent,
when Conquest or Strength constraineth ye weaker to consent to escape a
greater mischiefe, & yt such consent though but implicite by submission
may be obligatory. || But I think none by consent can give away
more than their owne, nor yt of their owne, which God forbiddeth
them to give away, viz whatever is necessary to his service & their sal-
vation, & their indispensible duty to others. || I doubt not but you know
yt ye maine streame of the Greeke Philosophers, of the old Roman Philoso-
phers & Orators, of old historians, of Councils & Canonists, of Lawyers,
of Politike writers Protestants, Papists & heathens, besides Divines both
Papist & even of ye Church of England, do give so much more to
the power, liberty & property of the people than I do, yt I think you
did wisely to name only such bookes as you have done, & not theirs,
& I hope you will not burne all such, lest you spoile your
famous library, & leave few authors for students to read: And
I pitty yor students yt must in all such authors read much of yt
wch you have condemned. || And here (tho I leave it to Lawyers
whether ye Parliamt have any part in Legislation, in wch I have
thought yt K & they had bin as Father & mother in generation) yet
I will say yt I continue my words ~~same beliefs~~ of some other things wch some ~~[illegible]~~
~~mostly~~ mistakingly accuse. ¶ 1 That de jure there is no humane Go-
vernmt unlimitted, because God ye Giver of all power hath limitted it
hath in Legislation, Judgment & Execution: & de facto to claime it
Tyranny & Nullity. Were it unlimited men might by Law command subjects
to curse God, to worship ye Devil, to offer their children in sacrifice to Moloch
to kill ye innocent, to do all evil, & destroy all good: & might judge & execute
accordingly. No Turke or Christian claimes such power, but Atheists only. || 6°
2 Property is in order of Nature before Governmt: for a man is a man in order
of Nature before he is a subject: & property belongs to him naturally as a man:
3 All men are borne with a property in their lives, limbes, the use of their reason
& faculties, for their owne safety, duty to God, & their salvation. God having given
[illegible] to men as such, no man may [illegible]

[illegible] his owne; [illegible] is a meanes to . . . For he is Gods
[illegible] absolute proprietor, may not kill or dammage himselfe & therfor can
not give another right to do it. ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] Right of all
Governours is Limitted by Men & not only by God; yt is, By ye Right or Pro-
perty of their Subjects, wch no man hath right to take away, un forfeited. ||
V Private men may not defend their lives or other Rights by any act injurious
to the Honour or Power of the King, much lesse by a warr against him; The
Government & ye publike peace being of more worth than their lives: But
God by Nature giveth private men a right of private selfe defence against
murderers & robbers; And Kingdomes have naturally a right of publike
defence. (Els the King had none who is a chiefe part of ye Kingdome.)
Except God himselfe judge them to death, as he did ye Canaanites, &c, 2 Or the
whole Kingdome forfeit Life, by inhumane enmity to neighbour nations. ||
V It is a malicious act of enmity, to Kings, to describe them contrary to Gods li-
mitations & humane interest, to render them so terrible as to be odious to
nature, as Serpents & Devils are to men; To tell men yt they have unlimited
absolute power, & may Comand & forbid wt they list, & may comission whō
or their servants to take & burne wt they will, & kill as many as they
will; & yt they are so much worse than Serpents or wild beasts, yt whereas
men may defend ym selves agt these if they can, yet if a Prince would
execute ye Lateran Decrees agt a Protestant Kingdome, wch is to extermi-
nate them all unlesse they will damne their soules by renouncing true reli-
gion, they must all yield to be exterminated, killd or damnd. || Whether
the false pretending ye Kgs comission made it unlawfull for ye two
hundred thousand murdered Protestants to have defended ym selves agt ye Irish,
or wt they might have done had it bin true, I meddle not with ye. But
I think it had bin lawfull for the many millions aforesaid yt were murder-
ed by the Spaniards in Mexico, Peru, Hispaniola &c, & the Kings yt were
tormented & killed by ym, to have resisted the Mastife dogs that were
sent to teare them: & why not the men yt were worse than ye dogs. ||
I find Cartwright, Travers & other Nonconformists accused of denying ye Kings
Supremacy in Eccles. affaires. I answer ~~[illegible]~~ And Bp Andrewes in
(Tortura Torti, saith ye Puritans freely sweare to it, & are calumniated by Papists.
Prop. 22 I think ye Protestant Reconciler, saith not wt he is charged with: (Who de-
serveth great thanks of ye Church of England, & all ye friends of peace.) But
I wish the forced collections may [illegible] ill consequences in quibbling words. [illegible] some are just & some are unjust. ||
Indifferent things are not [illegible]
Prop. 17 But nothing strikes me with more admiration than ye Charge on ye paper
called The Sheriffs Case, ~~said to be written by [illegible]~~, viz. [An Oath
obligeth not in the sense of ye Imposer, but of the Takers] when as the
contrary yt [ye oath is to be taken as obliging us in the sense of ye Imposers]
is the very foundation wch ye Author buildeth his whole discourse on, & the
very stamina of his book. ~~This [illegible] for me~~
~~to compare the Questions wch I have lately askt, viz. 1o Are not the pulpits~~
~~of England [illegible] furnished out of the Universities. 2o Are not the Doctors~~
~~in Convocation the most worthy & credible part of the Universities. 3o Are~~
~~not visible matters of fact, e.g. wt is written in bookes, the easyest to be certain-~~
~~ly knowne. 4o Will men study more accurately to speake truly in a pulpit~~
~~than in publike Convocation decrees de facto. 5o May we not proportion~~
~~our beliefs of pulpit speeches according to ye credibility of such decrees.~~ ||
~~But I can answer Gods word is true, Rom. 3. 4. Let God be true, but every man~~
~~a lyar~~ || God who is the only Absolute Proprietary & Ruler, doth governe us by
Fatherly grace & Love. And the best Rulers are likest him: We have our Being
more from our Parents than from Princes: yet Parents may not take away our
lives, nor ever might without a forfeiture. And for Parents to kill or maime
or destroy their children is a greater crime than if an enemy did it: So
farre is their power from being unlimited. Princes have more power
to take away Life, but only when its forfeited. ~~[illegible]~~ No man hath authority
to forbid any thing which God Commandeth, or Command any thing wch God
forbiddeth, much lesse to destroy mens soules, the Church, or ye Common good. ||
Supposing yt in all this I have not ~~Confuted~~ Supprest, I againe thanke you for
your care to prevent sedition & rebellions, & freely consent that you
burne the booke wch I retracted called my Political Aphorismes.

Ri: Baxter.

July 28 1683.

[illegible]

BAXTER
LETTERS

Aug 16 — 69

Sr

I now understand you somewt better than I was capable of doing by your first &
yet I am unsatisfyed of two points so considerable, that I can give you
o satisfaction till I understand them: The first is, who or what people those
e that take the Comon prayer to be Idolatry: The second is, what you
would have mee to doe for the Cure? For the first I left not one
that I knew to be of that mind when I was there: They had the reason
to distinguish between disorder and Idolatry. And they that silenced mee
and drove mee away, were confident that it would recover them to
the Church, & not drive them further from it: And as then I could not
change their opinion in this, nor hinder their stay, so neither know
I how to heale the effect: For (as to the 2d) What should I doe?
Would you have me come and teach them better? The Law
forbids mee: and they that expelled me will say I harden them.
And the Bishop hath told us in print that they are his charge
and not mine: And I was lately sent to the Comon Jaile for preach-
ing on Matth. 5. 5. Blessed are the meeke; In which I preached against
sedition, schisme, censure &c: And I am now expelled my house and
the County to my great cost and trouble, for such preaching, by
which (and other meanes) I so prevailed, that there was not three of
my hearers in that Parish, that I know of, that were agt Comon
prayers. What then should I do? should I attend the publike after
this my selfe? I do so; but that banishmt or imprisonmt hinders me. should
I write Letters to your Neighbours? I know of no such conceits
to accuse them of. And if I did, my Letters will be accused as the
cause of their Errour. I wrote but one to my Mother when shee
was there, at the time of Venners rising; And though there was
nothing in it but exhortations to heavenlynesse, & invectives
agt that insurrection, it was taken at Kidderminster & carryed
to the Bishop and Lord Chancellour to London, in hope to have
hanged me for writing treason, till the Lord Chancellour sent
the Lord Windsor to bring it me to my Lodgings as innocent. When
all the twelve and other Burgesses were to take or refuse the
Corporation Oath, I durst not so much as write a private Letter
to the Towne, lest it should have been imputed to me that
they all refused and went out. They that forbid me preach-
ing to them, desire not that I should write unto them. And can I
write to I know not whom, upon accusations of I know not what:
And can I write plainlyer than I have done in print? I have
long on purpose published my full judgmt on those matters in my
5 Disput. I have no more to say. The said Bishop sett the
Booke before the King and many Lords and Bps (at the meeting
about the Declarn of Eccles. affaires) and told him that no man
had written better of them. But it may be you would have

no print now as to our present case: I have written a Treatise ag
Schisme containing more than you desire, and it is refused a licens
What therefore ~~can~~ you can further desire I canot Imagine. And I
suppose you believe, that when I have occasion in discourse, I
Speake my mind plainely to my friends both of old and late acquaintance,
But the plaine truth is, One unskillfull Physitian who can drive
away all the rest, & force all to be his patients, can kill more than
those whom he hath expelled can cure. And I canot but hope that there
are no such persons as you describe (or few): I know indeed, that some
of them thinke that an utterly insufficient minister is none, & his
usurped ministry not to be countenanced, (though his administrations
may not be nullities); And I canot confute them, for I am of the same
mind. Many a man may shun an ignorant Reader who understandeth
not the Gospell which he should teach, who yet would joyne in com
prayer with a Tollerable Minister, when he can have no better
way of worship; Though he would not preferre that before bette
If you make me yet better understand your mind, I may
perhaps more satisfy you. And as to any works of Christian con cor
should I be averse to it, I should loose much of the labours of my life
by apostatizing from them in the Conclusion. But there are three
sorts that I would be excused from treating with about Church affaires,
1° Swine and dogs, 2° Bedlams, 3° Devills; desiring no part in the Stie, in
Bedlam, or in Hell; being contented with the measure of rending, revilein
and malice, which I have had allready. But with any others I shou
be glad to attempt the utmost where there is hope. But in our p
of the world I find no work for the peacemakers trade, unless
it be by praying and wishing and by talking them into a gre
er love of peace, who are lovers of it allready. But how the
case stands with you I know not. Only I intreate you that
you ~~would~~ make not the breach wider by supposing it wid
er than it is. When you talke of [no comunion in prayer &
I hope you do not thinke the pulpit prayers of your prea
cher to be none! And I hope ~~you~~ ~~[illegible]~~ take not the peoples prayer
in their other meetings for none? And do they refuse there to admit you
to joine in prayer with them? If you avoide their prayers as made
in conventicles, and ~~if~~ they ~~refuse~~ avoide yours as read by one to
whom they never comitted the care of theire soules, you are both a
voiders of that comunion with each other, but whether they or you or
both be faulty, I determine not till I better know the case. Only
I must needs tell you that those men who thinke that if they c
drive away the lawfull pastors of a Church, and then revile them,
and set over the people such as they neither do nor ought to
owne, (unlesse that darknesse were the way to heaven), & when
they have done cry out of Schisme, Separation, faction &c.
because they will not dance after their pipe, and trust their soul
to the conduct of the blind, should rather be pittyed than pleas
[illegible] they better understand what a [illegible]

and (what a Church is, and what a man is. Ubi episcopus ibi ecclesia, was
a currant assertion in Cyprians time when no people knew such a thing as
a pastor to whom they never did consent, & when Ignatius's notes of church
unity yet continued, that to every Church there was one Altar (& not [illegible]
and one Bishop with his fellow presbyters & Deacons. If therefore any
any place with you have two called ministers, and the people owne one
as the guide of their soules, & not the other, it must be known why they do so
before they be condemned. And if any young generation be sprung
up since I was driven from them, (wch is now allmost ten yeares,)
whose ignorance or errour may cause any breach, surely no sober men
will thinke me responsible for them, especially those who
would take it as a crime deserving little lesse than death, If I should
once teach them; And what the doctrine is that I have taught them
I think above 20 published scripts are which sufficient to acquaint
those who would know. Sr it is so long since I was at Kidderminster
and have so little busyed my selfe abroad, that I know not your
selfe, nor who you are, who have thence written to mee; only I
conjecture that you are the schoolmaster by the ingenuity of your
writing, and because I left none there of your name; but
have no other knowledge of you. Pardon this tediousnesse of

Your Servant Ri: Baxter

I wrote my opinion to Mr
Hieron about their commu-
nicateing with him; I
hope he received it.

105

For Mr Thomas Beabans
in Kiderminster in
Worcestershire
Thes bd

Letters to sevll Cas:
Hortatory & Castigat:

(No 105)

5

Sr.

That small acquaintance which I have with you, I am desirous to make use of upon occasion: which at present is this. The bearer hereof hath a desire to be a scholar, & to be fitted for the university, & to be assisted with maintenance there: his inclination deserves encouragement in this time of the churches need. to these ends he makes his addresse to you: I am desired to write to you in his behalfe: the ~~[illegible]~~ acquaintance I have with you I was ready to improve. knowing with whom I have to doe I need make no Apology. Upon the knowledge I have of the young man, I have strong hopes that he is ingenious & piously disposed: but the testimony of him which other ministers give ~~of him~~, confirmes my hopes more fully. I doubt not but I may recomend him to you as a fit object of assistance: & I need not entreate you to doe for him what you can, knowing yor readinesse to such pious workes. I doubt not but he will have encouragement also from ministers in parts: but we know of no such likely instrument as your selfe to doe him good. As you are an excellent patterne to ministers in such respects: so also in others. as I beleeve the Worcester-shire Agreements weare to you. truly yor late attempt of particular instruction of persons is a rare worke to bring men to true christianity. I find I doe not reach men much from the pulpit: people when we speake to them but in generall, doe not take themselves particularly to be concerned. alas! that I should be taken as preaching strange stories to them. I am sure there is a vast difference betwixt the efficacy of comon & particular dealings. I have wondred to see them privately listen to me as telling them new things, when I have been speaking of the principles of christianity, which I have preached to them perhaps over & over againe: yea, they can say the same in effect out of their Catechismes; but when out of the roade of words, they are strangers to the things. /. I thanke you for your Gildas salv.: one thing I cannot but complaine of, that some secure persons I have had to deale with, I cannot for my heart make feele. ~~[illegible]~~ the thing is laid open so plainly to them, that they cannot but say I speake their case; I shew them the misery of it as plaine as I can speake, & tell them / state what they must be or perish: yet cannot I overcome security. O that some body could tell me how to prevaile with them! /. I had it from Tamworth that the foundation of that yor booke, that particular oversight was essentiall to a minister, was untrue. but I dare not be of that beliefe: its included in the very notion of a pastour. /. but some occasionall passages I heare excepted against by very Reverend Ministers. I have not time to particularize. onely some thinke you measure others too much by your owne last. /. one passage somewhere, that you dare not baptize the children of such as yor agreement describes, though they have a dogmaticall faith. I doe not know whether I may safely act according to it. Mr Blakes treatise of the covenant hath made me of another mind. I doe not see but that christians profession gives their children a right to baptisme. christians are engrafted into the same stock out of which the Jews were ~~[illegible]~~ broken (which you have satisfactorily improved against the Anabaptists): now we find not that any Jewish child was debarred circumcision: but on the contrary, though the parent was legally unclean, the child might & was circumcised. /. it being a matter of practise, I long for light: whether doth the parents actuall sin debarre the child admittance into the church? /. /. I am still at Sr Francis Burdetts, though you heard of some motions otherwise: which came to nothing. but truely I am weary of our Gentlemens houses; especially where I cannot get entrance for true religion: though I study & pray against secure indifferency, I cannot conquer it: besides other inconveniences. whether I were not best to betake my selfe elsewhere, I crave your advice ~~[illegible]~~. /. pray for me that I ~~[illegible]~~ may have a head & heart more suitable to my employments, & for the pardon of my weaknesses which have hitherto appeared. I am

Fformarke. Febr. 2.
56.

Yor unworthy fellow labourer in the Ministry
Mich: Edge.

7

105

For Mr Thomas Beabams
in Kiderminster in
Worcestershire
this dd

Letters to sevll Cas:
Hortatory & Castigat.

No 105

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ffornarke. ffebr. 2.
56.

Yor unworthy fellow-labourer in the Ministry
Mich: Edge.

ffor the Reverend my worthy
Brother Mr Rich: Baxter
Teacher of the church at
Kidderminster
these

106/2

6

Worthy Sr

I have lately read over yor late disputation about confirmation; if god give a blessing to yt & the like designe, the will certainly conduce much to the churches reformation. though I believe some would desire farther light to prove yt the solemne way of investiture wch you speake of propos: 10. is an ordinance of god. ~~[illegible]~~ thus far ~~[illegible]~~ all are agreed yt a personall visible profession is the condition intitling the adult to the priviledges belonging to christians of a higher forme, but whether this way of investiture be the initiatory ordinance (as I may say) whereby the adult are to be admitted to yt higher forme, as Baptisme is the initiatory sacrament entring us first into a church-state, & whether it be a standing ordinance to be dispensed to the adult as baptisme to infants amongst us, hoc dubium: but herein I suppose most are agreed yt there should be a more speciall eye over the members when they passe out of their Infant estate then hath been made conscience of; though for my part I am not so fully satisfyed about the modus pleaded for: though if god would awaken Ministers to the practise of it I should heartily rejoyce. the afore-said care towards ye youth I find is well relished by ye people generally. yt wch they doe not so well downe with is the presbyterian strictnes towards those who have formerly for some time participated in the lords-supper, & this is occasioned mainly by some more knowing persons amongst ym, who are wholly conversant in some writings for promiscuous admission. I reverence the Presbyterians above any one party in the world; yet am I not satisfyed in the manner of suspension used by some of their Eldershipe, wch I mention to you as one ready to receive correction (if you see cause) how many of ym doe exclude competently knowing professours who doe not apparently contradict their profession. & whether the proceedings towards the scandalous be so regular I question on this ground, for I thinke we should first admonish the scandalous privately, & yn before witnesses, & yn upon wilfullnes make knowne the case to the church, before we can debarr ym: I say this I am convinced of; but alas! I am almost at a losse how to doe this in such a great congregation as this wherein I am placed; for haveing many [illegible] it would require a great deale of time to attend on this way of proceeding, & we have very much other indispensable publique worke whereby I am convinced of the mischeife of paucity of Ministers in great places (wch you some where complaine of). I should thankfully accept it if you could helpe me out in these straits with such directions, wch yor long experience (I doubt not) hath furnished you with. some tell me it is not in particular Ministers hands to debarr members, & of this judgement are learned holy men; others deride any such thing as suspension wch is not a consequent of excommunication: ~~though~~ I thinke they make so much adoe wth the word excommunication; wch I thinke hath degrees & there are more kinds of it yn one: as comunion may be in ~~some~~ more degrees then one, so may withdrawing of comunion. if it may not draw you of from other businesse, I would entreate yor advise, what is the most expedite way of dealing with the loose & secure in ~~order~~ great places in order to the lords suppers & what is fitt for a private minister to doe in these distracted times wherein discipline is neglected: for alas! I am not likely to have the assistance of an Association. this is the fate of good workes yt they goe on slowly. could I digest the principle of some preachers, yt say they are not bound to a pastorall oversight for all they receive the publique maintenance & they say, they are bound to no more by the civill power then to preach the gospell, could I digest this, & take up with preaching how easie were the worke &c. but I am too tedious; if you may [illegible] great labours ~~[illegible]~~ & go on in yt way of [illegible] to the church wherein you have begun, shall be the prayer of

Sr yor unworthy fellow-labourer
& faithfull remembrancer at the throne of grace
Will [illegible]

Uttoxeter: Decemb: 14. 58.

(No 106) (2)

[illegible]

Oxford Aug-20 (58

Reverend Sir 106 (3)

7

I writ to you lately by Doctor Worth, a perſon like his name. I did in my letter intimate to you an inclination to doe what you bid me about the tranſlation of my fathers booke of the Novelty of Popery, though I expreſt together my amazement at the greatnes of the work. Since that time my inclination, after ſerious prayer to God for his counſell & ſtrenght, is turned into a ſettled reſolutio having ſince that time filled a quire of paper with my traduction. Of which I would give you notice that you may not looke out for another to doe that worke; for which by all reaſons I ſhould be fitter then another, being acquaint with my Fathers Genius, & most like to expreſſe his ſenſ which is ſo familiar to me. I ſhall humbly begge the aſſistance of your prayers in this ~~tax~~ worke of long patience - for certainly your exhortation which hath ſet me upon thi worke I take as the call of God, ſo much doe I deferre to your goodnes, - which I eſteeme farre above your great capacity & learning. The Lord preſerve you long to his Church & for his glory, enabling me alſo to advance that glory in my ſmal meaſure & to approve myſelfe

Sir

Your affectionate brother &
humbleſt ſervant
Peter DuMoulin

X

68

For my Reuerend brother
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of Gods word

At Kiddermynſter
This with my ſeruice

Adsham in East Kent Sept. 27. (59

My Reverend brother

It is now about 16 moneths that first by your friends & next by your letters you exhorted me very earnestly to take in hand the traduction of my Fathers booke de Novitate Papismi. I tooke that Summon as ſent from heaven becauſe it was delivered by you, whom I verily beleeve to have as much acquaintance with heaven as any man that I know in our dayes; And undertooke much against my Genius ~~[illegible]~~ ~~to compaſſe~~ the tranſlating of that voluminous work. Which when I had promiſt to you, you were pleaſed to bind me to my word in print, whereby I may have reaped that benefit, that by your declaration of my purpoſe you have deterred others from taking the ſame taſke in hand. Well. Sir as you are he that moved me to undertake it, ſo to you I now give account of the finiſhing of the taſke you gave me. By the good aſſiſtance of God I have gone through with it, & made an end of it the 23th of this Sept. For which I hope you will helpe me to give praiſe to him, for whoſe glory it was both made & tranſlated. I intend to adde to it ſome account of the Authours life, & perhaps ſome Preface according to the exigence of the time whene the last ſheets are upon the preſſe if I live to it, for the times are ſo various that by that which is now it is hard to gheſſe what ſhall be then. It is true that preſent ruine is at hand for the Miniſtery, the ready way for the extinction of the Goſpell, & the ſetting up of Atheiſme. But whether God will ſo farre afflict his people, & make the undertakers ſo unfortunate as to compaſſe their end, I am too uncertaine to ground

For my Reverend brother
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of Gods word

At Kiddermyſter
This with my ſervice

Adsham in East Kent Sept. 27 (59

My Reverend brother

It is now about 16 monethes that first by your friends & next by your letters you exhorted me very earnestly to take in hand the traduction of my Fathers booke de Novitate Papismi. I tooke that Summon as sent from heaven because it was delivered by you, whom I verily beleeve to have as much acquaintance with heaven as any man that I know in our dayes; And undertooke much against my Genius ~~[illegible] [illegible]~~ the translating of that voluminous work. Which when I had promist to you, you were pleased to bind me to my word in print, whereby I may have reaped that benefit that by your declaration of my purpose you have deterred others from taking the same taske in hand. Well, Sir as you are he that moved me to undertake it, so to you I now give account of the finishing of the taske you gave me. By the good assistance of God I have gone through with it, & made an end of it the 23th of this Sept. For which I hope you will helpe me to give praise to him, for whose glory it was both made & translated. I intend to adde to it some account of the Authours life, & perhaps some Preface according to the exigence of the time when the last sheets are upon the presse if I live to it, for the times are so various that by that which is now it is hard to ghesse what shall be then. It is true that present ruine is at hand for the Ministery, the ready way for the extinction of the Gospell, & the setting up of Atheisme. But whether God will so farre afflict his people & make the undertakers so unfortunate as to compasse their end, I am too uncertaine to ground

a consideration for the publick view a yeare hence.
As you have given me a taske which I have performed to my power at your bidding, I crave leave to call upon the seasonable helpe of your pen against the late Rabshake's that persecute the ministery of Gods word, as an idle and superfluous calling, & an old cheate put upon the world. I would doe myselfe what I desire of you, though inferiour to your great parts in all respects, but that such a worke would be litle considerable comming from a man that hath suffered with the Royal party. I give you hearty thanks in the name of the Orthodoxe of that party for your grave & solid rebuke of the Grotian divines, who certainly doe great wrong to their bretheren & doe the worke of their Adversaries who aske no better then to justifie unto the world that the Episcopal are halfe Papists. I have Thorndykes last book with me, which I cannot read without a just indignation almost at every page. When I have the happines to be better knowne to you, whose good opinion I doe highly value, I shall appeare to you as a right French Protestant, whom nothing ingaged in the Episcopal party but an hereditary dislike of all violent wayes of subjects with their soveraine. Great need wee had of reformation, but our petition for it should not have bin presented at our pykes end. What came from that appeareth this day. The Lord fetch light out of this darknes. Let him fit us for that he will send us, & then let him send us what he will. To his fatherly goodnes & the gracious assistance of his good Spirit I commend you & your worthy labours, resting

Sir

Your most affectionate honorer & humble brother in the work of the Lord
P. Du Moulin

It is now about a yeare ſince I left Oxford to ſerve the Church of Adsham neere Canterbury where I am now reſident. If you grace me with any of your lines, be pleaſe to take order that they be delivered at London at the girdlers ſhop under Kings-head taverne in Chancery lane's end neere Fleet ſtreet. You that know how to deale with Stationers may direct me what I may require of them for a Manuſcript of a rame of paper that beares a good name in the front. & what honeſt & able dealers you know. Hereby you ſhall oblige me very much, & fulfill your loving promiſe in your firſt letter, to aſſiſt me in the ſetting forth of this worke

Dr Morlin

For my Reverend brothr
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of Gods word

At Kederminster

Honored & worthy Sr

9 Not to trouble you wth an apology
these from a stranger I desyre your
thoughts whether it were not fit by
106/5) to assert the authority of the script
as to doctrine, discipline & worship in
church, as to all lawes & their exe
in the state (& wth wt exception of th
in the old testament wch were levitical
meerly Judicial & have not moral equ
for them!) & as to [illegible] their
ity & compleatness for faith & ma
& to declare all lawes contrary to the
scriptures to be voyde? if a l
this matter may bee profitable you
conceive som wt to that purpose in such
forme as you please, whereof if you
favour mee wth a coppy you will ob
lidge

Yrs in all Christian
service M Barker

March 26th
1660

If you send yr thoughts inclosed
to Mr Lyton here will convey
them.

71

Mr Baxter

Reverend Sr: 40 London 20 March 1659. 106/61

Being a stranger I may doubt of Exceptance: ffor either I may be an Interruption to your greater Concernmts, or I may not be thought worthy the Answering. However having been long desirous to send to you, I shall no more stay from the signification of my desires. The Losse and Hindrances that I meete wth have kept me from any good Capacity of walking in Newnesse of Life; although I live in the place where the best of Preaching and Teachers are: nor am I unacquainted with your, and other godly Divines Workes. yet I say, I cannot get to any Method of Comfortable walking: which I cannot Attribute to any thing more (except my owne Naturall Corruptions, and Inclinations) then to the want of Discipline and Order in the Church and Place where I am: which defects I conceive (by your writings) are (in a good Measure) made up with you. I am not a little sensible how much it would Conduce, to the quickning of grace and affection, and make me to be active and carefull, in the observation of the holy Comands of God; and in all poynts to mind my duty: were I but in the Place where discipline is Exercised. Should I tell you that it is lost amongst us, or that the exercise thereof is unfashionable, certainly I should speak but what you know. Since I came to understanding I have not met with that Congregation that would endeavour ~~them~~ to be faithfull, in the discharg of their dutie they owe one to another, although they will accot: themselves fellow members, and of a more neerer Relation then ordinary. I have been admitted to partake of the publike Ordinances in two Congregations, (I meane admitted to the Lords Supper) in the one so long as the Pastor lived, and in the other since; and thereby have my sad experience. I confesse (and I would have you know) I am but a Novice; yet oh that I could not too truly speake what I doe. I have been so foolish, as not to endeavour the acquaintance which ought to have been amongst us, and this on my pt was from an evill Modesty, least I should have incurred their Censure, of my being Arrogant, and desirous to appeare somebody; least I should have been misconstrued, and thought to have affected being a Teacher, whereas indeed I know my selfe (but) and am desirous to be a Learner: And having learned (by you and others) that there is peculiar duties, to be exercised amongst church-congregated persons; I cannot but perceive the helpe that a man hath thereby, for the discharge of his duty on all other occasions: and therefore I cannot but bewayle the omissions, which from hence I have been guilty of. Certainly this (and many other) texts Heb. 10: 23. 24. 25. need not more Emphasis, to provoke men to be up and doing (if they would but ponder them) for if [he that despised Moses Law dyed without mercy, of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy &c:] I instance this, that I may in my own Conscience be judged, if I shall yet dare to be unfaithfull, and not use all Meanes possible to walk holily with my God. Certainly Sr, with you (if I understand any thing by your writings) I should have that psonall Instruction, and see that home application, of those precious truths, whereon my salvation depends, which I cannot have here. Besides such holy converse and Communion, with Private christians, which would be spiritually strengthening, confirming, and building me up, in the truth and Practice of christianity. This I have written, that you may know that my businesse with you is this, even to transplant my selfe from hence, to be under your Ministeriall and pastorall charge, and Instructions.

X

Sr this is a worke in my businesse; And I beseech you as much as in you lies to further me in it, I hope the glory of god is my chiefe aime in it; and if you Judge that it may be most to that end, I believe there needs noe more argum to perswade you to the lending me your assent, and assistance. Your assent I chiefly looke at, for I know not whether you will admitt of me, to the addition of your Ministeriall care and trouble for your assistance, I shall leave that till I spea with you, (and then it shall be noe other, but your advice) which will be, after I have heard from you, (if you will please to grant me that favour) to know whether you shall Judge it expedient, that I remove to you. And that you may the better Judge, I will give you a short acco: of my outward state and condition.

I am a younger son of a gentleman, about 24 or 25 yeares of age, a Batchelor, and not yet actually ingaged in the world by a trade, (although I have been some tim out of my apprenticeship which I have served in this City) I am with my elde brother [a whole-sale grocer] and might be his partner, but that I would be more fre to serve the Lord. God hath of his mercy given me a portion to make use of, (which (being as I sayd a younger sonne) is neither very great nor little) my education hath bee such, that I am capable of severall employments. And Sr one reason why I woul remove to you is this, that being at a distance from [some friends] I should not be depended on [by them] to the getting of a great estate, (that I may leave as wel as some [illegible] to the world [illegible]) which thing, I am very sensible, is a temptation and a snare, and the cause of falling into many evills; which I am persuaded I shall not avoid (I meane the evills) but by removing as I wo not refuse that estate, which might further me to serve the Lord, for I would not get that estate that would hinder me: and therefore it is the o that this estate would cast me into, not the estate that I would avoid; but I will say noe more of this hoping you will construe my intentions aright.

My father is not living, and my Hond: Mother (a virtuous and holy woman) th [illegible] settled under a godly Minister, would rejoyce with me. Sr I shall tro you noe further, I beg you would passe over my weaknesse with favour: and lett me h from you, as you acco: best for me, which I hope will be encouragemt: for me to remove unto you, and then I shall waite on you at Kederminster, in ord thereunto. Sr, as one who is under your Ministeriall charge, I am

Desirous to serve, and be observant of y

John Brodnax.

Please to direct your letter
to be left with Mr Edward
Brookhurst at the Signe of
the green dragon in [illegible]

My return to this (as to almost all of this nature) was dissuasive. Tho I could have filled this Towne & parish with pious Gentlemen to the great advantage of the poore, yet I have constantly hindred it, it being my judgment that men should not gather together for their own spirituall comfort but first consider where there is most need of them, & where they may do God most service. R.B.

Reverende et Charissime frater (107)

Acceptis literis tuis, cum scriptis et tuis et multarum ecclesiarum, de pacis negotio, et eorum materiâ diligentius pensitatâ, mixturâ quadam contrariarum affectionum nos totos deprehensos statim invenimus. Gaudio primum, et gratitudine in Deum misericordem, qui ecclesiæ suæ misertus, quosdam excitavit, et pietatis et pacis studiosos: et te præsertim inter cæteros pacis amatores eminentem, tantâ dignatus est gratiâ, ad tot et tantos labores exantlandos, et tantâ patientiâ tamdiu sustinendos, ut fratres de se invicem ~~[illegible]~~ rectius judicarent, et depositis animorum injustis exacerbationibus, et hominum perversorum pacifragis contentionibus, sanescant tandem ecclesiæ vulnera, et resurgat Christiana Charitas, rixas et jurgia jam pene sopita, et tantum non deplorata. Gaudio autem huic nostro conjunctum confitemur infandum pene animorum dolorem, dum mentium nostrarum oculis objiciuntur, vah tanta ecclesiarum vulnera, tantæ clades, tanta jam imminentia pericula, quæ omnia a nobis ipsis scientibus et monitis, ultrò, impotenter et obstinatè nimium continuantur: dum ulcera adeo maligna reperiuntur in animis Christianorum, imo Principum et Pastorum dominici gregis, qui omnia hæc remedia et requirunt ut necessaria, et respuerunt ut inefficacia. Pudore multo et tristitiâ perfusi sumus, quod tot tui conatus et labores indefessi, majus nihil adhuc protulere et quod nomen et vultus amabilis charitatis et pacis Christianæ non plures, imo non omnes alliciant et rapiant in sui admirationem et cupidinem. Quod pax salutifera a paucis medullitus diligitur, a paucioribus prudenter et studiosè quæritur a paucissimis sui abnegatione, patientiâ, tolerantiâ et quovis pretio redimitur; sed a plurimis negligitur, a multis hostiliter tractatur et confoditur, et a non-paucis adblandientibus proditur; spectante et ridente hoste, et Reformationis et nominis Christiani. At nihilominus sperandum, conandum, et Christo pacis principi fidendum est, et in patientiâ animæ nostræ sunt possidendæ, donec pacis et concordiæ tandem adveniat exoptatissima dies. || Ad nos quod attinet, Charissime frater quantum mentem tuam ex literis gratis capimus, ex tribus hisce desiderio tuo satisfactum iri (quantum in nobis) judicamus. 1° De ipso conciliationis negotio in genere sententiam nostram aperiendo: 2° De morbo et remediis, quod maxime necessarium et accommodum nobis videtur, proponendo: et 3° tandem consilia nostra, et manus adjutrices, et totos nos quanti quanti sumus, tibi et beato pacis operi in posterum offerendo, vovendo, præstando. De hisce sigillatim. || 1° De primo, multa dicere supervacuum est; paucioribus igitur res expedienda. Ipsum enim opus in fronte habet inscriptum Christi conciliatoris maximi nomen; et Evangelij ejus præceptis evidentissime respondet, et sancti Spiritus operationibus in cordibus Sanctorum quam optime quadrat: et rebus Xti, et saluti ecclesiæ feliciter adeò congruum est et accommodum, ut suam satis strenuè causam agit, et nostro non indigens calculo, sibi ipsi validissimum præbet testimonium. Prælustris adeo et ab omnibus honorata est concordia Christianorum, in rebus divinis et ad salutem spirantibus sempiternam, ut ab ipsis inimicis amari videtur, si data verba et encomia spectes: Qui pacem furiosè et indesinenter impugnant, effusè etiam pacem laudant, et pene deperire simulant: et vix invenitur qui pacem incurrit sub nomine pacis, et hostem ejus se palam profitetur. Qui adversantur etiam adblandiuntur: osculantur, dum produnt; dum vulnerant, arrident; et laudibus eam summis efferunt, dum conculcando et destruendo pergunt; semetipsos damnantes iisdem suffragijs, quibus pro concordiæ laudibus testantur. Haud facilè possumus in animos inducere, ut vel jurato crederemus, ex istis omnibus quibuscum labores hi solertes et indefessi ad concordiam amplectandam minimè profecere, vel unum quempiam mentis compotem posse inveniri, qui unitatem, concordiam, pacem ecclesiarum, charitatem fraternam, animorum lenitatem, humilitatem, patientiam, et voce et sententiâ non comprobaret, magni faceret, et laudibus ornaret, quasi omnes ex ~~[illegible]~~ animo tecum facerent, et sententiarum et voluntatum eatenus esset summa consensio; dum tamen concordiam deturbant, affligunt, comminuunt, et pacem laudatam foras extrudunt, piorum conatibus cornua obvertunt; ita ut neque prece, neque pretio ab ipsis pacem possumus ~~[illegible]~~ impetrare, neque præcepta et comminationes divinas proferendo, neque per nomen ejus sanctissimum obtestando et adjurando, neque ad summum ejus et tremendum tribunal appellando, obtinere possumus, ut manus furiosas ab ecclesiarum laceratione vel tantisper cohibeant, dum vulnera sanescant, et a pacis amatoribus medicamina adhibeantur. Revera necesse habent ut pacem efficaciter jugulent~~ur~~, a nomine veritatis arma mutuari; nec sine pietatis obtentu, (etiamsi sibi

contradicente) charitatem et concordiam feliciter unquam possent expugnare. videlicet
fratrum infirmitates boni isti (vah nimium sibi boni et orthodoxi) non possunt ullo modo
tolerare. Et utinam dum errores vel levissimos non tolerant, charitatem et pacem xti:
anam tolerarent, et ab ipsis non staret quo minus floreant et veritas et pietas, pace obsigat
Manifesta scilicet et indubitata sunt axiomata a Xto definita, universa ejus membra esse
unicum corpus (ecclesia scilicet vere catholica) in quod per unicum sanctum Spiritum baptizamu
in quo etiam membra quae existimantur infirma, et minus decora et honesta, sua
tamen obtinent loca, et a toto simul decorem suum et honorem accipiunt, ut ne sit di
sidium vel schisma in corpore, sed membra itidem solicita sint alia pro alijs, et dum
patitur unum, omnia compatiantur, et dum unum honore afficitur, omnia congratulenh
1 Cor. 12.12.13.22.23.24.25.26. et membra charitate maxime abundantia esse o
nium praestantissima, et veritas obsignata nobis a Spiritu Sancto traditur in S. Scriptur
1 Cor. 12.31. et 13.13. et hunc esse communem illum et certissimum characterem ex
omnes nos cognoscent esse discipulos Xti, si charitatem habuerimus alij in alios Joh.
34.35. et 15.17. Oportere nos etiam esse Dei imitatores ut filios dilectos et ambulare
charitate, sicut et Xtus nos dilexit. Eph. 5.1.2. et procul dubio qui Deum vere diligit,
trem suum etiam ex animo diligit. et siquis dixerit, diligo Deum, et fratrem suum o
mendax est. 1 Joh. 4.20.21. et Sanctimoniam, ita et pacem sectari debemus, ne
bis est eam admittere oblatam. Heb. 12.14. Imo si fieri potest, quantum in nobi
cum omnibus in pace vivere debemus. Rom. 12.18. 1 Thess. 5.13. Infirmi etiam in
sunt assumendi, non tamen ad altercationes disceptationum, Rom. 14.1. Si potentes
vero sumus, vel firmiores, debemus infirmitates imbecillorum sustinere, et non indulgere
bis ipsis; sed unusquisque nostrum proximo placere in bonum scilicet, ad aedificationem,
Xtus etiam sibi ipsi non placuit, Rom. 15.1.2.3. Quamplurima hujusmodi loca S. Scri
ve meridiano lumine ita litigantium et dividentium oculis affulgent, ut eorum evidentia
sistere non possent, nisi faciem discordiae veritatis divinae specie obvelarent. At nomen
thodoxorum, sibi ipsis appropriatum, cum odiosis consequentijs, extortis ex fratrum dicti
tolleretis, tenue nimis, ficulneum et arandum velamen, quo tegant factiosi suam nudita
ut experti sentient, cum Dominus ecclesiae et pacis zelotes (a cujus conspectu fluvius igni
nabit prodiens, cui millies mille ministrabunt et coram quo myrias myriadum stabunt)
bunal eriget, secreta cordium explorabit, latentia deteget, doctissime et ingeniosissime
ta denudabit, fucos deterget, fallacijs argutissimis occulta palam revelabit, authorita
injuriâ, fraude oppressos relevabit; et justitiâ charitatis et pacis turbatores judicab
Age igitur, alacriter perge, Charissime frater, et si satanae pacis infestissimo inimico
cederetur, potestas a Domino sapientissimo, conamina tua confundandi, et coepta honesti
irrita faciendi, et plurimorum bonorum frustrandi desideria (quod Deus avertat) in
mine tamen et Christo et omnibus bonis grato, ad finem usque fortiter progredere. Et si
majus et melius solamen animi tibi tandem obveniat ex laborum pacificorum, consc
retentione, quam unquam arrogantes isti censores, et pugnaces tricones et litigatores, in
rixarum, et schismatis invenient, tum nobis vel ignominiose fatendum restet, voluntatem
a nobis fuisse absconditam, ut rerum divinarum turpissime imperitis. Qui zelum habe
amarum, et contentionem in corde frustra (de orthodoxia et pietate) gloriantur; et
vera mentiuntur adversus veritatem: Non est ista sapientia superne descendens; sed ter
animalis, daemoniaca: Ubi enim est zelus (invidentia) et contentio, ibi est tumultuatio,
vita inquieta) et omne malum opus: Quae autem superne est sapientia, primum quidem est
(vel pura), deinde pacifica, favorabiliter judicans, bene suadibilis, plena misericordi
fructuum bonorum, absque censurâ (vel disceptatione) et sine hypocrisi. Fructus autem
in pace seminantur ijs qui paci dant operam. Jam. 3.14. ad finem. Et plurimi etiam
boni, qui confidenter et intrepide quasi flagrantes zelo veritatis et pietatis, ignem de cae
cant, haud probe norunt qualis sint spiritus, et quam tandem objurgationem a Christo su
dituri, Luk. 9.54.55. || XX Ad secundum pensi caput quod attinet, facillima est patholo
difficillima θεραπεία: Remedia tamen eligere, monstrare, praescribere vel offerre quivis
possit: ut vero a morbidis hauriantur, applicentur, vel etiam respuentibus, prosint ad me
quis unquam Hypocrates vel Esculapius efficiet? O si tam certo possemus mederi, quam certo po
praepotentem et efficacem propinare medicinam. Non nostri est propositi vel negotij com
promovere inter membra visibilia Xti et Diaboli; neque cum talibus syncretismum ambire,
essentialibus Xtianae fidei articulis consensum confessione et [illegible] opere non praeben
vel unicum apicem ad salutem animarum simpliciter necessarium scienter prudenterque
oppugnent vel abnegant. Neque molimur vel unam inducere animam ut ecclesia
optimae peccati vel minimi reatu participando implicetur: Nec adhuc praesentis est
~~vel~~ infideles vel haereticos ad fidem convertere, ut communionis ecclesiasticae fiant cap
ve Xtianorum dissidentium animos ita mutare, ut ad unam aliquam plenam vel optimam
optimam reliqui omnes accederent, et in dogmatibus jam controversis, hinc inde un
tiamus. Optima sane est sperata haec cum sanctitate concordia; et quam gemitibus, pr

et votis assiduis conquirere et prosequi nunquam desinemus; sed cui jam manus admovere non audebimus; et utrum in hoc nosocomio militante scilicet et imperfecta ecclesia, eis patriam coelestem a piis expectanda est, Deus novit. At opus præ manibus hisce continetur; 1º ut veræ xti particulares ecclesiæ se tales esse aliæ de aliis agnoscant, et intelligant omnes xtiani de fratribus jam ignotis sed famâ invidiosâ injuste criminatis, quod non sunt hæretici ut a malevolis et [illegible] odiose indigitantur, sed fratres amore Christiano amplectendi. 2º ut internam illam charitatem promoveamus, quam omnes obligantur Christiani inter se mutuo studiose exercere. 3º ut externum hujus charitatis exercitium promoveamus, et dexteram societatis nobis invicem porrigamus, et precibus consiliis et omni ope nobis invicem subveniamus; vel saltem ne rixis et iniquis suspicionibus ecclesiam et idem hostibus prodamus; nec causam et veritatem communem deseramus, quia in placitis quibusdam minoris momenti non omnes consentimus. // 1º Et primum quod attinet (a quo reliqua pendent) quid aliud jure possumus invicem postulare, ut necessarium characterem visibilis Christianismi præter ipsius xtianæ fidei professionem, et vitam professionem non rescindentem? Quodcunque enim exigimus ab uno aliquo Christiano ut probet se membrum visibilis ecclesiæ, idem illud ab ecclesia particulari expetendum est, ut probet se veram visibilem ecclesiam, et ex hoc inquirentis animo omnino satisfieri oportet. Quod quidem signum nil aliud esse potest, quam ipsa veri Christianismi professio, quæ neque professione, neque actione contradicente plane incassatur, et redditur incredibilis et a[illegible] mendacium. Hæc nota est, hæc tessera visibilis ecclesiæ, quantum ad materiæ dispositionem. Et quisnam sit ille verus Christianismus, et quænam illa necessaria professio, jam diu certo inter nos convenit; nec contrarium potest litigiosus aliquis asserere, sine ludibrio et ignominia nominis Christiani. Si post Christianos et ecclesias p orbem temporibus Apostolorum dispersos, et si post Baptismum, et Symbola et doctrinam Apostolorum tamdiu continuata, nescimus adhuc quid sit Christianismus, et quid ecclesia, et quid Religionis Christianæ professio, nonne talia fando risum movebimus hostibus veritatis? At quid multa! Ex [illegible] numinis benignitate, in omnibus hisce fidei articulis (et primi et secundi gradus [illegible]itatis) inter omnes protestantium ecclesias, una est consensio. Eandem fidem o[illegible]fitemur: Antiqua omnia Catholicorum symbola concorditer tenemus: Ex hisce [illegible]bus ecclesiæ Catholicorum et Orthodoxorum dignoscuntur: Communiter adeo et pl[illegible] congruunt omnes, ut unam si cognoris, omnes noris. Quibuscunque indiciis p multas a[illegible] annorum centurias cernebantur ecclesiæ, et individui xtiani (donec ab hæreticis et Papistis amplificata et corruptelis depravata sint symbola) p eadem libenter probandi[illegible]s exhibemus, et ex iisdem Christiani facillime dignoscimur, et Pastoribus propter Sacram Communionem adunati, veræ etiam ordinatæ dignoscimur ecclesiæ. Sacra Scriptura nobis omnibus est perfecta fidei et obedientiæ norma, quam uno ore Divinum et infallibile verbum profitemur. Dogmata hic omnia ad salutem necessaria, (ut cætera jam taceamus) apertè satis et dilucide exprimuntur. Fides nostra est vere Divina quia testimonio nititur vere Divino, et p regulam vere divinam mensuratur. Si testimonium et norma fidei nobis esset tantum humana, etiam fidem et Religionem humanam haberemus. Siqui igitur de nostra Religione percontantur, huc illos amandamus. Fidei et Religionis nostræ mensura et Lapis Lydius est verbum Divinum in Sacris Canonicis Scripturis. Confessionum Ecclesiarum alius est usus; viz ut de nostra Scripturarum intelligentia vel in uno aliquo vel pluribus, vel in omnibus necessariis, sciscitantibus rationem aliqualem redderemus: Ad populum etiam recte instruendum, et ministerij Candidatos et Tyrones tuto dirigendos; et ora obtrectatorum et maledicentium obturanda; ad hæc et plura in suo genere utilia et salubria, comodiose inserviunt Ecclesiarum confessiones: Quæ ideo diversæ sunt, et diversimode conscriptæ, non una methodo; nec iisdem verbis; aliæ breviores, prolixiores aliæ; aliæ tantum positiva asserentes, at aliæ etiam corruptelas hæreticas rejicientes; aliæ de omnibus necessariis ad salutem, at aliæ de aliquibus tantum maximè controversis: plerumque scilicet sunt adaptatæ ad ipsam scriptionis et professionis occasionem; de istis et plurima et apertissima habentes, de quibus copiose et luculenter disserere, p calumnias malignantium vel importunas et iniquas suspiciones litigantium ecclesiæ urgebantur. At nulla vel optima harum confessionum, ut ipsa Lex fidei, agnoscitur ab Orthodoxis. Sola Lex Dei est nobis primò et propriè Lex fidei. Et nihil ideo dicimus infallibiliter verum, quia in hac vel illa confessione invenitur; sed quia in Sacra Scriptura ab ipso Spiritu Sancto nobis traditur. Astute admodum Pontificij Reformatis struxere insidias, (ut in Conventu Thorun. et alias saepissime) Dum praeter Sacras Scripturas Confessionem vel Symbolum aliquod vehementer semper postularent quod omnia fidei et Religionis nostrae capita distincte simul et expresse exhiberet, ad ravim usqz clamitantes, [Vel unam nobis monstrate formulam Protestantium Confessionis, quae totam vestram exprimit Religionem, in qua concorditer omnes consentitis.] Et si quando dolose ita a Lege et Regula Divina nos avocarent, audacter tunc Legem et Religionem nostram incusarent falsitatis scilicet, obscuritatis, novitatis, angustiae et culpae cujusvis (merito an immerito) intrepide statim et libere eam arguerent. Et dum qualis Lex fidei, talis fides, humanam, novam, imperfectam, contradictoriam et falsam etiam fidem nostram indigitarent: At talia de sacris Scripturis modestiores isti (non adhuc infideles) clamitare non audent, neqz ipsissimum Dei verbum tam audacter calumniari. Spe etiam gratissima seipsos blandiuntur facillime se Protestantes inter se commissuros, si a Lege unica fidei Christianae a regula veritatis, et centro unitatis efficaciter semel nos abducere valerent. Utinam enim Concordiam sequerent Christiani! utinam veritatis plenitudinem, certitudinem, firmitatem invenient, si non in Scripturis divinae inspirationis! Anne in hominis vel ecclesiae alicujus authoritate, claritate, doctrina fide convenient unquam et acquiescent fideles potius quam in ipsius Spiritus Sancti authoritate? Probe norunt Protestantium inimici fidei hac Lege et Regula divina, nos omnes jam diu unanimiter convenisse, et in Regula aliqua humanae, haud certo, haud arcte, haud universe adeo conventuros. //

Inter omnes discordiae et schismatis causas, vix ulla potentior eminet et ferocior quam 1° Sacrarum Scripturarum sufficientiae (in suo genere) derelictio; 2° et a fidei antiqua simplicitate defectio: Neqz ulla spes restat (fidenter loquimur) de antiqua charitate et unitate restauranda, nisi ad Scripturarum sufficientiam, et antiquam simplicitatem, concorditer revertendo. Ad portum hunc mature se recipiant dissidentes, si in animo ipsis et voto non est, vel fidei facere jacturam et pacis naufragium, vel saltem ~~diu~~ velut mari et ventis expositi fluctibus jactari, agitari procellis, et ultima tandem subire discrimina et sua et ecclesiastica. Dum homines subtilitatis prurigo quadam possidet, opiniones sibi arridentes in ecclesiarum symbola vel confessiones infarciendi, et receptioni earum necessitatem imponendi, et fratres dissentientes ex fine et communione ecclesiae exterminandi, cum talibus nulla speranda est concordia, nisi eorum animos humiliando, leniendo, et magis modestos et sobrios reddendo, vel, ut verbo dicamus, et sanam in iis mentem et sanctam reficiendo (quod numinis, non invalidi hominis opus). Piis interim ferendum, gemendum, orandum est; at nunquam consiliis hujusmodi consentiendum. // Nec tamen nos fugit quod hic a Papistis, nec non a quibusdam aliis objicitur; [Plurimos scilicet haereticos promptissime sacris eloquiis subscripturos, qui tamen Scripturas male intelligentes et sensum verborum, et fidem corrumpunt, dum verba retinent] Quid vero hinc a nostris Antinomis et Autonomis colligitur? [scilicet expressa magis et clara formanda est confessio, cui omnes qui orthodoxi cupiunt audire, subscribere oportet.] Resp. Ad usus ante dictos Confessiones nos laudamus: Hic tamen sequelam audacter negamus. Lex Dei in sacra Scriptura est perfecta et perspicua. Opus hoc non nobis relinquitur, emendandam. Nos minime decet caecutientes homunciones, divinae regulae sufficientiam denegare, claritatem obscurare, perfectionem vituperare, et ita veneranda authoritatem abrogare, ut nostra qualiacunqz et quantacunqz substituamus, et velut perfecta magis et sufficientia praeferamus. Sicine Politici Rempublicam administrant? Anne Lex insufficientiae et defectus arguenda est, quotiescunqz a pravis hominibus violatur? Anne mutanda, quotiescunqz temeratur? Quid si furentur, moechentur, homicidia perpetrent, qui subditi dicuntur, et Leges ore tenus honorant? Anne Leges igitur corrigendae sunt? vel potius peccatores? Anne ad Le[illegible] sufficientiam vel perfectionem ut temerari non possit? Anne nova Lex cudenda est, quotiescunqz peccatur in priorem? minime gentium. Saniora Consilia Christianis imo gregis Pastoribus sunt ineunda. Scriptura non est insufficiens, quia de rebus Religionis haeretici male sentiunt: dicenda non est imperfecta, quotiescunqz eam haeretici male interpretantur. Non nova cudenda est Regula fidei, quae potius ab ipsis subscribentibus regula vera, tortuose, oblique, perverse intelligitur. Anne censores isti Scripturarum, nobis talem unquam fidei confessionem fabricabunt quam subscribentes non possent male intelligere? quam homines pravi et haeretici mentis non possunt distorquere? Anne talem fidei et Religionis Legem ecclesiis fingent, quam nemo peccator potest violare? Apage haec somnia et deliria sapientium, qui infelicem suam ignorant, nec probe pensitarunt quam longe omni sapientiae humanae divina ista insipientia [illegible] faciendum? Anne haeretici [illegible] ecclesiis sunt confundendi;

quia subscribunt sacris Scripturis, vel Symbolo aut Confessioni alicui simplici ex ipsissimis Scripturae verbis contextis, composito? Resp. Nequaquam. Absit a corde Christiano tam impia cogitatio. Meliora adsunt contra haereses remedia; via rectiore ecclesiis est incedendum. Quandocunque lex violatur, peccator puniatur. Pastores ecclesiis fideliter invigilent; Inter se etiam Pastores consocientur, ut fraternam foveant charitatem, concordem colant communionem, et communi consilio res communes transigantur: Et siquando ex testibus fide dignis, vel justa facti evidentia compertum est, haeretice aliquem errores effutire, et semina mala in populum spargere, et fidem corrumpere, subvertere vel denegare, corripiendus est haereticus, et serio admonendus; Et tandem (si ad fruges meliores non redeat) rejiciendus, et ab ecclesiarum communione amovendus est; et si pergat in zizaniis suis seminandis, et animis incautorum haeresibus imbuendis, a Magistratu xtiano est prudenter coercendus. Si erratur, corrigatur, non Regula, sed oberrans. Si peccatur, vapulet non Lex, sed delinquens. Non Lex accusanda, judicanda, corrigenda, sed homines et mores et dogmata secundum Legem. De sensu ipsorum Conciliorum Papalium, non adhuc inter Pontificios convenit: vel ipsum Tridentinum diverse interpretantur, et inter contendentes paucissimi inveniuntur, qui Paparum et Conciliorum etiam Universalium decreta in partes suas non trahere et subornare conantur. || Firmissime igitur statuendum est, et tenaciter ab amicis ecclesiae asserendum, quod omnes Essentialia fidei confitentes, et generatim toti S. Scripturae subscribentes, et particulariter articulis istis, qui in Symbolis ecclesiae veteris continentur, nec non Decalogo et Orationi Dominicae, in gremium ecclesiae et sanctorum communionem libenti animo sunt recipiendi; nec inde rejiciendi, usque dum justis probetur testimoniis, vel hanc confessionem esse mendacem, vel criminis tanti reos confessores, quod scilicet cum contumacia et impoenitentia conjunctum ecclesiae intolerabiles plane reddit peccatores. || Ex abundanti tamen, et ut animorum ~~aegrotantium~~ injustis suspicionibus medicinam accomodemus, parati sunt omnes Protestantium coetus, ad rationem plenissimam de fide et Religione sua omnibus reddendam in apertis etiam, luculentis et articulatis confessionibus: At salva semper divinae Legis et Regulae praerogativa: et juncta simul hac protestatione, nos neque omnia esse fidei partes essentiales, quae in vera unaquaque confessione inveniuntur, neque verbum omne vel methodum in talibus confessionibus, ut immunem ab omni culpa et imperfectione, nos unquam justificaturos: sed ut omnibus illis quae Scripturae S. sunt plane consentanea, ut certis et indubitatis, subscribere non abnuimus; ita de minoribus controversiis et obscuris, siquando nobis probationibus compertum erit, nos vel minimum a sensu Scripturarum aberrasse, ad meliorem mentem cum [illegible] poenitentia nos redituros, et sententiam ad mentem divinam mutaturos, non pudet nos vel coram omnibus confiteri. Nuperrime triginta novem (ut vocantur) Articuli, confessio fuere publica ecclesiae Anglicanae: nunc autem propter unum vel alterum Articulum de Ceremoniis et Officio, et praeeminentia Dioecesanorum, a summa potestate et plerisque Pastoribus, posthabetur, et in tantum deponitur, ut nullis imponatur. Quid igitur? Anne fidem et Religionem mutavimus? Suntne jam alii ecclesiae Anglicanae, et fidei diversae quam antea fuere! Ita quidem nonnulli comoti et malevoli deblaterant ardeliones, fortasse ne mundum lateret, se, quid sit, vel fides vel Religio, vel ecclesia, vel prorsus vel plurimum nescire. At eundem continuo numen colimus; eundem habemus xtum ecclesiae caput; eundem Spiritum Sanctum Dei gratia possidemus; eandem jugiter fidem retinemus; eadem sumus affecti charitate erga omnes ianos; eadem spe futuram felicitatem expectamus: Inter omnia nova, non est quod magis nollemus, quam novum Deum, novum Christum, novum Evangelium, novam fidem ligionem vel ecclesiam. In omnibus hisce possumus convenire, qui de Ceremoniis et de[illegible] isto Episcopatu minime convenimus. Candidissime Protestantes describit Pontificius Polidorus Virgilius (lib. de Invent. rerum 8. cap. 4.) quod, Evangelici ideo dicuntur [quia haud ullam assererent recipiendam esse Legem quae ad animarum salutem pertineat, nisi quam xtus aut Apostoli dedissent.] Utinam vel omnes dicti Evangelici tam probe nossent, quis sit Evangelicus! Et verbo rem totam expediamus; In Lege hac Divina universi jamjam consentimus: nulla hic inter Evangelicos controversia. (quod probe norunt concordiae nostrae et Reformationis inimici.) Siqui vel sibimet vel ecclesiae tholicae aequalem unitatem et concordiam promiserint, in alia aliqua Lege vel confessione (saltem ex ipsis Scripturarum sententiis, non liquido deprompta et composita), obnixe ab istis et suppliciter petimus, ut prius aequale unitati fundamentum, aequalia pacis et concordiae subsidia, et aequalia pacis stabilitae retinendae adjumenta, quaecunque vel optimā confessione nobis ostendant; aequalem scilicet ~~autho~~ authoritatem, aequalem infallibilitatem et omnimodam perfectionem, et aequalem universi xtiani congruentiam; et etiam ut ad ecclesiae priora (et si volunt) puriora saecula retrospiciant, vel unam aliquam nobis indicent confessionem, in qua ecclesia consentit universa; et talem quacunque nobis digito monstraverint unanimo consensu sancte profitemur nos etiam omnes concorditer amplexuros: at si etiam aliquam nobis depromant confessionem, obnixe eosdem volumus rogatos, quo jure legem ipsi cudent et dabunt ecclesiae catholicae, et quibus fortis rationibus unitatem catholicam possunt expectare, imo centro istius (recentioris forsitan privatae originis) confessionis, in qua nec omnes, nec plurimae ecclesiae unquam sunt adunatae! ~~Hocine~~ Jam in senio ecclesiae est sperandum, et necessarium ad pacem et concordiam faciendum, quod saeculis prioribus fuit prorsus incognitum, et ab ecclesia necessarium nunquam aestimatum, et in quo nullo unquam tempore unione catholica ecclesia est polita? Plura de malo hoc pernicioso locuti sumus, quia plura ex eo mala ecclesia perpessa est; praecipue a secta Papistarum, qui nullo jure, nulla necessitate, ratione nulla, summa audaciā, arrogantiā, tyrannide novellam prorsus ecclesiae universali et fidem et Religionem †procudere. || Restat igitur inter ecclesias evangelicas (quae unam omnes agnoscunt regulam, et legem Religionis, eamque divinam, infallibilem, invariatam, et ab omnibus xtianis receptam) neminem posse jure arceri a sanctorum communione, nisi validis prius probetur argumentis, vel a contradictoria confessione, vel vita petitis, mendacem plane et nullam esse ejus xtianismi confessionem. Quicunque autem ausuri sunt necessaria hac procedendi methodo ecclesiam vel minimam excommunicare et repudiare, vel Pastores ejus exauctorare, ante oculos fideliter retineant haec duo cognitissimo jure ipsis incumbentia. 1° ut nemo condemnetur nisi ipse reus, noxa caput sequitur, ex ore igitur vel scripto ~~[illegible]~~ singularis alicujus vel theologi vel Episcopi, vel etiam Principis, vel Imperatoris judicanda non est ecclesia nec accusanda; in reum non in insontes animadvertatur ex ipsius ecclesiae verbis vel factis, ecclesia nulla condemnetur. Neque tota accusationis in ecclesiam vel personam aliquam sunt conjicienda ex fictis aliquibus vel extortis consequentiis; neque etiam ex veris remotis, quarum adversus veritatem repugnantia, errantibus ipsis est prorsus incognita; dummodo illi, ipsos articulos fidei expresse ~~[illegible]~~ profiteantur qui sequuntur a nescientibus incaute everterentur. Positiva enim et practica fides xtiana, est essentia xtianitatis, et conditio salutis: et nulli quicunque contrarii errores, cum fide hac positivā et practicā consistentes, ex amore, famulatu, civitate Dei credentem suum unquam exterminabunt. Et multi procul dubio errarunt speculative, in notionibus, et [illegible] nominibus, qui tamen contrariam fidei veritatem, practice, corde tenus ad salutem retinuere. Tam arcta enim est amicitia et tam miranda et perfecta connexio et concatenatio (~~[illegible]~~ veritatum opinionum theologicarum) inter se, ut si omnes arcerentur ab ecclesiarum communione, qui aliquid opinantur, quod inepta consequentia articulo alicui fidei est contraria, res esset omnis difficultatis plena, vel unicum vere credentem per omnes totius mundi ecclesias invenire. Qui ipse est sine reatu alicujus erroris, articulum fidei consequenter subvertentis, is primus lapidem in errantes hasce ecclesias intrepide conjiciat. Abstineant alii et in toto sint concordia. 2° Ecclesiarum idem censoribus incumbit observandum, ne ulla vel ecclesia, vel infimi ordinis persona, rejiciatur ut haeretica, vel privetur communione, nisi legitimo processu accusetur, citetur, et causam suam agens, patienter audiatur; et si haereseos vel testimoniis fuerit convicta, ~~[illegible]~~ ejectio non est facienda nisi post unam alteram admonitionem. Tit 3.10. Sin autem omnes ecclesiarum Reformatarum infensissimi hostes, vel apud Romanos, vel apud Inferos, versute quantum possunt et solerter laborarent, ut ipsas probarent vel a fide xtiana alienas, vel haereticā pravitate articulum aliquem unum essentialem, vel necessarium ad ecclesiae salutem perverse denegantes, invidorum citius ilia rumpentur, quam istud impossibile effectum darent. In ipsos calumniatorum ignominiam res cederet, et caecutientis malitiae sibi notam inurerent. At Reformatos et fidei et Religionis xtianae possessores incolumes essent relicturi. Haud majore opera et difficultate probamus nos esse xtianos et antiquae Religionis fidelium heredes, quam probatum dabit secta Pontificiorum se esse Pontificios. || 2° Tantum de rerum parte prima cui omnes evangelicorum ecclesiae se invicem membra catholica agnoscere: secunda sequitur; ut mutuā scilicet charitate se invicem amplectantur. At Spiritus sancti non nostri est ex nobis ipsis tam grande praestare opus. Charitatem diffundere in corda peccatorum ~~[illegible]~~ charitatis —

[illegible] poterit [illegible]

[illegible] nec probe pensitarunt suam longe omni sapientiae humanae divitiae ista insipientia [illegible]

[illegible] faciendum? [illegible] ecclesiae [illegible] confoderunt [illegible]

rejicienda haeresis ut plenius convicta

est ~~[illegible]~~ Donatoris et Domini charitatis prerogativa) sanctificanti quidem Spiritui [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ et ~~[illegible]~~ Studendo nobis inserviendum est: At hoc etiam est concionatoris potius quam conciliatoris. Scelerata pectora, charitate vacua, per verbum et Spiritum imutanda prius, purificanda et cœlesti vitâ imbuenda sunt, quam ad exercitium charitatis a conciliatoribus possint efficaciter persuaderi. Et hoc quidem testari (etsi ingratum fortasse aliquibus futurum prævidemus) experientia certa sed amara nos urget. Inter maximas scilicet deplorandæ discordiæ causas numerandum esse quod ipsi homines, ab operatione Sancti Spiritus mortificante et vivificante plane alieni, et nescij cœlestis Sanctorum conversationis, in sacrum tamen ministerium frequenter nimis intromittuntur: Et ita qui sanctitatis amore et sensu sunt omnino destituti, res tamen ad sanctorum communionem pertinentes, et tractant et gubernant. Diriguntur res ecclesiæ, ab inimicis ecclesiæ: Qui Spiritum Xti non habent, res Xti administrant: qui dum in negotio religionis sunt meri dogmatistæ, et vacui sanctitatis et charitatis Xtianæ, facillime inducuntur ex [illegible] studio, philautia, et opinionum propriarum delirâ admiratione, ad omnia conturbanda, ad ecclesias scindendas, et fratrum sanctissimos ab illis vel in minimis dissentientes malitiose traducendos et injuste condemnandos. At gratia cœlesti vere renovati, ab ipso Deo docti sunt diligere se invicem: et in amorem fratrum et concordiam Xtianorum, cum mutuâ tolerantiâ, patientia et compassione, spontaneâ animi feruntur propensitate, et impetu quodam sancto a Spiritu inhabitante impelluntur. Dissidia regenitorum sunt sicut vulnera viventium, quæ non amantur, non foventur, sed dolore et cruciatu impatiens fere et vehemens excitant sanationis desiderium: At discordiæ impiorum sunt vulnera mortuorum: neque dolent, neque sentiuntur, et ideo patientia summa tolerantur. Quod diligimus idem quæritamus et prosequimur; non item quod odio habemus vel aversamur. Quicquid præ se ferant vel sentiant de seipsis, certissimum est plerosque saltem renovante Spiritu Xti destitutos intime et medullitus inimicitias colere adversus sanctorum et indolem et communionem: Quis igitur sperare potest eosdem sanctorum, ecclesiæ communionem sincere, fideliter, studiose curaturos? Quando cœlestis ille naturæ depravatæ ~~re~~instaurator ecclesiæ suæ dabit Principes et Pastores plerosque sanctificante illo Spiritu vere renovatos, tunc nobis e tene~~[illegible]~~ exorietur, et zelo impulsi charitatis et concordiæ, ad vulnera ecclesiæ consolidanda festino gradu homines properabunt, et animis conciliatis in fraternos amplexus [illegible] libenter ruent! Et aliorum tolerabiles infirmitates tolerabunt: et de sincerâ animorum humilitate, et suarum infirmitatum et inscitiæ conscientiâ, timebunt valde, ne dum judicant judicentur, et fratres condemnando seipsos condemnarent: nec temere fratres hæreticos insimulabunt, ne pari justitia ob æquales sibi incognitos errores, hæreseos nota ~~[illegible]~~ ab alijs sibi inuratur, et cognomen hæreticorum sibi ipsi arcessant: nec temere aliorum nomina ex agni mactati libro vitæ obliterabunt, ne propria eâdem manu obliterent: nec temere fratres ex finibus ecclesiæ exterminabunt, et a dilectione audebunt excludere divinâ: ne ipsi se ejiciant, et januam gratiæ et communionis ecclesiasticæ sibi ipsis præcludant. Grex ovium inquit Dominus, perditum sunt populus meus; pastores eorum faciunt ut aberrent; per montes avertunt eos, de monte in collem abeunt, obliti cubilis sui: At diebus illis et tempore illo, dictum Jehovæ, venient filij Israelis ipsi cum filijs Jehudæ una; incedentes flendo ibunt et Jehovam Deum suum quærent: De Tzione interrogabunt, in via; illuc facies eorum: agedum, et adjungant se Jehovæ in fœdere perpetuo quod non tradatur oblivioni. Jer. 50. 4. 5. 6. ||

3° Ad tertiam jam remedij partem est progrediendum, de externâ scilicet charitatis expressione, et mutuo dandâ dexterâ societatis: quod modo sequenti tutissime citissime, et facillime præstandum, judicamus. 1° Quicunque cohabitantes in catholicâ confessione conveniunt (qualem ante descriptam dedimus) in quibusdam tamen ordinis inferioris dogmatibus, inter se dissentiunt, nihilominus in uno eodemque cœtu sub probis ijsdem Pastoribus conjungantur, retinentes ibi unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis, et alij aliorum onera sustinentes; hac tamen lege, ut concordiæ sint studiosi, et fidis ecclesiæ pastoribus subditi, et disciplinæ necessariæ aliquatenus observantes. || 2° Quicunque a publicis hisce cætibus se ~~[illegible]~~ disjungunt, vel quia salva conscientiæ pace, dogmatibus vel ceremonijs quibusdam consentire non possunt, vel ab aliâ aliquâ causâ a sui vel a fratrum errore oriundâ, in Professione tamen antedictâ catholicâ consentiunt, et in cætibus proprijs Deum pie et legitime colunt, et vitam agunt confessioni consentaneam, et hominis Xtiani dignam, hos etiam fratres et conservos agnoscamus, et mutuam cum illis charitatem foveamus; et quamvis eorum disjunctionem approbare non possumus, ~~nec~~ fortasse debemus, neque etiam

dogmata quædam, cæremonias et ritus ecclesiarum ~~suarum~~ quarum, non tamen diffitendum e
eas esse ~~veras~~ ecclesias Xtianorum, etsi fortasse culpabiles; et tali cum hisce commu
retinenda est, qualis seipsos capaces adhuc relinquere: nec tales injuria afficere debem
sed paci eorum et libertati consulere; sed salvâ semper pace reipublicæ, et ecclesiæ, et
magistratus authoritate, et salute animarum. || 3° Ecclesiæ omnes Xtianorum in re-
gionibus diversis et distantibus habitantes, quæ ideo localis et personalis communionis minime
sunt capaces, confessione publicâ se invicem veras Xtianorum ecclesias, non gravatè ag-
noscant; et charitatem fraternam et communionem, quantam per locorum licet distantiam
firmissime colant; et ubi ad salutem ecclesiarum necesse est, per internuncios etiam
si fieri potest, res suas communicent: et semper sint parati ad mutuam assistentiam,
in communi Religionis causâ. || At restat fortasse principaliter dicendum, de modo
scilicet et modis quibus hoc tertium (agnitio, amplexus, et communio distantium eccle-
siarum) feliciter et sine morâ possit obtineri? Resp. in promptu et aperto res posita
nobis omnino videtur: 1° Ecclesia scilicet unaquæque confessionem suam deliberatè
recognoscat, et ad Scripturarum authoritatem et sufficientiam, et veteris ecclesiæ sim-
plicitatem, fideliter reducat: perlegat etiam confessiones aliarum ecclesiarum: et Eccle-
siæ illæ pacificæ quæ duces se præstabunt in negotio conciliationis, duplex hoc nun-
cium ad exteras vel distantes mittant, quarum ambiunt concordiam et communionem.
Pars prima nuncij sit publica per Pastores subscripta Professio, se ecclesiam ad quam
nuncium mittunt, agnoscere et amplecti; charitate Xtianâ et familiam ejus et fra-
ternam communionem ambire: et quod à parte ipsorum non stabit, quo minus exop-
tata unitas et concordia feliciter stabiliatur. Secunda autem nuncij pars sit ut mitten-
tium ecclesiæ confessio recognita ad exteras mittatur, et illis communicetur, cum hoc postu-
lato, ut perlectâ suâ confessione, ~~si~~ ipsam probent ut Xtianam ~~confessionem~~, confessores ut fratres, in chari-
tatem et communionem Xtianam recipiant, et dexteras darent societatis: sin autem confes-
sionem Reprobent, ut candide et amanter errores notarent, et rationes sententiæ de-
cretoriæ redderent: ~~quod~~ cui etiam jungatur ~~[illegible]~~ hæc protestatio se sacras tantummodo Scri-
pturas amplecti, ut fidei et obedientiæ divinæ Legem; et ideoque quicquid in suâ confessi-
one inveniatur divinæ huic regulæ contrarium, illud se non obstinatè defensuros, sed ad
normam hanc divinam lubenti animo reducturos: Professionis ~~[illegible]~~ istius super hanc formulam
breviorem non tantum ut consulentes, sed ut sincerè consentientes, non incongruè hic putavimus subjun-
gendam. [Nos infra scripti Jesu Xti ministri in Evangelio pacis, ecclesiarum Pastores con-
sociatarum in Comitatu Wigorniensi, ex lectione Confessionis Augustanæ, Saxonicæ, Wir-
tenbergicæ, Palatinatus, Bohemicæ, Helvetiæ, Gallicæ, Anglicanæ, Scoticanæ, Hybernicæ, Bel-
gicæ, Argentinensis, sive quatuor civitatum Imperij, Basileensis, Polonicæ, cum consensu Eccle-
siarum Poloniæ et Lithuaniæ, Cyrilli Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani &c doctrinam in
hisce omnibus et singulis, fidei Antiquæ, Catholicæ, Apostolicæ, Christianæ, non sine gaudio
et gratijs Xto auctori fidei, agnoscimus: et ecclesias omnes hanc fidem retinentes, et
secundum eam in spiritu Xti ambulantes, ut membra Xti, et fratres charissimos, et honoran-
das partes ecclesiæ catholicæ amplectimur, et dexteram illis damus societatis; et fidem per
Dei conservatam [illegible] ijs gratulamur; et flexis genibus coram Patre cælesti assiduas pre-
ces pro ipsis fundimus, ut floreant adhuc, stabiliantur, ab hæresibus, peccatis et inimicis pro-
serventur, et studentes conservare unitatem spiritus per vinculum pacis, incrementum fa-
ciant in charitate usque ad finem: et eorum etiam amplexum et communionem (quan-
tum per distantiam sumus capaces) percupientes, Confessionem nostram typis publicatam hu-
militer ipsis exhibemus, submissè petentes ut eâ perlectâ, examinatâ et comprobatâ,
fraternâ nos haud dedignentur charitate et communione. ~~Et~~ Et si quid in nostris inveniri
videntur, minus congruum doctrinæ sacrarum scripturarum
profligando, rejectum illud habe[illegible]
mo, nos [illegible]

Adde at this mark ⊞ (quæ nobis sunt sola norma fidei Divinæ) ut nobis illud affectu
fraterno indicarent suppliciter etiam petimus; spondentes, quamprimum per
studia sacrarum literarum, ~~consilia, et quotidianas preces,~~ [illegible] pacificum, si cito, si tutò, sine strepitu
[illegible] ipso producendum, hujusmodi ab ecclesijs [illegible] scri-
[illegible]ijs mittito; ab ipsis rescripta talia postulato; et testimonia ha-
unionis et communionis ecclesiarum, typis edita, divulgato; ut legant gaudentes pacis am-
tores, legant frendentes, ecclesiarum osores; et in pacis propagationem, consignata legat

76

[illegible] quam longe omni sapientia humana [illegible]
[illegible] confundi[illegible]

grata posteritas. || Sed revera ex altera saltem parte (lætantes dicimus) hoc opus jamjam factum (etsi non perfectum) nobis videtur. Scripta enim hæc ipsa quæ a te accepimus, ab Ecclesia scilicet et Academia Genevensi, ab Ecclesiis et Academiis et magistratibus Helveticis, ab Ecclesiis Gallo-Belgicis, ab Episcopo Strengnensi una cum summaria tua reddita ratione de exantlatis tuis triginta fere annorum laboribus, et cum syllabo documentorum, et effectu tuæ negotiationis; scripta etiam conciliatoria ab Anglicis (Episcopis et aliis) Belgicis, Gallicis, Bremensibus, Germanis pluribus et aliis (ex tuo pleraque hortatu) exarata; Omnia hæc cum communibus piorum votis, nobis notum et testatum faciunt, ecclesias evangelicas se invicem ut veras, charas et fidei catholicæ possessores agnoscere et amplecti. Reformatorum saltem (ut vulgo distinguuntur) erga Lutheranos, hanc esse mentem, luculenter satis probatum dederunt; fratres eos Christianos semper fore indigitantes, et eorum communionem summopere expetentes: et eundem esse Lutheranorum (uti dicuntur) animum, etsi non tam plene et aperte nobis compertum est, bene tamen de illis speramus; et ipsos omnes ecclesias Reformatas charitate fraterna animitus amplecti, nulli dubitamus. Ex scriptis enim contentiosis paucorum quorundam suplientium, minime sunt judicandæ nationes et integræ ecclesiæ. Si pauci aliqui contentiose et arroganter, per convitia calumnias et censuras injustas cum fratribus rem egere; quid hoc ad Principes, Pastores, Ecclesias, qui a criminibus hisce abhorrent? Quid hoc ad plures Theologos moderatos, qui pacis xtianæ et Ecclesiarum concordiæ se amatores præstitere? Si charitate fraterna et unitatis amore carentes eos esse censeremus, impios item, sine spiritu xti, et sub statu damnationis (quod absit) esse censeremus. 2° Sin autem aliqua inveniatur ecclesia quæ ex zelo amaro et charitatis defectu amplexum et communionem fratribus denegabit, paci renunciet, et pacificis conciliatorum abnuet consiliis, a tali ecclesia statim postulandum est, ut adversus fratres quam habet accusationem describat; idque non ex privatorum vel scriptis vel factis, sed vel ex ipsis confessionibus vel publicis actis earun~~dem ec~~clesiarum, et ut diem ipsis dicat et causam suam agentes patienter audiat, et causam incognitam, et ecclesias inauditas, etiam ante unam et alteram admonitionem non condemnaret. Justissimo huic et necessario si renuant postulato, cum talibus adeo injustis et inhumanis, negotium pacis ultra transigere non possumus; sed ad tribunal divinum appellare debemus, et judici justissimo causam commendare, sicut in aliis iniquorum calumniis est faciendum. Sin autem (quod confidenter vel ab infensissimis expectamus) ex ipsis ecclesiarum vel confessionibus vel factis, quod culpant signatis literis describent, proculdubio offendiculum statim amovebimus; quædam enim corrigendo, quædam elucidando et quædam confirmando, nos omnes fidem Antiquam, Catholicam, Apostolicam, Christianam tenere intemeratam, facillime testatum dabimus, ita ut viris oculatis et cordatis res extra aleam controversiæ posita in posterum patebit. || Sed omnia hæc ultima nullius fore necessitatis speramus, et rem nunquam inter ecclesias ullas Evangelicas in quæstionem venturam: Non enim quæritur, [An in aliquibus erramus?] Quis enim mortalium immunis est ab errore? dum aliquatenus tantum novimus, aliquatenus errabimus. Quæritur tantum [An vere simus Christiani, et ecclesiæ xti, e fratrum charitate et communione non ejiciendi?] ~~Quod nil nisi inscitia vel malitia deplorata~~ post auditam causam potest inficiari. || Ut omnibus autem suspiciosis, contentiosisque et cavillatoribus ansam præripiamus, hæc duo quam maxime videntur necessaria: 1° Quod ante dictum est ut Confessiones nostras Catholicas vel ad ipsas sacras Scripturas et antiqua symbola reducamus (in quibus omnes facillime consentimus, et contra quas nemo xtianus obstrepere audeat) vel saltem ut per ipsas sacræ Scripturæ phrases et sententias in omnibus necessariis, res exprimantur. 2° Ut Theologus aliquis doctus, cordatus, perspicax, in palæstra harum controversiarum bene exercitatus tractatum talem exararet, in quo consensus primo Ecclesiarum in rebus fidei et dogmatibus exprimatur; et inde veniens ad dogmata controversa, et accurate distinguendo verbalia a realibus, et methodum a materia, eas omnes controversias primo seligeret et seponeret, quæ sunt tantum circa methodos et verba, et tales esse probe et plane demonstraret: Privatas etiam Theologorum quorundam opiniones, ab ecclesiarum doctrina semper, ut non imputandas discernat: Et tandem cum ad reales controversias ventum est, earum paucitas, et a corde et essentia fidei distantia, et cum charitate et aeterna communione consistentia, probe demonstretur. Et hisce pacti liquido apparebit, differentias nostras ab adversarijs et quibusdam furiosis odiose adeo exagitatas, non esse de necessarijs ad salutem, vel ad pacem et communionem Christianorum, sed magis de [illegible] verbis et methodis, quam plerique fortasse utrinque probe intellexerunt: Et earum plurimas videbunt, in Controversias Philosophicas, incertas, non-necessarias, ultimo Scholasticas omnia aliquatenus, jamdudum a moderatis aliquibus perficiuntur, etsi impari fortasse conamine, et vix ad rei necessitatem. Totum hoc in vulgato illo prudentium dicto, (sed nunquam satis laudato, nec satis adhuc pensitato) concludimus [Si omnes servaremus, in necessarijs unitatem, in non-necessarijs libertatem, in utrisque charitatem;] optimo loco esset Pax ecclesiarum, quam absque hoc & omnia alia quaecunque conamina nunquam obtinere et tenere valebimus.]] XXX Hactenus de negotio Conciliationis in genere, et de medijs et modo procedendi sumus locuti (fortasse pluribus quam opus est, quod verum esse optamus). Quid restat charissime et Reverende Frater, nisi ut gratias tibi quam maximas agamus, propter immensos hos et indefessos labores, ecclesiarum et Evangelij causa susceptos et exantlatos: Et quod tua nobis fraterne communicando, charitatis et suavissimae pacis negotij participes nos etiam fieri voluisti: Et tandem ut animis sinceris testeamur, nobis vel medullitus cordibus esse gratissimum hoc conciliationis negotium, et ad ipsum perficiendum nos esse toto devotos; et inter maxima numeraturos esse beneficia, si quando nobis feliciter obtigerit, ut vel a te vel ab aliquo tui simili, via nobis vel aperiatur vel monstretur, qua possimus tam gratum opus commovere: Et speramus nihil mundanum tam charum et pretiosum nobis unquam visurum fore, quod non ad ecclesiae pacem procurandam, et opus reformationis et concordiae commovendum, lubentissimis animis dicare, sacrificare et expendere valeamus. Preces interim suppliciter fundere, non cessabimus, coram Deo [illegible] charitatis, concordiae et omnis boni optabilis largitore, ut operis hoc feliciter coepti [illegible] et pacifici roborati, et adjuti a Xto, per omnia suspiciones, invidias, [illegible] et invidiae tela fortissime aggrediantur, donec metam tandem attingant exoptatam; quod tibi inter primos precamur Colendissime Frater, cujus nomen a pacis nomine honoratum redditur in omnibus ecclesijs reformatis et honoratissimum, nobiscum, qui in arctissimis etiam charitatis vinculis tibi obstricti, manemus

Fratres tui in fide et patientia Evangelij

Epist. Pastor. Consociat. ad Duræum
de Pace

(No: 107)

2

108 1/1

Dear & Honored Sr,

'Tis my unhappinesse that I cannot give so clear a state of my case as may make way for a grounded judgmt. 'Tis a hard matter to describe the state of the place I have left (as now it is) I left it in a hopefull way of being happily supplyd but one partie rejected the pson I recommended. another partie (for I found the best there at my first coming two parties, wch wth the rough Gods blessing upō indeavors brought into one body, & are now breaking into two parties againe) have since rejected another, who yet all professe a readinesse to meet in mee as before. Also (wch I shd not speake did not the matter require it) some overtures made by mee were the occasion of a settled meeting of the neighbouring Minrs of dreat perswasions (kept up for some time not without hopes of good successe) wch hath since been discontinued & forsaken by one partie. & 'tis represented to mee by some of ym as a matter of ill consequence to those parts. Torrn was the place of meeting & ye only convenient place for that purpose. wch, if not supplyed by a pson inclined to peace (of wch my frustrated indeavors have made mee despaire) will not draw in both parties thither. Also my Ministerie there was not (through Gods grace) altogether in vaine. & the advantage I may hope for the increase of their affections by absence seems to promise it may bee more prosperous shd I returne.

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Here my influence is not like to bee much (as it is not to bee expected a raw young man shd bee much considerable among Grandees) my worke little, my successe hitherto little my hopes considering the temper of this place very small. especially considering wth ye temper of my spirit wch (did you know it) alone, would I thinke quite alter yor judgmt of this case. I am naturally bashfull, pusillanimous easily brow-beaten. solicitous about ye fitnesse & unfitnesse of speech or silence in most cases. afraid (especially having to do wth those yt are confident in & severe censures) of being accounted uncivill, basie &c & ye distemper being naturall (most intrinsecally) is little curable. you can easily guesse how little consideration are like to do in such a case. I did not I confesse know my selfe so well as since my coming up occasions & reflections have taught mee to do. I finde my hopes of doing good will be amongst people where I shall not bee so liable to bee over-awd. I might have knowne this sooner & have prevented ye trouble I am now in. though the case of my coming up hither & continuance differ much so as that I can't condemne the former, yet I more incline to do that then justify the latter. Yor intimation (now renewed) of the danger of the are sad. but what can I do for prevention? or (if I might

might hope my perswasions would signifie any thing) what cause should I perswade to? Besides there are store of good men about the city who may have as free accesse & (probably) more regard than I; what I may do in befriending good causes will bee accessary to my calling. I have devoted my selfe to serve God in the worke of ye ministry And how can I want the pleasure of their crys & complaints who have used to come to mee under convictions &c? I shall beseech you to weigh my case over againe. pardon this importunate trouble from Sr

Wh:ll Jan: 7th – 58.

Yrs in all affection & observance

John Howe.

(No 108)

For ye reverend Mr Richard
Baxter minr of the
Gospell at
Kiderminster
Worcestershire

Reverend Sr.

Since my last something hath come into my thoughts wch may bee a medium betwixt my deserting my psent station, &c. i.e. to retaine a relation still to Torr:n (wch hitherto for want of a successor I could not divest myselfe of) & get leave to bee wth them a quarter of a yeare or as much time as [illegible] may bee allowed) in the yeare, procuring another (who shall injoy the profits of the place) to bee constantly resident. This if it may bee done will bee a double satisfaction to mee. 1. That while I am wth them (as I shall much desire to bee sometimes) it will give mee the advantage of dealing wth them as [their] minister wch will both procure mee more libertie in my owne spirit in my application to them when I shall not feare to bee lookt upon as an incroacher & uninterested person, & probably, more regard from them. 2. That by this meanes a doore will bee kept open for my returne to them, if hereafter it should bee more apparently my dutie so to do. Which will bee a great releif to mee against what may possibly prove otherwise very afflictive viz: the feares lest I should have irrecoverably throwne away the best opportunitie of doing God service that may ever bee offered mee while I live. 8/ My only doubt is about the lawfullness of such a course viz: of continuing related to ~~such~~ a people wth whom one can so little reside. I know not whether the not-comon occasion of my absence may plead any thing for it. I shall intreat yor judgmt in this case, & that you will please to afford it speedily. bec: I shall forbeare till then to propound it to th: I am Sr

Yors much obliged

J. Howe

Whll Jun. 3d 58.

For ye reverend mr
Richard Baxter
Min:r of the gospell
at
Kederminster
Worcestershire

3

London ye first of Decemb. 1655

109 (1)

Honoured Sr

According to ye late practice of others resident heere, wee of Worcestershire (chosen Stewards to yt end) occasioned a meeting of or countrymen ye 20th of Novem. last, first to a Sermon, (wch was piously performed by mr Humphry Vernon) & afterwards to a dinner. And being desirous to improve ye oportunitye for ye good of or country (at least to make a first Essay yt might tend thereunto, & be an introduction, to those wee have chosen to succeed us ye following yeare, who are persons of greater interest & influence yn or selves) wee did move them to a contribution towards ye maintainance of a weekly Lecture in or country for one yeare, in such place or places & one such dayes as wee should be advised too by ye godly ministers of or countye where in their apprehentions most good (through gods blessing) might be done. as also towards ye placeing out of 8 poore boyes to lawfull callings, if their charitye should amount thereunto, and if it did exceed what should be found necessary for ye defraying thereof. That ye residue should be disbursed to ye reliefe of ye most necessitous poore in Worcester. Wee obliged or selves to give accompt of ye money yt should be collected unto ye following Stewards, wch wee have done, wee also promised or endeavours to procure certificate from persons of integritye out of our country yt ye money collected should be layed out to ye purposes & to noe other, & this wee have yet to doe. Now worthy Sr as god hath highly honoured you in making you instrumentall for ye good of ye nation in generall and fixed you as an eminent instrument of much good to or countye in particular fixing yor residence (by his good hand of providence) amongst ym, wee are emboldned to make or address to you, and shall reckon or selves highly accomodated if wee may obtaine yor advice & helpe for ye discharge of this trust upon us, wch wee humbly intreate you to accept of, together wth such others as you shall please to call to yor assistance. For ye nominateing of places where ye intended Lectures shall be fixed, and ye ministers by whom ye worke shall be carryed on in each place, & appoynting into whose hands or hand ye money shall be ~~paid~~ put to ye end they may be duly payed. And as wee doe acknowledge or selves at a loss wthout yor assistance heerin, soe shall wee fully acquiesce in yor determinations. the money collected is 37li: 10s wch wee hope to make up 40li. Now Sr because this money canot possibly reach (as wee conceive) to discharge a weekly Lecture for a yeare, & doe ye second business propounded too, wch also wee purpose (god permitting) to doe, Therefore wee hope 3 monthly Lectures dureinge one yeare may be thought Equivolent thereunto. For ye discharge whereof 10s will be alowed p Sermon, & 12d for ye clerke. dict. 21li: 9s: wch shall be deposited into ye hands of whomsoever you shall appoynt to receive it either heare or in ye Country. Much Malvern hath been mentioned as a fitt place in ye apprehention of some of us to settle one of ye monthly Lectures in, But honored Sr. when wee consider yor generall knowledge of ye state of or countye, yor feeling compassion towards those yt most want ye meanes of grace, & yor integritye in all, wee canot but intreat you to pass by any thinge wee suggest yt stands not wth yor owne likeing, & once more humbly pray you to accept of this trouble, & let yor leasure to vouchsafe us a fewe lines whereby wee may know yor minde. wch wth ye tender of all due respects, wee take leave to subscribe or selves though (unknowne to you)

month:

Sr yor Obliged friends Tho: Lechmere

from
of ye gentry

Thomas Green.
John Vernon.
William Green.
Edmund Aldorne.

Richard Ordway
Edward Estoge
Thomas Stanley

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Sr. be pleased to Direct yr letter
to mr Thomas Stanley at ye 3
Crownes in Breadstreet or
to mr Underhill bookseller
for him./

Decemb. ye 16th 1655

Reverend Sr

The receipt of yors ye last night, bearing date ye 11th instant, occasioned
us presently to meet together that wee might forthwth send you answer
4 - thereunto according to desire, yor open, free, & speedy answer to or request
it, and also our thankfull acknowledgmt wch wee ~~also~~ hartily returne
unto you for ye same, as also for yor great care off, & tender love to or poore
country-men whose soule interest & welfare wee find studiously promoted
in ye advise you have given us. Yor abounding thus in ye worke of ye Lord
shall not be in vaine in ye Lord, And wee hope not altogether in vaine
as presented unto us, for as it is approved by us upon consideration thereof
had in ye way you have propounded, before what wee orselves did suggest
to be done, soe have wee thereupon resolved at present to make payment of
Thirtye pounds of ye money wee have (towards ye carrying on of ye worke
in yt way) by mr Edward Estop (who is one of us) into yor hands about ye
later end of ye next month, and as not satisfyed therewth have also resolved
to use some further endeavor for ye raising of more, that wee may the
better doe ye other businesse of placeing out boyes & attaine to ye compleating
of yor desires if it be possible. But Sr because wee would by noe meanes
disappoynt yor expectations, wee shall very speedily communicate to you
what it is, that ye uncertaintye as well as ye possibillitye of obtaineinge or
desires may be guessed at by you, if it be soe difficult as yt nothinge can
be obtained yet this Thirtye pounds for printing shall be payd to you not-
withstanding as above, & ye businesse of ye boys made upp at or owne charge;
but if wee find successe therin (as some amongst us hope wee shall) wee doe
then intend to lessen somewhat our owne charge as to ye boyes by defalking
some pt of ye abovesd some out of ye money wch wee hope further to
obtaine for this yeare when it doth come in: thus much at present wee
thought necessary to acquaint you withall, that wee might not by or de-
lays retard soe excellent a worke, wch wee approve & shall begg a
blessing upon; desiring ye Lord to remove yor bodily infirmityes & to conti-
nue you a blessing to his church. wee take leave to subscribe
or selves.

Sr yor very much obliged friends

Tho: Lechmere

Thomas Stanley

Edward Estopp

Edmd Alderne

Thomas Greene
John Vernon
William Greene
Richard Ordway
concurring with us.

109 (3)

Reverend Mr Baxter.

5

Be pleased to take notice since [illegible] ye returne of Mr (Edward Eltopp) occasioned ye late Stewards to meet together, to whom he reported yt you (together wth your brethren ye ministers) had not only taken a great deale of care & paines in ye determination & management of what wee desired to be done in order to ye discharge of or trust, as to ye places where, & as to ye persons by whom it shall be executed &c. but alsoe yt you have amongst yor selves resolved to add thereunto for ye spirituall good of or country, yt wch wee would gladly have accomplished, but could not (viz) ye doubling of ye worke, wch wee compute to be not only equivalent to, but far exceeding what or countrymen heare contributed towards ye same. And therefore Sr in case you apprehend it may be for ye comon good yt you publish or Country mens charitye & helpe hence towards ye same (wch otherwise deserves not to be made mention of) wee shall intreat yt ye good effects it hath occasionally wrought in your pious breasts to doe far more worthily may also be inserted, whereby others may be exhorted to doe likewise; but whether it shall be expressed in yor booke, or how it shall be made mention of in case you doe resolve to make it publick wee leave wholly to yor wisdome, wth this limitation, that wee be not expressed nominally nor otherwise made mention of then as wee weare ye late stewards for ye Worcestershire feast. Sr when oportunitye is offered & yor leasure will admitt wee intreat a certificate according to our former request made to you, that wee may not further trouble you about this businesse, & yt wee may stand right in ye apprehentions of or countrymen heare, as to ye dispose of what wee did collect, yt hereafter they may be incouraged to doe better. That you have soe readily assisted us, & soe freely layd out yor selves for ye good of or country (even beyond or expectations) ye Lord who is ye first moveing cause & fountaine of all good be magnifyed, & you for yor labour of love aboundantly rewarded wth rich increases of grace & comfort in yor selves, & fruites of yor labor in yor hearers. So wth all due respects & harty thankes tendered to yor selfe & ye faithfull ministers yor brethren yt have assisted in this worke wee take leave & rest.

Sr yor very much obliged friends to serve you.

Edm: Bloome
Tho: Lechmere
Thomas Stanley
John Vernon
Edw: Eltopp

+

85

LETTE

fol. 86. of Baxter Letters in volume

86

ffor Mr Richard Baxter minister
these dd

in

Kidderminster

Leave this at ye posthouse in
Brumigham to be

Worcestershire

Post Payd

Reverend Sir

Since you left us, we have not neglected to use such meanes as you directed. Upon Mr Newcomes letter the parish upon a meeting generally testified their earnest desire of his coming, and their exceeding forwardnes to contribute towards his maintenance, and in the towne we find of all sorts very violent, and earnest for our proceedings in this busines. For having been pr[illegible] diverse of us in the parish concluded to secure him 100 li per annum according to our first proposall, as by counsell in law shall be advised, we have also prepared the consent with an invitation from three of our ministers, also the verball ~~[illegible]~~ consent of the Councell, together with the consent and subscription of the major and other magistrates. which with wee have presented Mr Newcome by Mr James Browne whom we intrusted as a messenger on our behalfe. hee upon his returne informes us that hee finds him in some suspence, having been not a little courted by the inhabitants of Manchester, since Mr Hollinworths decease, but in short the determination is in your selfe. we therefore do most earnestly and importunately beseech you to weigh our case thorowly, and let it not be sayd in Shrewsbury, that we had had an eminent and faythfull pastor for the parish of St Julians, but Mr Baxter was our hinderance. Sir we could use severall arguments, for decision of the matter in controversie but we thinke them not soe fit to committ to paper but rather referre them to the bearer Mr Hunt, whom we have importuned to give you this visitt on this behalfe. Sir upon your continuing to be a happy instrument in the perfecting the worke you have begun, we hope the hartes and tounges of many hundreds in the towne and countrie shall have occasion to blesse god for your care of us and paynes for us. Sir with great confidence of your affection to us in this serious busines we take our leaves, and shall ever remayne

Salop. Novemb: 27th. 1656

your unfayned friends
and servantes

Tho: Hayes

Rowland Prichard
John: Bromley
Joseph Prowde
Edward Wolley
Nathaniel Lee:
Th: Hunt
Tho: Harris
Tho: Whittakers
J Butler
George Dickins
[illegible]
James Browne
James Paddy
Richard Knight
Henry Hughes;
Tho: Jones
William [illegible]
Richard Pearce.
John: Jones

These.

ffor the Reuerent mr Richard
Baxter minister of the
Gosple att Kederminster
in
worcester shire.

Youre worth merrits frō us much respect, wch shall not be wantinge; but yor lre doth doble engage us; ffirst for yor tender regarde to Wenlock, to have an honest godly minister setled there, 2ly for yor councell in disswadinge frō division; ffor the first, it was our designe (noe private ends any weit moveinge us) to make Wenlock happy in an able paynefull godly minister, to that end our mr Langley was pitcht upon, whom we & many others conceive to be deserveinge of a much better place then Wenlock is, a man of ability & godly conversation for ought we could ever heare, and soe he is reputed & taken to be by psons truely professinge religion and of eminency in the now affayres; onely by some reputed disaffected to the psent governmt; we know not such thinge, we leave him to pleade for him selfe, not doubting he will cleare him selfe therein, wch we take to be a meare aspersion; the parishonrs of Wenlock have severall times heard him pch and doe veary well approve of him, they wholy declaringe for him (mr Edmund King & some few inconsiderable psons excepted) noe man eminently appearinge against him but onely mr King. / What rumor you have heard of mr Langley is to us unknowne, we shall therefore say litle to it, onely add this, that noe pson living is soe happely innocent as to be free frō calumny & abuse. Sr we confesse ingeniously we are for Orthodoxy in its puritie, and are well wishers & neare neighbours to Wenlock, & havinge neare relation thereunto shall doe our best for the mayntenance of gods glory & the planting the best things in that place, wch all declaringe our selves such as hate & abominate division, beinge veary sensible of the bad effects & sad consequences of it, the seeds of wch are sowne by the devill & administer fruite to none but to the enemies of truth & church; and to prevent it in this place we made our addresse severall times to mr Edmund King (pceivinge that a faction was like to be made in that pish by his & his small ptie their opposinge mr Langley against the vote of the whole pish or at least ten times his number, and such as are not reputed scandalouse or disaffected) useinge our best argumts to disswade him frō clashinge wth Mr Langley, layinge before him the greate & manifould inconveniencies that might ensue thereupon to the whole pish in generall & some detriment to him selfe in pticuler, but our best endeavours were & are as yet through his obstinacy rendred altogeather fruitelesse, wch maketh us (though veary well willers in neare relation to the place) to put on this resolution not to have any hand in bringing any in, or any wayes to meddle in this nature, let the pties opposinge goe on as they please; it may prove to us matter of greife in regard of the welfare of the place, otherwise not losse or prejudice at all. / And we humbly conceive, that it may much advance the peace & quiett of that poore pish, if you would be pleased to charme mr King his spirit by yor powerfull psuading argumts, whose aversnes & singularety is the pr cause of yt division about the election of a minister; and to give you a full character of our thoughts, we vearely conceive that that pish will be unwillinge (& it will be found soe) to embrace any minister that shall be made choyce of, or comended to them by him (as we conceive mr Baldwin was) who by his too much strivinge against the pish hath begott noe good opinion towards him selfe, but soe displeased them, that they will not willingly have any that shall be motioned by him. / Sr you neede not make any appology for yor intrusion into our affaires, we are well wishers in reallity & herein actors for gods glory & the good of the neighbo=hood; And yor lre is soe favorably accepted, that we againe returne you hearty thanks hoping that whereas you have occationed this our answere you will be pleased to take it in good pt from those who are

yor reall affectionate friends to serve you; & desireous to
walke wth you in the service of the Lord Jesus.

Michael Stephens Tho: Lokier

Audley Bowdler.

Bridgnorth. Octob: 20th:

Sr 8

waving at present ye thankes I owe to you, and desirous to pay a vow
made to god in my late weaknes concerning ye setling of a Minister in
this town I am bold to trouble you with these lines in order thereto
It pleased god to try mee the first sunday ~~of these~~ I went to church
by a strange providence. Dr Ketleby preaching for approbation and
making notoriously bold wth a sermon of Mr Wards [illegible] wth
as god would have it had by mee, I did endeavor to undeceave the peo-
ple applauding and admiring him, and advised Mr Baylif Sing his zealous
freind in whom I had some interest (wch I thought I should have
lost by appearing in this cause) to give him a text agaynst ye
next, yt so we might have a tryall of his own not other mens
gifts; wch was don. accordingly. I propounded three whereof ye Baylif
chose the easyest. and yet the Dr came short not of mine but
his freinds expectation and is now for ought I can hear layd
aside, although he had not only ye freindship of or great gentry
but ye Governor of Shrewsburyes letter to countenance him. Since
yt a young man from Shrewsbury hath preached upon tryall and
is wonderfully applauded. and the truth is in some respects deserved-
ly, for I never heard finer parts at his age in my life. but I
suspect his principles. his sermons though they may be interpret-
ed cum grano salis yet many passages savor of antinomianism
an opinion more like to take in this town then any especially
if carryed on by so powerfull an instrument as this man is like
to make. now Sir yt wch I have to desire of you is this yt you would
lend us yor best assistance for ye discovery of this man wt his princi-
ples may bee. and if you can comend som other to us that so we
may not be necessitated to an ill choyce. I understand yourself and
Mr Smith were at Tressle lately to give thanks for ye settlement of a
Minister somwhere. if you ye same or some other by yor procurement
would bestow aday somewhere in behalf of Bridgnorth sure it would be
an acceptable work. and if this Gentleman could be got (as I beleeve
hee might to be one, ye place being conveniently chosen) mee thinks
it might make something towards ye accomplishment of or desires. hee
is to be here Sunday come sevenight again and perhaps ye next week
after will be chosen, for his termes are very easy. he will cast
him self upon ye town and hopes of yt wch hath long been detayned.
if nothing of this nature can be done if you could send to Mr Blake of
Tamworth they say he can give a satisfactory character of him and I know
not who here to make use of yet. (his name is Fidge) nor know not whether
I shall find out away to make a sufficient tryall. my next request is yt you
would be pleased to send mee for a week or fortnight some books whereby
I may be ye better enabled in discourse to discover him if need bee yt
so I may make use of ye good opinion ye town hath now of my judgement for the
prevention or furthering this coming. and lastly yt you would be pleased

send mee a line or two what you conceave of this question. Whether if of necessity we must have ye Dr or this
rest upon us we should rather choose: in case we find him to be such as we suspect him. his youth being [illegible]
ye other is to old to learn. the one will encourage libertinism by his life ye other by his doctrine [illegible]
[illegible] you will pardon this as all other [illegible]

Honoured Sr

Though I know that yor affaires are as ſerious, as many, yet while I remember yor
publike ſpirit, I pſume you will bee ſo farre from accounting any propoſition for pub: good
to bee an interruption to you, that you will owne it as a pleaſing recreation: upon
this pſwaſion give mee leave to crave yor thoughts wth yor ſecrecy, yor adviſe, if need
require wth yor aſſiſtance in that worke.

The thing to bee propounded is: With ye raiſing a more liberall maintenance for
the pſent Schoole Mr (not I intended herein, tho: not to bee neglected wthout injury
to ſucceſſors) to ſettle 80li p annu for ever, viz: 10li p annu a piece for the
maintenance of eight boyes in ye univerſity, that ſhall be ſent from Birmingham ſchoole.
whereof 4 of them ſhould bee of ye towne, & Lordſhippe of Birmingham: 2 of the
county of Warwicke, 1 of Worceſter, & 1 of Stafford. 2 to bee choſen every yeare
whereof one of ye towne yearely, if there bee one eligible, if not, any ye moſt deſerving in the
ſchoole of what towne or county ſoever. the other to bee of ye county of Warwicke
for ye firſt 2 yeares. ye next for ye 3d yeare of ye County of Worceſter, & the
4th yeare one of ye county of Stafford. (or otherwiſe at diſcretion) & for want of
ſuch eligible of any ſuch county, that ye beſt deſerving as before ſhould bee choſen.
And that therefore ye boyes ſo choſen ſhould enjoy ye ſaid 10li p annu, onely for ye
ſpace of 4 yeares, till they may bee Bachelours in Arts (wch it may probably bee
expected they may bee fitted at leaſt for, if not furniſhed wth ſome other pferment)
& thereby ye ſchoole may bee inabled to ſend out its 2 every yeare, as before.

This cannot bee denyed to bee a worke of as much piety, as charity, & charity, as
piety: the effecting whereof would glad ye hearts, as well as raiſe ye hopes (even in
theſe times) of all thoſe, who longe, & pray for ye eſtabliſhing religion, & ye advance
ment of learning: nay calls for ye utmoſt aſſiſtance of all pub: ſpirits, ye
either are to bee imployed in, or who can lend any helping hand to that worke
& therefore
ffor ye effecting it. 1. I dare aſſure you to find matter enough (& I am yet confident
wthout pjudice to any mans particular intereſt) for ye raiſing of ſuch a ſumme, &
wthall ye doubling of ye ſchoole Mrs pſent maintenance. But. 2. how to effect
it hic labor, hoc opus eſt. Its conceived by ſome judicious, that a petition to ye
Parliament immediately upon their ſitting would (if well managed, & ther bee ſome
ſuch a ſpirit for theſe greate, & pub: ends, as is prayed for) diſpatch it. for its not to
bee doubted, but that a comittee thereupon would bee appoynted to heare, & report,
(if not to determine) the buſyneſſe; & then I ſhould as little doubt (pub: ſpirits
ſtill pſuppoſed) of an happy iſſue. But. 3. who might petition & afterward
ſollicite. 1. Or Governours being moſt of them tenants (as well as landlords, &
therefore make ye eſtate theire owne) will not. 2. other of ye towne, who are alſo
tenants likewiſe will not. Of ye reſt many dare not, the other few, who pchaps
both would, & durſt; either cannot conveniently bee brought to it, or might ſeeme
too few. 3. The ſchoole Mr of all other moſt improperly may: bee: that this
will lay them liable to ye Governours quarrells. bring them under odium, the
cenſure of covetouſneſſe, & contention, & it not? ſomewhat impede their pſent
worke under hande. & pchaps become a buſyneſſe of too ~~[illegible]~~ longe time, & too
much charge. &c. 4 May not ſuch a generall petition bee thought upon
framed, & pferred, as might ſpeake theſe deſires wherſoever they may bee effected?
crave an inquiry into all places, & ye revenue of all ſchooles perhaps other
wiſe imbezelled. deſire that ye ſchoole Mrs & others by order might bee ſent for (where
they have hope of doeing good) to give information in ſuch or ſuch pmiſes. that
ſo this ſparke may become a publike light. & wee at once ſeeme to borrow
other from what ~~[illegible]~~ wee then conſtitute, & ſet up. & 5. the charge hereof
~~[illegible]~~ it being for publike good may moſt properly bee defrayed out of or pub: purſe.
ffor or Governours have lately imburſed 180li upon a ſaile of wood. wch mony
they ſet to uſe (they ſay for ye ſchoole). & part to each other. but will not
bee pſwaded therewth to doe ought of pub: good: either ye building of a library, or
ye repaire of ye ſchoole much wanting. & this I ſuppoſe ~~[illegible]~~ as juſtly as
properly may bee ordered part of it ~~[illegible]~~ to defray this charge,
part build a library. & ~~[illegible]~~ the reſidue to buy land for ye foremencond end. for
why ſhould anceſtours charity lye under ye blott of poſteritys uſury?

But if at pſent this cannot bee done, wthout wronge to mens particular intereſts (wch
to mee ſeemes cleare, that in equity may, & for pub: good ought) let mee bee ſo
bold as to ~~[illegible]~~ crave yor judgement. 1. Would it not bee worth the while by an
Act of Parliament to eſtabliſh this proviſion for poſterity upon ye expireing of
leaſes? nay. 2. is it not a duty to lay hold upon ye pſent opportunity, if it can
bee contrived to bee carryed on wthout impeachment to any? and then ſuppoſe thus,
as to ſome ſuch purpoſes as better heads may contrive. That it bee enacted.
1. that no governour from henceforth ſhall ever become tenant. 2ly. that whenſo
ever any leaſe ſhall expire, a new one may bee granted as well wth ye adviſe

consent, & under the hand & seale of ye chiefe Schoole Mr at least, as wth ye consent, & under ye comon seale of ye Governours. (as I am informed ye Schoole Mr of Shrewsbury is impowered, & rationally. for while ye governours preserve ye right of ye estate, the Schoole Mr hereby may support ye charitable end in giving that estate) & that the said Schoole Mr, & Governours shall according to ye full yearely value of ye estate to bee sett, reserve 2 parts of 3, if not 3 of 4, for a rent yearely payable to ye Schoole. 3ly that a third Schoole Mr, as assistant to ye Chiefe Mr (not onely to bee chosen, & appoynted by ~~him~~ the said Chiefe Schoole Mr, but likewise to bee paid, & imployed by him, either in the teaching of ye petty Schollars in ye said Schoole, or in a convenient place out of ye Schoole or otherwise in teaching of other Schollars, as necessity shall require, & ye said Chiefe Schoole Mr in his discretion direct) bee established to continue successively for ever. & that therefore upon ye renewing of leases, & raising of rents ~~that~~ first of all that the present allowance of 10li p annu that is made to ye Chiefe Schoole Mr for ye maintenance of his said Assistant Schoole Mr, ~~bee~~ bee made ~~[illegible]~~ 15li to bee paid by ye said Chiefe Schoole Mr without fraud, or deceite to his said assistant. 4ly. that afterward as money shallbee raised, out of every 20li so raised, the first 10li might bee allowed for ye maintenance of a boy in ye university: & ye other 10li to bee paid to ye Schoole Mr and Usher, whereof 2 parts to bee paid to ye chiefe Schoole Mr, & a 3d to ye Usher & so successively untill ye whole 10li p annu shallbee raised for ye maintenance of ye 8 boyes. & the Schoole Mrs present maintenance doubled & 40. 5ly that after that is done, ye whole moneys that shall then bee raised, may bee devided betweene ye 3 Schoole Mrs respectively according to ye proportion of 4 parts to ye Chiefe Schoole Mr, 2 to ye Usher, & 1 to ye 3d or assistant Mr yet 6ly provision must necessarily bee made for an annuall summe of 6, 8, or 10li for ye defraying of ye crowne rents, & Lords rents: & the residue to bee imployed at ye discretion of ye Baliffe of ye Schoole, & Schoole Mrs in the repaire of ye houses of ye Schoole Mrs, as well as ye Schoole; or otherwise as occasion shall require. 7ly that noe lease bee set for above one, & twenty yeares. 8ly that the charge of this act of Parliament bee defrayed out of ye publike purse. least ye burden should fall upon particular persons, who may never bee gainers by it. & 9ly. that if wee must onely looke to posterity: that then ye present mony so much as willbee left of it, may bee disbursed for ye raising a present annuall summe till leases doe come in, tho: wth losse of ye Stocke: seeing after that, ye lands, beyond controversie, will doe it. 10ly that ye Schoole Mrs may bee present at, take notice of, & approve, or disapprove of every Baliffes account, as there shall occasion. & so lastly. that upon good advise provision bee made for ye speedy, as well as just payment of ye rents. whereof hereafter, if worth ye while.

But if it bee demanded, why I thinke of this publike course, & that in provision for 20 yeares to come if ye old leases stand. I answere, (besides ye goodnesse of the worke, that will never bee unseasonable, nor can bee too publike, perhaps yeelding a light for others to follow. & ye opportunity I hope now offered, possibly not then) from a double necessity. 1 from ye governours. for ye must bee forced, or I feare they will never suffer ye estate to bee improved according to ye charity of ye gift, & intention of ye giver. ffor lately, upon an overture of my leaving them, propounding this amongst other things in writeing, that ye would in ye setting of leases for the future order 2 parts of 3 of ye estate to bee set, to bee reserved an yearly rent to ye Schoole, they wholely dashed it out, without any reason, more then, we will set leases as wee thinke good. 2 in ye nature of ye thing: for it must be an act of Parliament that can alienate any part of ye estate for ye Schoole & dispose it to any use, intent, or purpose else whatsoever: as you will easyly see wn I shall shew you ye charter, if you desire it. And here also you may see the reason, that tho: I could deny my selfe an additionall maintenance, yet while my spirit so much breathes after ye settlement of maintenance for Schollars, I must in point of conscience at once make provision according to his just right for my successour.

And now Sir, I need not aske you, whether. 1. this bee a good worke: or againe. 2 whether it bee a duty to prosecute it; but yet I may. 3. whether you thinke it will now become feasible? if so. 4. whether it ought to bee prosecuted by mee? & if so how, wth ye least prejudice? & if ~~this~~ not by mee, or not without hazard. then by whom? & in what way? Nor yet will I, may I desire you to trouble yor selfe to write to mee in abashednesse of this prolixity, & yet brevity. its too much to trouble you wth ye reading of this. I therefore begge yor suspension. for if you any thoughts wee may doe good in it, or Coll: Briggs can give you any hopes (whose advise, & assistance I doubt not you will take, as I doe, & shall humbly beg) I pray you onely in a line or two signifie yor desire to speake wth mee. God willing upon Thursday next being holyday, I will waite upon ye Coll: & yor selfe give satisfaction in what I may, & receave advise in wt I want.

But if my ffancy have exceeded wt is feasible, let my publike aime plead my pardon & while you burne ye present paper, retaine onely this assurance, that I am

Yors in all ye offices of a ffriend
Nath: Brokesby.

Birmingham.
Aug: 29. 1654.

Capt: Girdler will returne from Bewdley on Munday, by whome you may send, if you please.

Deare Brother 50

Yours I have received and do very thankfully accept your christian affection and faithfulness therein manifested, and ye paines yt you have taken to rectify me in my judgmt (wherein you thinke I am mistaken) and to answer my doubts about what is incumbent on me as to ye promoteing of ye reformation and order of ye churches among us. But although I can truly say that I do desire to make the best use I can of it (as of all other meanes) for the clearing of my way in this matter: yett I remaine still of ye same mind that I was, and my doubtfull thoughts continue the same that they were; as will appeare by this following Reply. In my letter to you, wch was the ground of yours to me, I do thus expresse my mind: ~~That~~ although I have already (I hope) a measure of clearness as to manifold corruptions that need a reformation, and the Order and purity of ye churches that all the Ministers of christ should long for, and study how they may best promote (praying and wayting for more): yett that wch I find the most sensible want of is a cleare discerning how or in what manner I may (under our present circumstances) orderly and lawfully promote that reformation and Order; in what manner so to do it, as, so far as is possible, to promote peace and holiness together and so as in setting up some Order among some few selected christians I may not be found walking disorderly, by laying a foundation for the disordering, or the preventing of future Order in many or diverse congregations, and so as I may be found truly and indeed purging and reforming our corrupted congregations and edifying ~~of them~~, and not destroying them.

Now in answer to this, you first take occasion from my acknowledging a clearness as to many corruptions that need a reformation to stir me up to my duty, in the words of Shechaniah to Ezra, Arise for ye matter belongeth unto thee; and by minding me that it is ye priests office to cleanse the house of ye Lord, wherein they do minister. To wch I reply, That as this is implyed in my owne words before mentioned, so I do now subscribe to it as it is here expressed by you, and do now more expressly acknowledge yt it belongs to me, and yt it is my duty, as a Minister in the Church of Christ, not to sit still, and onely to pray for its reformation, and ye purging out of its corruptions, and no more, but to arise, to be up and doing, in that wch I thus acknowledge to be my duty: so yt in this we are agreed.

But ye Question betwixt you and me is this, how or in wt manner I may (under our present circumstances) orderly and lawfully promote the desired reformation and Order. I suppose yt you will readily grant yt we are not onely to looke unto ye matter of ye duty, but also to ye manner of performance, and that things that are lawfull and good must be done lawfully. My sense herein I find thus expressed by you in one part of your letter, where you say, That I must not sitt still without indeavouring reformation in my owne spheare and as far as I may: for I suppose yor meaning is not onely yt I should do it as far as I can; but also as far as I may, or may do it lawfully. Now what my present thoughts are concerning the lawfulness of the way and manner that you propound and urge will appeare, now I come to examine ye resolution yt you indeavour to give to my particular doubt. Having in those words mentioned in generall expressed ye doubtfulness of my mind as to ye lawfulness of ye manner, I then do it more particularly, and first I confesse a want of clearness how or in wt manner so to do it, as so far as is possible peace and holines together. Now this you confesse to be an holy desire; and therefore I infer, yt as we must not pretend peace agst holines, so neither must we pretend holines agst peace; but must as we are exhorted (Heb. 12. 14) follow after peace and holines, and must not be too ready to sever wt God hath so joyned together; but must, as far as it possible, study and indeavour to promote both together

In resolving this doubt, you enquire whether my meaning be how I may promote holines and keep peace wth ye men of ye times, that would be ready to gnaw their tongues for very payne to see holines go forward & gospel purity.

To wch I reply, That my enquiry is How I may so promote reformation and order as so far as is possible to promote peace and holines together. Now it is not possible to promote peace and holines together wth such men of ye times, as have such an enmity to holines; for there is no concord betwixt christ and Belial. But if there be any such men of the times, who although they do conforme to ye present forme of worship, yet have not such an enmity to holines, but do really love it, (as I have reason to believe and be assured that there are many) It is certainly our duty so to promote holines as we may also, so far as it possible, promote peace wth them, wch such a degree of positive separation from them, as you plead for (without sufficient ground) is not likely to produce: but lookes rather like a flying from, then a following after peace wth them.

And whereas you speake afterwards of a peace to be kept wth some others, wch you acknowledge worthy of our utmost study; Although you do not say expressly wth whome, yet supposing yt you meane such who do not conforme to ye times, and would faine promote reformation and order in ye particular churches as they are now bounded. I shall say no more to that then this, That ye way of gathering churches out of churches, wch doth in ye very nature of it make a breach upon those churches, by rending away so many of their members, cannot be ye way of peace, of wch we have had too sad experience. So yt upon these considerations, I am not yet satisfyed yt ye way wch you propound is ye way to peace and therefore cannot approve yt way to holines, wch is so much agst peace.

I come next to enquire into what you say to my second particular doubt wch I do thus propound, That I find a sensible want of a cleare discerning in what manner to promote ye desired order and reformation, so as in setting up some order among some few selected christians, I may not be found walking disorderly by laying a foundation for ye disordering or ye preventing of future order in many or diverse congregations.

Now in order to ye more cleare (as you conceive) resolving of this doubt, you lay downe this in the foundation, that church communion and order is a positive duty, and that the bounds of a church are but politicall secondary and for ye most convenient order; from whence you infer, That to forbeare the thing least I should hereafter prove obnoxious to ye inconveniences of others is to neglect a certaine duty for feare of an inconvenient circumstance, wch it may be will never be.

To wch I reply, That ye foundation wch you do here lay downe will be

[illegible] 12. That in the constituting of a church [illegible]

from Dorothy or Monday, ye whom you may [illegible] of ye bounds (where necessity requires it) should be borne wth rather there should be no church constituted, or that where a church is so inconveniently constituted, the consideration of that inconvenience shoul not hinder us from the present exercise of that Order therein wch Christ h required: But it will not beare that wch you build upon it, nor justify the use that you make of it, wch is to throw downe the convenient bounds of Churches already constituted, because they have not that Order exercised in them wch Christ requires, That out of them you may constitute others more inconveniently bounded. I cannot apprehend how ye neglect of this is ye neglect of ~~this is ye neglect of~~ a certaine duty. This is a strange way of ~~[illegible]~~ promoteing Order in Churches yt are out of Order yt tends to ye destroying of that wch is to be ordered.

When you come more particularly to shew how Order may be promoted at present, so as not to prevent future Order in many congregations, you say this inconvenience that may fall out, may be either in the Citty or country. In ye country you say yt it is not oft that one Ministers setting up the Ordinances among as many as can come to communicate wth him will be an intrenching on another; It being rather to be wished then expected, that there will be many that do or can sett about this worke neare one another, and therefore the feare of giveing disturbance is the less in that case: But if there were that then ye people be desired, and admonished to attend ye Ordinances wth a godly pastor nearer to them, and by being under oversight wth one have ye liberty wth other as there convenience allowes

That my reply to this may be more cleare and orderly: I shall give you my thoughts upon each clause thereof by it self (as I shall also in replying to what you say concerning ye Citty).

You say that in the Country it is not often yt one Ministers setting up the Ordinances among as many as can come to communicate wth him, will be an intrenching on another.

To wch I reply, That this is certainly a mistake, for should one Minister gather out of many parishes so many as could come to communicate wth him; It would often be found to be an intrenching upon others.

And whereas you adde as a reason of ye former, That it is rather to be wished then expected, That there will be many that do or can sett about this worke neare one another:

I reply, That I know not why we may not ~~a~~ expect and hope for it, as well as wish and pray for it: and why it should be surmized that Ministers in ye Country will not or cannot sett about this worke neare one another, I desire to know: and specially I would understand how such a surmize can bee a sufficient ground for that practise pleaded for, wch would occasion so great disturbance & disorder; greater then your following words [therefore ye feare of giveing disturbance is yet ye lesse in that case] do import. From wch words wth the connexion of them wth wt goes before (and followes) you seeme to confess (at least it may clearly be inferred from them) that where there are many that do or can sett about this worke neare one another the feare of disturbance is the more.

Agst wch you therefore provide in these following words: [But if there were, that then the people be desired and admonished to attend ye ordinances wth a godly pastor nearer to them, and by being under oversight wth one, have liberty wth other as there convenience allowes.]

To wch I say, That this is a good rule, & if well observed would tend very much to cure the disorders that are occasioned by that practice that you plead for: But I thinke it would be better to prevent the disorders themselves, wch it is no easy matter to cure.

I proceed from wt you say concerning the country to that of ye Citty,
You say, That in the City there is more possibility of wt I suppose.
You should have had, I am sure I may say, That there is a very greate pro=
=bility, if not certainty of it.

You proceed in these words, Now as to yor doubt, I thus conceive, that where there is a congregation thus already constituted, then the whole place is not denyed to be a convenient boundary; the offence being supposed by you to be the hindring others, wch it cannot do, if there be no other appearing.

In replying to this I readily grant, That where there are no churches of Chris
already, There ye whole place is not denyed to be a convenient boundary (yt is, convenient, as can yett be had) for ye first church that is there to be constitute

But blessed be God, that is not our case; and therefore the Offence remaynes.

You further adde: That if two or more should about the same time go about su
worke, then by mutuall consent it be ordered to most edification.

I suppose that my reply to what immediately goes before and followes may serve for this also.

You thus go on, If you would carry it further to suppose a generall refor
=ation, and so the whole place to be cast into severall limits for godly Ministers to inspect the christians in such confines, and to keepe them in Gospel Order. Although there were some churches gathered before from som
part of ye City, It might seeme most for edification, That, when it shall be cle
that the same purity shall be exercised in those severall limits, that they do resigne theire scattered members, and each of these take up wth a people in neare neighbourhoods

Reply, If we must come to that at length to cast the whole place into severa
limits for godly Ministers to inspect the christians in such confines, and take up wth a people in neare neighbourhood, and this as needfull unto ye desired Order and reformation; Then whether is it not better to be tender of profe
and to make use of ye bounds already sett and the more immediate advantage yt the providence of God doth thereby putt into or hands to that end, then to cast downe these bounds and so deprive or selves and others of that advantage, or by gathering out of those bounds so many usefull members to weaken ye han
of those ministers that otherwise would make use of them for ye setting up of that Order wch is so desireable.

But you prescribe a salve for this sore, wch is ye restoring of them againe when it shall be cleare that the same purity shall be exercised in those seve
limits.

Now although it is charitably and well done to provide this salve for this sore, yet
were better not to make ye wound.

You next propound an objection That yor temptacon may be yt you are m
easily perswaded to breake when you are once together. To wch you answ
That it is not to be done lightly, but on cleare evidence that it will propag
Order further.

I reply, That by experience we have found this Temptation to be very strong indeed stated there (~~-~~ I meane in London and elswhere) where there have bin many Ministers, who have sincerely desired rightly to Order theire particular church whose hands have bin weakned by taking & keeping from them those, who might have bin very usefull to them therein, the restoring of whome would have tended much to ye propagating of Order in many or divers congregations: And I see little reason to expect but that this Temptation may prevaile for ye future, as it hath done formerly; And wt that same purity or what Order is yt will be expected, whether it must not be measured by every poynt (if not punctilio) of theire practice, although by the other not thought necessary or convenient.

You further adde that to neglect the embodying of Sts in church Order during (it may be) our age, for feare of this; would argue too much unbeleif of gods owning us in our present obedience to him.

Reply: To me it seems rather to argue too much unbeleife when we will [illegible] make more hast then we have sufficient warrant for (Esa. 28. 16) & will use evill meanes for ye speedy attaining of a good end, rather then wayte for it (specially if long) in a way that is good: and will rather walke disorderly towards many churches, then not enjoy all yt Order we desire att present.

You adde, That we should rather be strong in faith that he will blesse present attempts of purifying his house, as that these beginnings shall be but a blessed day breake unto a perfect day. Reply, It must be supposed that those attempts must be good and lawfull, otherwise our strong faith is but a strong presumption.

You say, That present duty is our worke, future events are with God.

Wch I readily grant, onely we must be sure that it be really a duty & a present duty, and not onely so, but that this duty be so done, and in such a manner as it may not turne unto sin to us.

My third and last particular doubt I do thus propound, That I find a sensible want of a cleare discerning in wt manner to promote the desired Order & reformacon, so as I may be found truly and indeed purging and reforming our corrupted congregations, and Edifying [illegible], and not destroying them.

This doubt, you do not take so particular & expresse notice of, nor do you so professedly Answer thereunto as to the other two, relating to ye peace & Order of the churches: yet I may gather your Resolution out of ye maine scope of yor letter wch is, because of ye corruptions wherewith the churches & Ordinances are polluted to propound and urge the gathering of Christians out of them and ye embodying of them in other church societyes, and this as the way to promote the purity, reformation and edification of ye churches.

To this I Reply, That this may indeed have a tendency to ye present enjoying of some more purity in ye Administration of ye worship and Ordinances of God in a particular society so gathered, But how hath this a tendency to ye purging and reforming of those churches out of wch it is gathered. In this there is onely a purging out of some of ye best humours, the taking away of some of ye best members, and so ye giving advantage to ye worst to prevaile ye more, but here is no helpe given to ye reforming of wt i[illegible]sse therein.

And as for Edificaon, This course cannot be ye best way to promote ye edificaon of ye church; wch will appeare, if we consider wherein the -- edificaon of ye church doth consist. Besides the addition of more members to ye universall church, where there may not yett be an opportunity of ... fixing in particular churches; It consists in 3 things. 1. In ye multiplicaon of particular churches. 2. In ye addition of more members to each particular church. 3. In ye building up in faith and holines those that are in ye church, till (as ye Apostle saith Eph: 4.13) they all come into the unity of ye faith, and of ye -- knowledge of ye son of God, unto a perfect man, unto ye measure of ye stature of ye fulnes of christ.

Now as for ye building & edifying of ye church by ye multiplicaon of particul churches, The practise wch you plead for is manifestly contrary thereunto: for it throwes downe ye walls & pulls up ye bounds of many or diverse particular churches: yea it razeth their foundation that one may be erected: for this practice, to warrant it, must suppose those churches to be no true churches. And this is ye destruction yt I would not be guilty of under ye pretence of Edificatio By this, as also by the whole scope of this Letter, it appears yt my doubt is very unlike that in Hag. [illegible]. 2.

And as for ye building and edifying of ye church by ye addition of m members to each particular church: The way yt you propound is notoriously contrary to it, when ye members yt constitute such a society are gathered or taken out of them, and by that means, what measure of holy Temper there is in those churches is so far weakned, that it becomes lesse capable of prevailing upon others to joyne themselves to the Lord.

And as for ye building up in faith and holines those who are in the church: Although those who are so gathered may enjoy some small advantages wch may conduce to yr present edificatio: yet that should not be put in ye ballance wth ye more comon promoting of holines, wch the contrary practice well improved would much more -- conduce unto.

Having thus (I hope I may say) wth a true desire to know ye way of Truth and peace) examined wt you say in Answer to my doubts, and in showing how or in wt manner you conceive I may lawfully promote ye reformation and order of ye churches among us: You may perceive by my Reply that I a not satisffyed yt I may do it lawfully in ye way and manner that you do -- recomend: Because I judge that it tends not to ye promoting of peace and holines together, and I feare least while (in so doing) I am setting up some order among few selected christians, I should be found walking disorderly by laying a foundation for ye disordering or ye preventing of future Order in many or diverse congregations: And because I feare least, in so doing, I should be found, not truly and indeed purging and reforming, and edifying, but rath destroying.

But although I cannot yett approve of ye way that you plead for: Yet I do againe acknowledge (as I did in ye beginning) That it is my duty as Minister in the church of God, not to sitt still and onely to pray for its reform

But to be up and doing in this worke, and do acknowledge (as you further expresse it) that I must not sitt still without endeavouring a reformation my owne spheare and as far as I may.

Now wt I do apprehend I may do (under our present circumstances) in my spheare, I come now to show.

1. I may (yea must) preach those truths that have a tendency to ye purging out of such corruptions, and to ye promoting of ye reformation and Order of the churches; where it may & in such manner as it may do good, and be of use to this end, and not otherwise do more hurt then good.

2. While I do forbeare actuall speciall communion in present publike Administration, I may not live without communion wth christ and his members in his Ordinances; neither may I suffer those poore soules to live without it, who cannot comfortably, or wth a safe conscience participate wth the others: But may, as a Minister, yt have my Comission from christ, first and principally for his universall church administer ye Ordinances unto them as members of that body: so taking my self and giving them an opportunity of communion wth christ and wth one another. Yea I may (and must) take a more particular oversight of them to see that their conversation be suitable to ye Gospel, then over those towa whome god doth not call me to so particular an exercise of my Ministry, and may rebuke & admonish them if they walke disorderly, and may, till there be an evidence of repentance suspend them from that communion or forbeare to administer to them those speciall Ordinances wch they have enjoyed. But as for ye solemne sentence of excommunication, I judge it unsuitable to this unfixed state; it implying ye highest degree of fixation in church Relation.

Now although I do not herein come up fully to wt you would have me, for the reasons before mentioned: yet this is no small testimony agst present corruptions and conduces more then a litle towards ye promoting of yt reformation and order that ~~you~~ we desire, and falls not very short of wt you further urge (yt is, a more fixed ch. relation) as to its usefulnes unto ye intended end. And indeed I satisfyed that I might proceed further, and come up fully to wt you do so earn desire, I hope that as I have already in some measure resigned my self to ye practice of wt I do apprehend I may do: so I should also to that, were I alike satisfyed concerning Yet having cause to be jealous of my owne understanding: I do here professe hearty willingnes to be better informed, and that as I shall very thankfully accept whatever further help you your self shall give me towards it: so also whatever y shall procure from others, & yt I will endeavour to make ye best use I can of it, and will (by Gods assistance) resigne my self to the practice of all that I shall further be convinced to be my duty. My repeated thanks to you for y letter, wch I take to be ye best expression of yor love to me yt ever I received, although you have given me many, whereby you have very much obliged

yor affectionate Brother
John Hooke

To this letter I received ye following Answer—

Deare Brother

Supposeing what wee have now materiall to speake to may be included in a litt roome, I choose to wave the body of yor letter, as not much to be insisted on by us, and so leave yor and my thoughts about breaking theire bounds, or whether ye parishes be true churches or no, wch I do not say they are not: But am sure they are so corru that multitudes of godly persons cannot wth safe conscience joyne wth. Therefore being they cannot joyne wth them, the Question is whether they shall remaine without sealing Ordinances and discipline; yor do resolve ye matter yor self into a narrow roome, To wch I am rather intent, having not time to write much, nor indeed disposition to traverse needles and useles questions. Wee both in the lawfull remedying part of ye evill agree here, That godly people who cannot wth a safe conscience joyne wth ye present administrations do vizt, the agreemt of a godly Minister pu themselves under the particular oversight of such a godly Minister to walke wth him in Gospel Administrations or Ordinances, who as you say must take a mo particular oversight of them then of others, and if disorderly in theire walkings, there be rebuke and admonition, and putting from the Lords supper till repentance manifested. Herein I have repeated very neare to yor words, as choosing rather to come to ye issue of discourses, then to multiply lines and contradictions to wt has been sd by another. Now since our agreemt is so easily accomplished I see no neede of our debate, whether ye other be true churches or that there is necessity of breaking peace by thus administring Ordinances to Saints apart from them, since the first driven away through tendernes of conscience, This gives Sts an opportunity of worshipping God purely, who cannot do it wth them; in this we agree, therefore that is over. Now that wherein you take ye difference to lye betwixt yor appre-hension and mine is this, That ye exercising of ye full Ordinance of Excommunicacon makes them too much fixed. I acknowledge I thinke a people so united under particular inspection wth a godly Minister have ye power of Excommunicacon being a Church. If you thinke not I would not dispute further; neither is it ground of difference in poynt of Communion one wth another &c.

To this I returned this following Answer,

Deare Brother,

Yors of ye 31st of Jan. I received, and by it I perceive yor willingnes to put end to this debate. Now although I cannot looke upon the matter thereof (the pe order and edificacon of ye churches being concerned therein) to be so needles and useles as you seeme to intimate; And although I did in my former letter multiply lines, by way of reply to yors, not out of a spt of contradiction; but as giveing you ye reasons (as briefly as I well could) why I could not comply wth th degree of positive separation, wch you did so pressingly urge as my positive d yett I am willing to comply wth you in bringing ye matter to a short issue wch must be that wch you have very well thus expressed, That this (this diff-erence in poynt of Judgmt) is no ground of difference in poynt of communion one wth another. This must be ye psent issue, if there be any att present; for for our judgments, in this matter, they seeme to be at as great a distance as were. And although by yor construction of my words, I perceive you would fayne charitab bring them neerer, yett that they are not so neare as you conceive, and as ~~[illegible]~~ heartily wish they were, in that wch is really most agreeable to ye minde of God, w appeare, if you further consider ye words whereby I have expressed my minde, wch are these, That I may as a Minister that have my commission from Christ first and principally for his universall church, administer ye Ordinances unto such as cannot wth a safe conscience participate in present publique administrations, as unto Members of yt one body, and that while I so do, I must take a more particular oversight of them to see that theire conversation be suitable to ye Gospel, then over those to whome God dos not call me to so particular an exercise of my Ministry. By wch words you may playnly discerne that I speake of my self as a Minister to ye universall church, and as exercising my Ministry in ye present exigence to them as members of yt one body, but not as fixed in a particular church relation to them, and yet obliged (as I will be faithfull in the discharge of my Ministry) to observe theire conversations (as I have opportunity) and to deale wth them as there is occasion, and so as is most suitable to theire present unfixed estate. wayteing on God for an opportunity of so fixing my self and others in church Relation as may conduce most unto peace, order and edification. But although I have sd this much to show that we have not yet come to an issue of our debate by reconciling our Judgmts in this matter: yett lett us mutually resolve to put this issue to it, That although we have not the same judgmt, yett that we will have the same christian brotherly affection one towards another; and that as we professe to be ye members of one head ye Ld Jesus christ, and of his one body the church, so we will mainteyne speciall communion wth him, his church and one another as wee have opportunity. And O that God, ye God of love and peace, would put this resolution into the hearts of all his people. This is ye hearty desire and prayer of

yor affectionate Brother
John Hooke.

To this I received [redacted] these [redacted] lines,

Deare Brother

You need not say we differ because you are yor self a Minister of ye church universall, for that needs not or must not interfere wth a particular relation to a particular church, and while it dos not so; I see that yett ye difference wch you presume must remaine. Durham on ye poynt will tell you, That a Watchman is so of ye City as it is ye object of his watch, yt beeing severall towers in that one City, he yt is a watchman of ye City in one sense, may be watchman of a particular Tower to distinguish him from other Watchmen; This onely agrees yor generall Notion to a correspondency wth a particular relation ——

To this I returned this following Answer.

Deare Brother

To yor last, I Reply ·1st· That if by interfering wth a particular relaon you meane onely, That my relation to ye universall church may not, .. must not interfere wth a particular relation to a particular church; where ye particular relation, or ye manner of entring into it doth most conduce to ye good of ye universall; then there is no difference betwixt you & me in this poynt: for this I take to be ye ordinary (although not ye onely) way of promoting ye good of ye whole by exercising our Ministry in such particular relation, and I know not that there hath any one word passed from me in our whole debate agst this. As for Mr Durhams similitude taken from a watchman, and his relation to ye City and to a particular Tower, it doth very well illustrate ye agreement that is betwixt a Ministers relation to ye universall church, and his relation to a particular church, and ye subordination of ye one unto ye other.

But ·2ly· If by not interfering wth a particular relation to a particular .. church you meane, That a Minister of ye universall church is bound in al cases to have also a relation to a particular church; This I deny: for ye case may be so, that his entring into a particular relation, or ye manner of entring into it may be such, as may make him lesse usefull unto the .. universall or more comon good of the church, and in that case and while it is so, he is not obliged to enter into a particular relation, but to continue .. unfixed; for a particular relation is no further necessary then as it is .. really subordinate, or most subservient unto the good of ye universall. This may clearly be gathered from diverse passages of Mr Durhams owne — under that very head [of a Ministers relation to a particular congregation] from whence you take ye forementioned similitude of a Watchman. Where he saith, pag. 104, That a Mrs relaon is primarily unto the Catholique Chur ~~and in p. 10[illegible], that ye~~ quoting ·1· Cor. 12·28· eph· 4·11·12· and after adds, that a Ministers principall relation and charge is christs universall chur and in p. 105. he saith, That ye particular relaon is lesse principall, and is subservient to ye former, and that Ministers are Watchmen of ye whole city principally, and that they are delegated by christ principally to the .. oversight of his whole Catholique church, and that a Ministers relation to ye universall church is essentiall to a Minister of christ, and that he is commissionated for ye edifying thereof, and that a Ministers relation to th or that particular church is not essentiall to a Minister of christ, but is to be subservient to ye former, and in p. 107. That our Lord Jesus ye owne both of Ministers and church, hath given Ministers principally for ye edificaon his catholique church, wthout respect to this or that particular place, but that is subservient to ye former end. Now, if these passages do hold forth that wch is truth, as they evidently do; then it will as evidently foll That where a Ministers entring into or engaging himself in a particular rel or ye man thereof is such, as makes him really lesse subservient unto the universall or more comon good of ye church; then he is not obliged (while it is so) to engage himself in a particular relation. Now, my deare brother, here the very root of my doubtfull thoughts about present entring into a particular relation, or rather about the manner of it by gathering ~~[illegible] by gathering~~ a church out of many or diverse churches; I do very much doubt that by so entring into a particular relation I should make my self less serviceable to ye universall or more comon good of ye church, then by continuing to exercise my Ministry wth relation to ye whole church, as god gives opportunity; wayting for an opportunity of so fixing in particular church relation as may conduce most unto ye comon peace, order and edification of ye church. My doubtfull thoughts herein I have more particularly layd downe in my long letter to you; wch although you have waved, as hoping to bring ye matter to a shorter issue, yett I cannot be satisfyed herein, untill those doubts be clearly and fully resolved. Were I satisfyed that my present engageing my self in a particular fixed relation, in such manner as is before mentioned, would conduce most unto ye comon peace, Order and Edificaon of ye church; I hope yt (by Gods help) I should without delay resigne my self unto ye practice of it. As yett, it is my strong perswasion yt I may be more serviceable to christ and his church by continuing ~~by continuing~~ to exercise my Ministry wth relation to ye whole as god gives opportunity in a transient or unfixed way, then by so entring into a particular church relation. Now if you be of a contrary perswasion, you may clearly see our difference, and that I had reason, as I have yett, to presume yt it doth remaine. But although this difference in poynt of Judgmt do, or may, remayne: yett lett us pray that it may not, and resolve (by Gods help) that it shall not occasion any difference in poynt of our deare christian brotherly affection one towards another, and that it shall not be any hindrance to our maintayning speciall communion one wth another, as god gives opportunity. This is ye prayer and resolution of

yor affectionate brother
John Hooke.

To this I received this following Answer,

Deare Brother

That wch I would further say in short is ~~this~~ but this, That church fellowship is very needfull to edifying christians, as being ye Order for exercising all Ordinances in (I meane ~~there~~ are some yt cannot be without it) and lett it be done in ye best way you can, whether one or other I contend not, but lett it be done; for yt I like not yt because I cannot do it this way therefore I will omitt it; This is ye hinge, to me, on wch the whole hanges, and ye cause why ye Lords supper by so many is neglected as well as discipline ——

To this I returned ye following Answer,

Deare Brother

Whereas you ~~[illegible]~~ say that you do not contend about ye way of entring into particular church relation and fellowship, onely that it be done, and done in ye best way that I can: for yt you say, you like not, that because I cannot do it this way, therefore I will omitt it, and this, you say, is the hinge on which ye whole hanges, and ye cause why ye Lords supper by so many is neglected as well as discipline. To this I Reply, That

That if by not contending about the way of entring into particular church relation and fellowship you meane, that it is a thing indifferent to you whether it be by gathering one church out of many, or by purging out ye corruptions that are in our particular churches and reforming them and by labouring to cure ye disorders that are in them, and reducing them to ye order of ye Gospel (as we have opportunity): If this be yor meaning I must say, That it is not a thing so indifferent to my Judgmt & conscience, as may appeare by those doubtfull thoughts therein, and the grounds of them wch I have imparted unto you; And therefore I cannot yett be satisfyed to enter into particular church Relation in the former way; And as to ye later I have not yett ye opportunity; And therefore must, as yett, continue to exercise my ministry wth relation to ye whole Church in a transient or unfixed way as I have occaõn, untill God give me the opportunity of so fixing in particular church Relation as will conduce most unto ye cōmon peace, order and edificaõn of ye church; wch I can truly say I do long for and earnestly desire; and therefore cannot take my self concerned in those wordes [that you like not, that because I cannot do it this way, ~~therefore~~ I will omitt it] if yor meaning be, that I am willing to omitt it: for my conscience doth beare me witness, that I do as yet, forbeare to enter into particular church relation, not because I am willing to omitt it, but because as I may not do it one way, so I cannot or have not yet ye opportunity to do it the other way. And whereas you adde, That this is the hinge on wch the whole doth hang and ye cause why ye Lords supper by so many is neglected as well as discipline.

I Reply, That although a particular relation is most desireable for these ends, yett ye Lords supper may be constantly enjoyed where there is not such a particular fixed relation; whereof you have ye experience in some not far from you; and therefore if we (or some others) do not enjoy it so oft as we desire, it doth not follow yt ye want of a particular relaõn is ye cause: But it may arise rather from some other providentiall circumstances that we or they are att present under. And as for discipline, it need not be ye cause of ye neglect of so much as is suitable to an unfixed state, and whereof there are diverse acts tending to reformaõn and edificaõn; and for ye rest we must wayte upon God for an opportunity to exercise them in ye most peaceable, orderly and edifying way of particular church relation; wch I hope God will in due time give to

yor affectionate Brother
John Hooke.

Most deare & reverend Sir

Although I am altogether a stranger to you; yett you are not so to me: for although in respect of any acquaintance by personall presence and converse, you are as much a stranger to me as I am to you: Yett by much converse wth yor judicious, pious, and peaceable works, I am well acquainted wth yor Spt, and its more then ordinary zeale for ye promoting of peace and holiness; So well, that I do most affectionately love you in the Lord, and have a very reverend esteeme of you, and do rest much in yor judgment; and the more because I do observe yt you are none of those, who are addicted to ye promoting of any faction or party, but do make it yor study to find out ye just mea betwixt the extreames that all partyes do run into, and to judge impartially betwixt them: Wch is the reason, why I do hereby earnestly desire yor judgmt about ye matter of ye inclosed debate (betwixt a very deare christian freind and my self) as expecting a more satisfactory determinaon by yor cleare discerning and impartiall censure, then by any other, that I know. And I am incouraged to make this request by observing yor readiness to administer yor help of this kind to those that need it; as I do. So far as my thoughts in ye particulars debated, betwixt my freind and me, have any cleare agreemt wth ye truth, I must acknowledge that, next unto ye direction of ye Spt of Truth, I do owe much of it to ye clearness of yor writeings; and particularly to a letter of yors, about two yeares since, directed to Mr parson, Dr Kelle, Mr Bryan, and my self, for wch I do most heartily thanke you. Wherein you discerne that I am not so cleare in any thing as is needfull, or am mistaken, I doubt not but yor charity will move you to administer to me what help you see needfull, either to ye rectifying or further clearing of my judgmt, as knowing how needfull a full perswasion in or minds is to a free & cheerfull practice. And here I shall confesse, to you, yt wch I thought not meet to mention in ye inclosed papers, That I do incline to thinke that I may (for peace wth some deare brethren, who do insist very much, and I thinke too much upon it) yeeld to a further degree of fixednes then in that way that is here urged by my freind, and that I oppose (as well as to so much as I have acknowledged that I may do) so yt there might be sufficient security given yt it might not prejudice the future peace, and more comon reformaon and order of ye churches: But I confesse I am puzzled to know wt would be a sufficient security; And do desire to know yor thoughts, whether it be sufficient that ye Minister and ye people do solemnly and seriously professe that wt they do herein is onely for ye present necessity, and that they do resolve, that when God gives an opportunity, they will each one returne to theire severall parishes, and each one in theire severall places endeavour to promote reformation and order in ye churches as they are now bounded, or as some of them may for ye future (by advice & agreemt) be more conveniently bounded. I desire to know whether you judge that this would be a sufficient security, and whether (upon supposall that this would be sufficient) I may warrantably proceed to such a degree of present separaon; wch I dare not do, wthout more clearness then yet I have. Sir, my deare freind wth whome

I have had this debate knowes nothing of this Addresse to you; and for some reasons I am not willing he should know it; and therefore as the bearer is yett altogether unacquainted wth ye matter of this letter and ye inclosed papers, So I desire he may be; My ayme therein being onely my owne private Satisffaction. It is my hearts desire and prayer that God would lengthen out yor dayes and so renew yor strength, that as you have bin already in great measure, so you may be yet more instrumentall to his glory in bearing yor further testimony against the so much prevayling Spt of profanes, infidelity and division, and to ye confirmation of ye faith of beleivers and theire direction and establish=ment in ye way of peace and holines. This is the earnest prayer him, who is

Dublin July 1st. 1670

yor very affectionate Brother
in the Lord.

John Hooke

A freind of mine here hath engaged young Mr Henry Ashurst to deliver this into yor hand and to receive from you & returne to him wt Answer you shall please to give.

For the Reverend Mr Richard
Baxter Minister of the Gospel
These

To my Reverend & much honoured brother Mr John Stocke a
Minister of Christ in Dublin in Ireland, these dd

Dear Brother, I doubt the slownes of yor messenger hath
made my answer unserviceable to you, as coming too late. ffor
I received not yors of July 1st till Octob. 12. And the judi-
ciousnes expressed in yor Letters to yor friend, perswade me yt
I am not one yt can adde any thing wch may contribute much to
yor resolution. All yt I can say to yor case is but this little fol-
lowing. || 1° It is certaine yt Parish bounds of a Church are not
of Divine determination: And that in severall cases it is lawfull to
transgresse them. || 2° Yet it is certaine yt in all ye sacred Scriptures, we
find not severall Churches in ye same vicinity distinct by reason of
any disagreement in doctrine, worship or discipline, while ye num-
ber of them was not too great for one, unlesse you call those
Heresies or factious Churches wch were openly condemned by ye Apostles
And it is certaine yt it is very desireable yt ye Kingdoms of ye world
should become ye Kingdoms of ye Lord & of his Christ: And when it is
obtained, ye bounding of Churches by place of habitation called
Parishes, is a thing in ye Christian Magistrates power to do (not mak-
ing a man a member because he is in ye Parish, but forbidding
the promiscuous conjunction of members of severall Parishes
in one Church) And it is a thing yt hath its great conveniences
in good times, though inconveniences in some evill times. And
if ye magistrate medled not with it, ye Pastors & Churches might
agree of such a thing among themselves || 4° If either ye Magi-
strate command it, or ye Churches agree on it, obedience & concord
require yt each particular man submit to it, till ye inconsistency
of it with ye Churches good, or some indispensible duty shall disob-
lige him. || 5° How the case of ye Churches stands with you, &
whether you are disobliged from this or not, none of us at a
distance can possibly be so competent judges as yorselves yt are
present upon ye place. || 6° The maine question is whether a
considerable number of yor Parish ministry be such as are
tolerable in yt office (supposing you to be their private assistants)
And whether the established publike worship be such as a good
Christian may lawfully joyne in, or not. I suppose you know
my opinion in this case, is ye same with ye old Nonconformists yt it
is lawfull to have communion in ye use of ye Liturgie, in case we want
opportunity for better. || 7° If the Ministers be intollerable, or if
ye worship be unlawfull to be joyned in, or if there be not Parish
Churches enow for them to joyne with, it is lawfull (after due
meanes & patience used in vaine) to congregate in other Churches
& there to worship God as purely as we can. || 8° If there be a
faire probability yt the Parish Church may be made receptive
of the departing congregation, they are best openly declare yt they
withdraw but untill they can returne to it. But however whilst there
is a possibility, it must be their resolution. || 9° If ye worship be unlawfull
but ye Parish Minister competent, then you may (if prudence for ye publike
good require it) take ye withdrawing part to be as chappells are to Parish
Churches members of ye same Church, & make use of ye private pastorall com-

self of ye Parish Minister; even as in case ye worship be lawfull, but ye Ministry unlawfull Conformity unlawfull (which I take to be our case) the people may use ye publike helpe of the Parish Minister (if worthy) & the private helpe of the nonconformable Ministers as Pastors of ye same flocks. // 10° But if ye Parish Minister himselfe refuse this, or if ye Churches good require the contrary, there is no necessity of it. For (as Thorndike once truly said) Church Government is much founded in the necessity of Assemblies for publike worship. And therfore if necessity require a distinct worshipping Assembly, ye people may take those only for their particular Pastors, who are among them, & labor with them, & guide them in publike worship. // 11° If the peoples weakness make them take ye publike ministry or worship to be unlawfull when it is not, the private Ministers duty is (supposing if he cannot change their judgment) to have still so tender a care of their souls, as to give them the best assistance he can; But whether he shall settle with them in a stated Church relation, or but helpe them occasionally; whether he shall continue ye Church relation longer than while he hopefully attempteth their better information; whether he shall presently & plainly make known his owne contrary judgment to them, or not, are questions wch ye prudence of ye impartial Ministers uppon ye place, who know persons & circumstances, must determine by a true prospect of ye End, ye Churches good, & the Glory of God. Sometimes if people be not silently forborne for a time they will turne to ye Quakers or other heresies; & sometimes there is no such danger. Sometimes a forbearance to conforming to a lesse congruous way of worship, may tend to the reformation of it, & the procurement of a better. And sometimes it may rather tend to the Churches perills & to make things worse. Christian prudence must here discerne ye true state of duty wch being so exceeding hard to do, // 12° In such cases the Concord of those faithfull sober Ministers, on whom the preservation of religion in the nation agt prophaness, Infidelity, popery & heresy, is most incumbent, must do much with particular men to turne the scales. And unity may make yt a duty wch otherwise would be lesse convenient & no duty. // But 13° if ye Pastors themselves mistake ye publike worship for lawfull or unlawfull when it is contrary, there is no attaining to unity till they are cured of ye mistake, though they may yet serve God acceptably, while they use it soberly & peaceably, & this is consistent with the publike good. //

Having said this These, I know not how to apply it to yor case so well as you may do yor selfe. 1° wt yor Ministers are I know not: nor whether ye Conformable or nonconformable Clergie (or wch I suppose both conjunctly) are the chiefe preservers of ye Protestant Religion agt Popery. 2° whether you yt teach & give the Sacramts in private, do reckon yor assemblys still as parts of the Parish Churches. And if so, wt use you make of ye Parish Ministry. For if the people have all Pastorall offices from you alone, it is not but you are a stated Church (if it be the same people whom

you ordinarily have) though you disclaime ye name. It is not
intending an unaltered continuance, wch is necessary to the
being of a Church; It may be a true Church, wch joyneth for ye
true Church-ends, with a purpose (absolute or conditionall) of
continuing but for a little while. And for Excommunication, I
know none fit for us to use, but ye declaring a person impeni-
tent after sufficient admonition & patience, & therefore to be
in his sin, & unfit for Church-communion, & uncapable of Heaven
till he repent. And (if prudence forbid it not for some ill conse-
quents,) I know not but you may do this, where you are not a
fixed Pastor, if it be not agt ye Pastors mind yt is related to them;
much more where you are allowed though but pro tempore to be
the Pastor of that Church. // I am very glad to find you so piously
& wisely cautelous, & to have so much regard to order & ye publike
good. And in one word, in these cases of undetermined circum-
stances, if you yt are upon the place, with the consent of the
generality of the usefull ministers (without respect to parties &
by opinions) can but discerne wch is most for the publike good
of Religion in England & the promote present & future safety
& Edification, you can then tell what I judge to be yor duty.
The Lord direct & blesse you. I rest

Yor unworthy brother in the worke & patience of
the Gospell Ric: Baxter

Totteridge neere Barnett
Octob. 19 1670

When Dr Wilkes was Pastor there, my neighbor & patron
Col. John Bridges with others, joyned with him upon the
termes of or Worcestershire Association; And I have severall
of Dr Wilkes letters by me, in wch he professeth to concurre
with us in that way. //

(N°: 110)

Reverend & much Honored friend

Yor Letter of the 10 of Febry was by a mistake in the conveyer long in coming to my han
have thrice as long delayed the answer: But I know yor Justice & charity will not allo
impute it to any neglect (of wch godwilling I shall never be guilty to yow) So that I n
make apologies for giving yow this trouble so soone, then for delaying it so long. Bu
are off me both as to my outward & inward condition wch in yor letter you have expr
like yor self, calls for my thankes at least when I can make no other retribution.
In my former Letter I told That yor indeavors as to my Condition wold be a worke too difficult
worthie of yor paines. And by the answer yow gott The difficultie appears. Yet becaus
honoble person to whom yow was pleased to write on my behalf, Was either ill informed himse
misinformes yow, I shall crave leave to give yow a clearer account. He tells yow
ut when he sayes my Estate was disposed of long agoe, For a great part of it was
f by the remnant of the Long Parliament now 7 years agoe. (of wch Com: Gen: Whaley
this day the house I was borne in & 500 lib p annu Land not overrated: And a great
on more undervalued is possessed by a Countryman of my owne One Swinton who preten
ght at Dunbar against that power who gave him this reward, And though it may seem
hat the Estate of one who was no otherwise ingaged against them at Dunbar fight Then
nshes, Should have been given to one who pretended to fight against them there Yet
have deserved that reward even that day, for wch he was legally in Scotland attainted of tr
olemnly Excommunicated) ~~And~~ But it is a great mistake that my Estate either was o
his H. disposall. For many are restored by his H. whose Estates were given away b
r power: Yea it was his H & his Councell who confiscated all my Estate by an a
ntitled Ane act of grace to the people of Scotland from which they did excep
vers others: Yet in Novr 1656 his H. & Councell by another act were pleased to allow
d other confiscated persons to compound for our Estates, & the Donatees to be satisfyed
mpositions. This act they did ratifie by their last parlt, and in pursuance of it h
ll in Scotland did proportion our severall fines, & appoint dayes of payment. When
mpoured some friends in Scotland to make ready my fine, And they were so diligen
e last of Sepr 1657 (a day before the last term of payment expyred) They tendred my
all required by the act, Yet the Councell refused to restore me. No reason was giv
t 2 were verbally hinted, 1st That the first moyetie was not payed at the first day
t under favor could not be the reason: For if the date of their proportionating the fin
ed, It was utterly impossible to have kept the first day though I had not been a prisoner at t
d for a demonstration That it was not the Reason of so extraordinary measure. One fr
n accepted divers monethes after the expyring of the last day of payment, Yea an
clerly remitted by his H. & both possessed of their Estates. A second reason w
cause my fine did not rise to so much as to satisfy both the Donatees who possesse part of
t if this was the cause, It is contrary to the publick act & very hard That I who
should be denyed the benefite of it when there is enough of other fines remaining
the Donatees. Always when I heard of this, I did petition his H, But had
rwards, upon and order issued out in Scotland for sale of my Land, & for de
e of what was allowed for her maintenance, My wife went to London in Sch
procured a letter from his H. to his Councell in Scotland comanding a stop
y Land and appointing a true state of my businesse to be sent. To this Letter
returned ane Answer Acknowledging that my whole fine was [illegible]
of the last Limited day, But That my first moyetie was not payed in
above expressed could not under favor be the true reason of refusing me

The [illegible] lyes yet under consideration, And I am indevoring what I can
frends. By this too tedious relation yow will see Sir It is yet Res integra &
Estate yet remaines at his Hs. disposall who may accept my fine, or remitt it
it, & doe what he pleases wt it, And how soone he may determine I doe not know
I have given yow this trouble That yow may see yor request made for me was not
thing impossible to be granted; But because of the strong opposition & few frends
ever borne, & because of the many difficulties, I must still say, It is a worke not
the of yor paines. The pious counsells towards submission & self denyall which
gave me are more properly yor buisnes, And I doe heartily thanke yow for them, &
the strenth of the Lord I shall pray & studie for such a temper of spirit.
Letter is already too long, yet I cannot omitt a passage concerning yow. The be
had by Gods blessing from yor writings, Made me indeavor to communicate them to a
frend of mine now in Holland, One of Noble birth & quality, & whom I Esteem
both for knowledg & piety. I sent him most of yor workes for wch I have got
thanks. But one passage betwixt us makes me tell yow of this. One of the first
he cast his eyes on was yor book against Popery: In the preface he met with
expression That yow hope there are thousands who shalbe saved who are in their Church
. Presently without having the patience to read all the books, He desired me to give
notice How great advantage Papists make of that Charity, How Jesuits had made
argument from that To pervert him. My answer was, That I wold write no further
to yow, For either the reading the rest of the books wold cure him of that pre
, or els it was his fault & none of yors. And indeed I did guesse aright, for
he gott my answer, He wrote me these words [I am extreamly taken with
from Mr Baxters pen, when I wrote this day fortnight I had onely read his pre
his booke against Popery, And I acknowledg now I was somewhat rash, and
be uncharitable too in my censure of his Charity to Papists, for he explain
fterward fully to my satisfaction] In another letter about 5 weeks after he hath
words [I am now busie reading the bookes yow sent me, the more I read of
xter I like him the better He seems to be one who hath both much learning
acquainted with the wayes of God, And although in some things he seem
of the comon roade, yet even in those I finde him speake strong reason
cannot but agree with the experience of most Christians.] These things
give That yow may see, That snatching rashly at words wthout reading all yow say, is
opinion The greatest reason of any contradiction yow have met with from the
who are not Separatists, And if such a spirit of meeknes & of confessing and
their owne mistakes (as my frend expresses) Were in all of yor readers, yow
to spend time in Answers which yow know so well how to employ in more
ying. Though I cannot deny yor polemicks serv much for clearing truth.
I doe transgresse too much in thus spending yor precious time, It comes fr
a confidence of yor charity, Therfor I hope yow will pardon me, And at th
more trouble from

Sir

11. of June

Yor truly affectionat fr
& servant

(No 111)

To the Reverend my much honored friend

Mr Richard Baxter minister of
the Gospell

At Kiderminster

2

Reverend & much honored friend

111

It might justly seem an impertinent presumption, That a person so inconsiderable, (who never had the happiness to see yow, whose name perhaps yow never heard, & who hath onely served for lyning to severall jayles now above six yeers) Should take up any of that precious time wch you so usefully imploy for the generall good by this addres not worth yor taking notice of: But that temper of spirit wch I well observe in all yor wrytings Makes me hope you will pardon me at least, If I embrace this occasion to expres my gratitude to yow on many accounts.

Give me leave Sr therfor in the first place to acknowledge my self yor debtor for my share of yor charity to mankinde, I meane for the good wch by the grace of God I have gott by yor most pious & learned labours: Especially yor book of Rest wch I have reason to esteem above all bookes except the Bible, & to bless the Lord that ever I saw it (but I must regrate that it is limited to those onely who doe understand English) I met with it at Portland, where I was twenty moneths ut Gyara clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho, almost sequestrat from the convers of rationall creatures (excepting the charitable visits of some honest ministers) There I was first acquainted with yow, You was there my teacher, my camarad & my friend. Since that time I have constantly maintained that kinde of conversation wth yow, And in yor wrytings I have found another great obligation: It is Sr that fellow feeling wch in many places you are pleased to expres of the sufferings of poor afflicted Scotland: And I am the more sensible of it, That when feare or interest keeps most men from speaking, & too many even from thinking wth the freedome of spirit, You doe openly & fearlesly print yor sence of that business. I shall not mention at this distance yor zeale against armed errors & crimes, nor those faire testimonies (wch I often finde) to precious truths out of fashion yea dangerous in these times where error keeps the Major vote. Nor will I presume to give my opinion

of yor bookes (thogh none of them have scaped me, & some of th
I have read often & accurately) It were ane unpardonable va
nity to put such a value on my self, & I am too well acquainted
with yor humility to say any thing like that base quality of flatter
wch yor spirit is so farr above. Yet I hope yow will allow me as a
poore member of that afflicted Church (now sitting in the dust
like a widow whom none lookes after) to bless God, & thanke yow
for that oyle yow powrt into her wounds, those wounds wch she
hath receaved in the hous of a freind. Once I was or imployed honor
to act (thogh in much weaknes) by her Comission, Now it hath
pleased God graciously to call me to a greater honor, to suffer
with her, & in some measure for her. In this day of her affl
iction, of all the sons she hath broght forth, she hath few to
take her by the hand, And therfor yor great kindness to her at
such a time layes the greater obligation on all who pray fo
peace wth in her walls & prosperity in her pallaces.

It hath been a burden to me, to want so long, ane occasion o
making those acknowledgments, & therfor I could not forbeare
so sure a bearer, this honest Countreyman of mine Mr Jam
Sharpe who (to me) hath acknowledged the same obligations
yow & esteem of yow that I have. He hath undertaken a
long journey wth a weake body cheefly to see yow. His meri
will recomend him best, & I have no reason to expect that m
testimonie should add much, Yet the great reverence I ha
for yow, makes me hope yow will beleeve me, And treuth do
oblige me to tell yow He is a pious & faithfull minist
His Employment shows his Esteem wth honest men in his
Countrey, He was my companion in bonds, my fellow prison
in the Tower, In a word He is a Christian indeed, & wor
of yor freindship.

Were it in my power I should have seen yow long ere no
And if ever God grant me so much liberty, My first journe
shall be to Kidderminster if the Lord will. And therfor I
the more bold to intreat, That if yor occasions call yow to
London, Yow wold please to let me see yow at Windsor Cast
It is not much out of yor way, & it is a charity to a Prison
wch I desire, It will be a great comfort to me, for my long
to speake with yow is better grounded then on curiosity:
Therfor I doe assure my self yow will not deny me.
In the meane time I beg yor prayers, That my condition
may more & more be sanctifyed to me, & I strenthned
to

to beare without murmuring what the Lord shall measure out for me. That I may be more quickned to duety, & delivered from deadnes of spirit wch I groane under, That I may grow in grace & in patient submission to the good will of our Lord wth faithfulnes. Forgive me I beseech yow S^r for all this trouble, & though my condition renders me incapable of giving yow any reall testimonie of my freindship, Yet be pleased to take my word for it, None honors yow more & wishes yow better, then does

Sir

Yo^r reall & most affectionat freind
& servant

Lauderdaill

Windsor Castle 29 of October 1657

To the Reverend & much Honored

Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the Gospell
at Kidderminster

from the Earle of Lauderdaill

III

Reverend & much honored friend

If I were not very sensible that my letters are so insignificant
especially to one who knowes much better how to employ his time then
in reading & answering them, & most secure of yr justice, wch will
not permitt you to condemne me of neglect for not wryting, I should
neede many apologies for my long silence, Especially since I did
receave yr last obliging letter (wthout a date) wch I gott wth yr
booke of self denyall long agoe, for wch & for yr two last bookes
concerning the Catholick Church & Catholick Unity (wch Mr Underhill
sent me last week) I doe returne you most hearty thanks.
One providence I cannot conceale, That when I first got yr booke
of self denyall into my hand, I chanced to open & read the 18 181/180
pages wch I found so calculated to my condition that I could
not but observe it & make 2 or 3 friends take notice of it
who were sitting there by me. The reasons of my former
silence were much the same with those you mention, & when
I consider ~~you~~ how basely you was used (for yr civility to me)
In that unworthy pamphlet wch Rogers wrote page 18,
I thought it very unfitt to trouble you wth my letters, wch if
intercepted might create you more trouble. You doe well
not to misspend time in answering the barkings of those who
have of late injured themselves more then you by their scriblings
yet when you have leasure it will not be amiss to represse
their insolence, as you have done a little in a post script.
I did read wth great satisfaction yr most Christian expressions
of yr fellow-feeling of the sufferings of yr friends & the coun=
sell you give me on that occasion: The scale you tooke notice of was
(I must freely confesse) 6 yeers agoe too much calculated for what you bid
me take heed of, but blessed be the Lord I doe now desire to

waite

waite for a better harbor then can be expected among the waves;
Though I thinke there is less danger of prejudice to yow by
expressions of my unfeigned respects to yow (for now
Vana est sine viribus ira.) Yet I will not trouble yow
further at this time, If ever it please God to grant me so
much libertie, I shall strive to see yow & to tell yow what
I shall ever be ready to owne before all the world, That
yr worth & goodnes hath ingaged me to be wth great sinceritie

Windsor Castle
16. Febry

Sir

Yr most affectionat
friend & servant
Lauderdaill

I heare Mr Sharpe (whom I know to be
as great honorer of yow) is come to
London on monday, being sent for
(as I heare) by Gen: Monke, but I have neither seen him
nor heard from him.

For the Reverend, my much
Honored freind
Mr Richard Baxter minister
of the gospell
by Birmingham post
At Kidirminster

111

Reverend & much Honored friend

4 On saterday was sennet I sent to yow what yow desired out of the 25 chap: of Blondell, with some scriblings of my owne concerning the planting of Christianity in Scotland. Yow shall now heir receave what in the 1. & 2d place yow appointed me to translate out of the 30. ch: Yow desired me to send it as full as I pleased, & I send it verbatim with all the quotations on the margin, & where yow finde that I have written in a bigger caracter, It is so also in Blondell. This I hope will give some satisfaction, & I have added one Section more than was desired (of the difference betwixt the governments Ecclesiast: & Civill) because it suted wth the former, & those I finde to be the foundation of a most voluminous dispute concerning the power & constitution of the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria & others in the East, wch fills above six score pages fol, which is such a mare magnum, following the Cardinal in so many windings & turnings That I know not ~~now~~ how to obey yor next injunction concerning the jurisdiction & beginnings of the Bps of Alexandria & of Antioch.

Next to what I now send yow, There is a Section Concerning innovations since the Councell of Nice, wch is long els I had translated it but not much in my opinion considerable to yor purpos, Excepting what concerns Rome, Constantinople & perhaps England, which if yow doe desire I shall transcribe them for yow.

After followes Concerning titles given to the Prelats of principall Churches, of wch I shall heir give yow as short a summarie as I can, to see if yow will have more.

Blondel affirmes in generall 1. That most of them are late, since the declining from the primitive simplicity. 2. That at first they were given to few persons & seldome. 3. That they have been made comon to such for whom they were not at first invented, or taken from those to whom they justly belonged. Five Titles he names, as the principall Archbishop, Metropolitan, Primat, Exarch of Dioces, & patriarch. of all wch he undertakes to prove, That the use hath varied according to times & places.

1. of Archbishop, The most antient proofe now extant of that title, Is the Brevet where [a] Meletius bishop of Lycopolis reckons up those of his partie, anno 325, and sayes the bishop of Memphis was comanded by the Emperor to be with his Archbishop. and 49 yeer afterward Epiphanius [b] treating of Meletius schisme, stiles Peter Archbishop of Alexandria, And Heres. 69. He sayes all the Catholick churches of Alexandria are under one Archbishop. Afterwards that title is not to be found in any monument Greek or Latin till 22. June 431. And then in the first act of the Councell of Ephesus pope Celestin is once named Archbishop, & S. Cyrill 65 times. Heir does Blondell fill three pages with citations of that title when & to whom given, Citing examples toward the end where it is given indifferently since the yeer 760 to simple Bishops both in the East & West, though the Church of Africk did testify that great titles did not sute with her lyking Having made a solemn decree at Hippo A.D. 393 Renewed at Carthage 397. Carth: 3. c. 26. That the Bishops

[a] apud Athanas: apol: 2.

[b] Heres. 68.

of the first seate should not be called prince of sacerdots, nor so
veraigne Sacerdot, nor any such thing, but onely Bp of the first seate. nev
theless 150 years after she was accustomed to it.

2. Metropolitan was a title given to the Civill metropolis's, reserving
the first degree of eminence to Rome, wch by [c] Theodorick the king, [d] Alar
his grand child Justinian & others was called Head of the world, & b
S.[e] Athanas. Metropolis of Romania, i.e. of the Roman Empire. The Chur
also observed some such thing, For many Provinces had that Cittie for their
Ecclesiast: Metrop: wch was the first in the politick Estate: As Milan
is called [f] Metropolis of Italie, so many others are cited in other Countr
And in process of time Emperors gave that title of honor to divers Citt
without any other jurisdiction then that of a Bishop.

3. Primat, in the politick sence was given to Countreys, Provinces, Go
the Empire whereof many proofes are cited. Then in the Ecclesiast: Gov
Sinods had their Primats as is remarked by [g] Pope Leo. Also provinc
had their Primats wch is proved by many testimonies. Sometimes Primac
was onely for order without any power as when Pope Hilarius [h] speak
to the Gallican bishops of a primacie of honor for age, Sometimes w
find a primacie, i.e. antiquitie of promotion, ~~and~~ with power, & tha
Councell of Narbonne confirmed by the Councill of Turin [i]: also ord
narie as in Africk where the Primacie ~~where the dignit~~ followe
not the place, but the date of the reception as shalbe proved in its pla
For in Africk The first seate signifyed the seat of the Prelat firs
received in every province, as in the 2. Conc. Carthag. can. 3. / 3 Con: Cart
c. 26. & 28. & many more testimonies here cited. But this use of Prim
hath lost its credite, The title being reserved to the chief of nation
or Provinces, who have more of shadow then reality: Because the
Pope of Rome (who for the dignity of that Cittie was esteemed the
first Prelat of the world & the Primat of honor among all bishop
having found in Valentinian 3. and intire disposition to content him
Hath indeavored to draw to himself since the year 445 a Primac
of Jurisdiction over all the Empire: Not founding it as the first
on custome & acts of Councells, But on divine right which is
much more easie to be bragd of then to be produced.

The 4. title is that of Exarch. So the Greeks called the Master o
the Quire him that beginns the concert of Musick (as is proved o
of Homer, Plutarch, & Xenophon.) Suidas makes those two word
equivalent ἐξάρχοντας & ᾄδοντας. Philo Judeus in the life o
Moses lib. 1. Calles Miriam Moses sister Exarch of the women
because she led the dance, & the Septuagint reads ἐξῆρχε αὐτῶν
In this regard Philip a priest of the Roman church & Legate o
Pope Celestin to the Councill of Ephesus act. 3. & after him [k] Theophy
calles S. Peter, Exarch of the Apostles because he was their
mouth, & as [l] S. Chrysostome The chief of the Quire προήγορ
speaking for the rest as remarkes Euseb. lib. 2. c. 14. From whe
must not be inferred That he had any dominion over them, Seing th
Fathers who spoke so of S. Peter doe all hold all the Apostles equ
& the latter Greeks who have been more liberall in praises of th
Apostle Doe by their separation from Rome demonstrate that th
doe not thinke the Pope to have any share in the matter. Now th
name of Exarch being applyed to ministers in Religion, Plutarch
Numa expresses by it the dignity of Soveraine Pontife whom h
stiles ἔξαρχον ἱερέων, The fathers take it sometimes in a good
sence, sometimes in an evill, Sometimes they expresse by it [m] the Chief
of an Heresie. Sometimes they doe call the president of a Councill
Exarch

c. Jornand. c. 86.
d. Cassiodor. lib. 9. Epist. 17. / Cod. lib. 17. tit. 17. §. 10.
e. Athan: ad Solit:
f. Athan. Apol. de fuga et ad Solit / Socrat. lib. 2. c. 36 / Sozomen. lib. 4. c. 8.
g. Epist. 52.
h. Epist. 4. c. 1.
i. Can. 1.
k. Theoph: in Luc. 22.
l. Chrys. in Math. Hom. 55. & in Act. Homil. 3.
m. Conc. Sardic. Epist. Conc. Ephes. act. 5. 6. etc.

[n] Exarch. Divers testimonies are also alledged where Exarch signifies the cheif of a Diocese. Also the Monkes made use of the title, for in the year 536. at the Councill of Constantinople under Menas, Marianus abbot of S. Dalmatius is called Exarch of the monasteries in the Royall Citie. So that this Title (wch was made most magnifick in the State by the successors of Justinian institutors of the Exarchate of Italie & Africk) was rendred very abject in the Greek Church, and was given almost to whosoever pleased.

5. Patriarch, This title is proved at large to have belonged to an eminent dignity among the Jews wch was quite abolished about the year 420. Seing [o] the Law dated 30. May 429. mentions it as ane office quite extinct. Blondel cites [p] S. Hierome to prove that the Montanists had such a title amongst them wch he reckons as one of their innovations. Then to demonstrate that in those times their was no such dignity in the Christian Church as is now meant by Patriarch He cites [q] Gregor. Nazianz. [r] Gregor. Nyssen & [s] Basil who give that title to men who were not bishops of those seates pretended to be onely Patriarchal. To finde therfor the first entrie of that title Patriarch, He cites [t] Socrates who wrote about the year 440. The passage is quoted at lenth (to wch I referr yow) & large observations drawen from it. Thereafter many undeniable testimonies are recited to prove That as the title of Patriarch was given by Theodosius to Pope Leo anno 449, so was it given after to very many other bishops. In the proofe of this Blondel imployes almost 3 pages in citations & concludes, That the title Patriarch entred into the Church about the middle of the fifth centurie, That at first the Titles of Archbishop, Exarch of Diocesse & of Patriarch were Synonyma/ That each Exarch had right to it/ That it broght no addition of power neither to the Bp of Constantinople nor to no other/ That according to the antient institution of it all prelats cheif of any Nation have as good right to it as the Pope in the antient division of Rome, or as the Bp of Constantinople in the East, as indeed some predecessors of the Bp of Lions were called Patriarchs/ That betwixt Patriarchs and single Bps before the year 600 None did acknowledge any middle dignity except that of Metropolitan/ Lastly That the Pope cannot pretend by any divine right to any thing above other Patriarchs or ~~of~~ Bps seing all the world does agree That betwixt Bishop, Patriarch & Metropolitan the difference is onely of human right.

Thus I have as breefly as I was able given yow a Summarie of what is in 20 pages fol. concerning these titles. Now as to the rest of yor injunctions 1. I can see nothing yet concerning any churches without the bounds of the Empire. 2. As to the beginning & jurisdiction of the Churches of Antioch & Alexandria It is so vast a worke (as I have said) & so much on the defensive That without a new order I shall not goe about it, for by the cursorie view I have taken of it I cannot yet see much to yor purpos. 3. As to the defeanse of the Primats of Africk It is also tedious, & most part a dispute concerning the reasons of Primacie. Onely in the end he proves that they owned no Soveraignty in the Pope (wch I thinke is so clear to any who have but looked into antiquity That it needs no proofe) 4. What concerns the antient Church Government in Gallia, I hope yow will like well both as to what yow have now in hand, and as to what yow promise in yor late booke of confirmation against the [illegible]

onc. Ephes. act. 6.
tlat. ad Imp. Con. Chalc.
ct. 4. Theod. lib. 2. c. 22.
eth.

od. Theod. lib. 16.
it. 8. c. 29.
Hierom. Epist. 54.

Orat. 20. 41. 72.
arm. de vita sua
de magno Episcopo.
Epist. 412.
ocr. lib. 5. c. 9.

exorbitances of Episcopacie, But I doubt most of what is her
in his booke de Episcopis et Presbyteris. Therfor I meane to look
Dr Hammons answer to that other booke (wch I have here by me) by
I hope to finde if the materiall testimonies here cited in French
be in that Latin booke, And if they be not, I will translate that
section (unles yow forbid it) for I hope to doe it in 2 or 3. sheets,
So till I heare from yow I shall proceed no further in translating
Yet I shall still be indeavoring to worke for yow as a journy
as I can, for I have sent for Moulin that I may give yow my o
nion of it simply & comparatively with Blondel as yow desi
And before I can doe that yow may if yow please send m
ane answer to this, & order what I shall next undertake
If my paines be not so usefull to yow as I desire, yet my
great willingnes will I hope assure yow this great trut
that I am with true affection & sincerity

Windsor Castle
28. of Octob. 1658

Sir

Yor reall kinde frend
& servant
Lauderdaill

Since this was written I have this night
got Moulin de la Nouveauté du Papisme
from Mr Bates who supplies me with what bookes
I want for I have the good luck to be aquainted
with him. About this day sennet I hope to send
yow some account of it. If it please God that
I were with yow but one moneth I wold under-
take at howres wch yow wold spare To help yow
to so much French as not to need me more in
this kinde. In the meane time spare not my
paines, I am very willing, & something proud
to serv yow.
I doubt yow have seldome been troubled with so tedious
Letters, but I am guilty of this fault to few in the world
& I hope yow will forgive it, & remember me in yor prayers

No. 111

For
Mr Richard Baxter
At Kidderminster

5

Most deare Sir

I have received your kind letter, and I give you my humble thanks. There are many notions of things, and the intimation of such distinctions wch you have used elsewhere, that seeme to me as so many magnifying glasses that present Truth in more [illegible], but I suppose not different in the maine, from the same I have delivered according to my poverty, which also may be more sutable to meaner understandings. I have (I must acknowledge) in my last paper offered something about pardon that may appeare diverse from the generality, while I doe account it rather an effect, than a constituent part of the forme of Justification. I must professe that the difficulty in making pardon & evangelicall righteousnes agree both in those things which are predicated of justification, did lead me to it. Whether you doe really differ from me or no, I am not sure by your letter. It is true (say you) we are first ~~performers~~ in order of nature performers of the condition. If we be performers (I assume) then must we be judged performers by God: and if first performers before pardoned, then first accounted performers in order of nature before we are pardoned. It is impossible I think to conceive a man a performer but God must esteeme him so, because he esteemes & judges all things necessarily as they are, and can doe no otherwise: and to judge a man a performer of the condition, or righteous according to the law of grace, is justification. Consequently, when this is in order of nature before pardon, pardon must be an effect of justification, & not the formall reason of it. Stop there (say you) & think whether he be properly to be called just that is under the guilt of damnation as a sinner. Sir! I cannot tell how to think otherwise, but that God in order of nature doth judge or account the performer just according to the covenant he performes, while by the law he is guilty; or else how should he ever come from under that guilt? Doe you think otherwise deare brother? How I pray doe you think? Think you that upon the performance of the condition a man is pardoned in order of nature before God judges him a performer (which is all one as justifying him)? You cannot think so, I think sure. Doe you think God pardons him on performance, and takes in this pardon with his evangelicall obedience to the accounting him just, so, that though he be a performer he wont reckon or account him that he is, till pardon intervene, & then he will begin this reckoning of both together? I cannot tell what ~~[illegible]~~ work to make of this; God I know does, & must I think alwaies, judge according to the truth; and I am ready (if you have any) to receive further information. My very worthy kind & deare brother, I beseech you give me leave to confesse the imbecillity of my owne understanding, that cannot receive all the things you put together in this businesse, and I am apt to think others also are lead into the like confusion. I would not have you think it is for want of good will to receive what you offer, & to learne; for I may guesse of others by my selfe: but the fault may possibly be in you, even in this coagulation of two righteousnesses, a righteousnes of pardon & obedience, into one forme of justification. I cannot ~~but~~ say your notion of a righteousnes of pardon lookes handsomely, But ~~[illegible]~~ to deale ingenuously with you though I have ~~[illegible]~~ taken it into my mouth as a sweet bit, even ~~but~~ when it was there I could not get it downe. There are three things you count goe into justificat

The making a man iust, the iudging a man iust, and the using him as iust. The
two last ~~all~~ Protestants agree with you in, and in the former of the two last I
would suppose iustification to lye formally, but pardon to come in the last.
The first is that I stumble at. The Protestants you know contend with the Pa
pist that iustification is not iustifaction or making a man iust, but accoun
ting or pronouncing him so: you ioyne with the Papist & will have it first the
making a man iust before he is accounted iust; but you differ in your ap
plication, understanding it not as they, by infusion, but by pardon. But I
I must confesse I cannot conceive this constitutive iustification as you ma
it, that is the making a man righteous by forgivenesse. I will give you m
reasons as they lye uppon my mind without studying for more of them. 1.
There is no scripture I apprehend sufficient to beare up such an affirmati
on, that pardon makes a man righteous, or that there is a righteousness
of pardon, which is a contradiction strictly taken. There is one scripture in
the Romans, but I have spoken to it. The righteousness there without
works is realy our evangelicall righteousness, and the text about pardo
out of the Psalmes is a probation, not a definition of it. 2. There is no
such thing among men as righteousness by pardon, that a man should ha
innocency restored him by his escaping hanging. If a man robs, or mur
pardon does not make him no malefactor because it delivers him from
execution. 3. You your selfe tell us often & truly, that pardon takes aw
reatum pœnæ, not reatum culpæ; it dissolves the obligation to punish
ment, it does not make a man guiltless of the fault; and how can that
make a man righteous then which leaves the crime still uppon him, & takes
away onely in relation to punishment? 4. It is faith, repentance, new obe
dience, or walking sincerely before God is righteousness, & the onely righteous
nes we find any ~~to be~~ denominated righteous ~~with~~ by, in the scripture: But pardon does n
make a man a believer, penitent, a performer of the Gospell. Therefore
pardon does not make a man righteous. 5. If pardon makes a man righte
ous, it must make him righteous according to the Gospell: or according t
the law of works. Not according to the law of Grace, for pardon is not
evangelicall obedience, as I said now: Nor according to the law of work
because the scripture sayes expressly that God iustifyes the ungodly,
That is such as are righteous according to the law of grace, but ungo
in respect to the law of works. I say if God's forgiving a man all his
of omission & commission made him righteous he should be innocent ac
cording to the law of works, & then this scripture should be false th
saies God iustifyes the ungodly. I will add what ~~[illegible]~~ weighs ~~[illegible]~~ accordingly, If a man
were made righteous by pardon he must upon this account be iusti
fied or judged by the Law, when the whole doctrine of the new testament does te
us (and as you shew) that we are to be iustified by the law of gr
or judged onely according to the Gospell. Reverend brother I know not
what influence my poore reasonings may have uppon you, but I must
say that the bringing together of two righteousnesses (when the matter of
one is our own works & the matter of the other Christs righteousness)
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ into one formall reason of our iustifi
cation, ~~[illegible]~~ does so confound ~~[illegible]~~ a body with contrary assertions (that we are
iustified by Christs righteousness, & not by it; by our owne righteousness
and not by it ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~) that I hope

you will not blame mee to decline the intricacy by choosing rather to distinguish pardon from the righteousness that justifies us; ~~[illegible]~~ no otherwise but as the Effect is distinguished from the Cause that virtually is contained in it. If justification ~~is~~ were all one with pardon wee might pray every day to bee justified anew as wee pray forgive us our trespasses. The pardon of sin which wee have at our first conversion is an act of the same nature as the acts of pardon wee have dayly: but the dayly acts of pardon are not our justification, & therefore not our first pardon neither, but an Effect of it. If pardon restored us to innocency (or to bee without transgression) wch it must doe if it made us righteous, what need of any other righteousness? when our Divines, Protestant & Papist, then doe define justification by remission as I also have done after them, justification I count is taken complexly for all the benefits & fruits that flow from it together with the formall reason of it. Justification as a complex or aggregate thing is Gods forgiving our sins, and his adjudging us to eternall life, and his receiving us into favour as righteous persons, or holding us for such according to his law of grace: but this does not hinder the metaphysicall consideration, that when justification is thus described, wee may account it defined by the last of these onely as its differentia specifica or formall reason: & by the other as Propria, Benefits, or Effects, necessarily accompanying or flowing from it. To draw to an end with my paper. Our difference (you say) is not deep at all: but of the sense of the words just & justify, and of the meaning of particular texts that use those words. If this bee so, for the word justify our Divines prove for mee, that it signifyes to pronounce, not to make a man just; and for the word just, Look over the Scriptures & see if there bee any person throughout called just or righteous upon any other account than this that they walk sincerely before God or keep his commandements (κατ' ἐπιείκειαν), according to the covenant of mercy; wch is my onely sense of it. For the texts then that speak of justification, let us appeal to Paul & James, & consider which is their justification, mine or yours? Pauls justification is a justification by faith, & James his by works, & the agreement of both is that wee are justified by such a righteousness as consists of both, so that to bee justified is all one with having faith or evangelicall obedience imputed to us for righteousness. This is these Apostles justification. But yours is a justification which is not by a righteousness of faith and works, but of forgiveness; or of which, not our works & faith are the matter or materiall cause, but Christs righteousness & satisfaction, if it hath any materiall cause at all; that is a justification wch consists not ~~in~~ Gods imputing our faith to us for righteousness, but Christs righteousness to us for remission. And when my justification then is James his & Pauls, whose is yours? You bid mee reade Mr Bradshaw: but Ile tell you plainely that I am fully perswaded that there were never so many things in the heads of St James & St Paul while they lived, as there is in Mr Bradshaws little volume & your larger writings, about this point. I pray think whether the notions or kind of similes of a Remedying law, an Act of oblivion, wch are so ingeniously used, doe not carry you too farre in the pursuit of the allusion. At our law a man is to bee ~~[illegible]~~ made guilty & I think condemned before hee can plead his pardon: but wee must not presse these expressions here so farre very likely. Christ Jesus by his redemption hath brought in another law or covenant termes, & so another righteousness, by wch in God, & according to which in us, wee are to bee judged. And when it is by and according to this alone, there is no justification called Legall. I must confesse to you seriously I could never have any good will for your double justification Legall & Evangelicall from the

your first setting out in your Aphorismes.
~~beginning~~. To be iudged (your selfe say right), is to be iustified or condem-
ned: and when it is by the Evangelicall law wee are to be iudged, how
come you (I say) to make any more then one righteousness, & one iustification? And
what reade you of ~~the~~ proceeding at Judgment, Come ye blessed, ye righte-
ous, for when I was hungry you fed mee? Consider also whether your remission in
order to Gods accounting a man iust, be not to be set upon the score of our
Redemption: for actuall pardon which is given upon the condition performed
I say still doe follow it; because God in order of nature must iudge us perfor-
mers, before hee gives us the reward of the performance, as I have already
spoken. By the way, Think moreover upon this, whether the teaching, that
there is no new act of pardon in God (let it be true or no) to any person when
hee repents & turnes to him, but onely that which is already passed in the cove-
nant grant, be not a mighty cooling to the devotions of a plaine man, who n-
ow does addresse himselfe to God, but as one ~~as~~ that actually iudges of his case, and
is accordingly affected to him. When the scripture sets forth God still after our
manner, as passing acts of mercy grace & pardon toward us according to our
applications, I question whether a more curious instruction as to this matter
~~may~~ will not doe hurt upon that account. If there be no other act of Gods par-
doning mee, then that of the Covenant grant, I am prompted to goe to the co-
venant, & to reforme my selfe, for pardon; but to let God alone, who canno[t]
be moved, nor doe more in it then what hee hath done already, for all my pr-
ayers. To returne, The absolution of a man from the penalty of a law by de-
claration of his innocency is iustification: but the absolving him from pu-
nishment & yet declare him guilty is pardon, & not iustification; that is, it
is not making him iust, nor accounting him for such, for it is the declaring
him the contrary. Let iustification then & pardon be distinguished, & doe
you say what you doe of pardon, & I what I say of iustification, our difficultys
may be over, & I have done.

Your affectionately engaged friend &
servant. John Humfrey

March. 4. 167$\frac{3}{4}$

Deare Brother

I thank you for yor booke: If you had not desired my opinion you had escaped ye trouble of this lines: But I know you are a plain man, and love plaine dealing. I think by studying Scripture and things more than what others have said before you, you escape the temptations to sideing and partiality: And I think, you hit on many considerable Truths which many overlooke, and improve many wch some do slightly passe over. To tell you in how many things you and I agree, were vaine: And to tell you wherein we differ is to no great purpose, unlesse I could have time at length to tell you the reasons of my dissent: And we Think nearer than we speake, as I suppose. Your description of the promise and ye Law of Moses is in the maine such as I use to give. But you take it to be my fault to chew my meate too small, and I take it to be yours to swallow it in too big morsells. You thinke I confound men and darken the matter by distinguishing too much: And I thinke you do the same by distinguishing too little. Full Concoction reduceth all to tenuity, & setteth all ye parts in their severall places, and seeth all verities in a right ordered scheme. They that cannot do so many be as usefull as those that can, if they will abstaine from those decisions that can be no otherwise well made. || 1° About Remission of Sin (to pag. 10. 11.) I have heretofore said what I have to say, which you here answer not. You must remember that an Act of Oblivion as a remedie, is not a proper repeale of the Preceptive or Penal part of the Law of Nature (or Innocency): It is still so farre in force as to make duty, and oblige sinners under a desert of death, though not unremedyed: And to huddle up all under ye word [Just] as you do as if that word had but one sense, is not satisfying: Nor so to intimate yt Justice respecteth nothing but the Precept. Read Mr Bradshaw over again. You grant that we are not just by fulfilling ye precepts of the Law of Innocency: And that therefore we deserve the punishment, and that the Justice of that Law is demonstrated and glorifyed, in and by ye Perfect Righteousnesse and Sacrifice of Christ, and that thereupon ye New Covent or Law of Grace is founded: and that this Law is a Guift of pardon and Life to the world on Condition of mens accepting ye Guift according to its nature: And that ~~this Law is a pardon and Guift~~ it is this same conditionall Guift that Instrumentally pardoneth every man when he believingly accepteth the things given (Christ and Life): and that if the accuser say that we are filij mortis, in justice to be condemned because all our sins are violations of that Law of nature, our answer must be by confessing that they are sins against that Law, and by it deserve death, but yet that we are not condemnable, because we are pardoned by the Law of Grace through the Meritorious Righteousnesse and Sacrifice of Christ. Have you any other answer? Are you not then here Justifyed ~~that~~ 1° by Christs Righteousnesse as Meriting our impunity and life, 2° by ye Promise or Law of Grace as ye Instrument; 3° by pardon as that, which immediately dissolveth ye obligation to punishmt (taking pardon actively), and as that which is the very Relation or form of our Non-reatus taking pardon passively? If then the question be [Are you sinners] we are not Justifyable agt it, but must confesse sin: and so to ye question [Did not your sin deserve death by the Law which you broke] But if ye Question be [Is the sinner to be damned]: we are justifyable there, because we are pardoned, and that not by bare Condonation, but by a valuable Consideration of our Saviours Righteousnesse and Sacrifice. But its true, yt we must first be proved, faith penitent believers, because the Law of Grace giveth that to no others which only proveth that This penitence and faith is ye condition of ye donative condonative Law; And so it is a subservient sort of Righteousnesse, Secundu quid. So that Pardon and Life with Christ is ours by proper Guift without merit quoad valorem rei; But ordinis gratiâ per Deum Rectorem it is given only to the Faithfull thankfull accepter; which Faithfull acceptance is therefore but Conditio donationis as to ye foresaid Justification: But if the question come next, whether we are believers, and to be saved by the Remedying pardoning Law, or not, here our Faith is the Righteousnesse it selfe that must justifie us, viz, both agt the charge that we are unbelievers and so fullfilled not ye Comand (Believe); & 2° yt therefore we are not pardoned 3° and that we are liable to ye sorer punishment of the ungratefull. It is not then ye Law of Innocency that any way Justifyeth us, but yet ye Law of Grace must by pardon make us Non-Condemnandos by our Judge agt the Commination of the Law of Innocency and so Justifie us agt it; And it must Justifie us agt ye false charge of Infidelitie. Now if you will take [Just] most comprehensively; you will grant that all these togither must go to Justifye us Pardon, Christs Merits and Faith, each having its proper part or office. But if you will take it narrowly you may say, that This or That or The other doth it in severall senses. // And 2° Whereas you say that we must be first Just before forgiven, I answer; not simpliciter, but Secundum quid: You stick in yt bare word, and also use it unfitly! Its true we are first in order of nature, performers of the Condition of pardon & Right to Life, & so justifyable agt this accusation, Thou art an unbeliever. But stop there, and thinke whether he be properly to be called just that is under the Guilt of damnation as a sinner: As all are till they believe: (For though ye Law of Grace be made before faith, and Conditionally pardon all, yet no man is actually pardoned by it (nor hath Jus regn Coelorum by it) till in order of Nature after he is a believer. // 3° And can you deny what I have so often proved, viz, that Justification is really threefold viz 1° Making us Just, 2° Judging us Just, 3° Executive, using us as Just. And all th being understood, you may see, that our difference is not at all de re; but 1° of ye sense of the words [Just and Justifie] 2° and of the meaning of particular texts th use those words; And what mean you by omne Ens est unum? Not that a man hath no parts; or that Justification is but one physicall act? And sure you thinke not yt To forgive our Sins, and thereupon to declare us to be Righteous and Justifyable agt the charge of reatus mortis, are inconsistent? Especially if with pardon you joyne ye Donation of Right to Life eternall. // When pag. 13. You call ye Meritorious cause [Impulsive] you must remember that nothing ab extra mov God; but only disposeth ye Receiver. And when you inferre that it cañot be th Materiall Cause, you mistake (with others); for it can be no other: Our Merit bei not efficient of any thing in God, is but dispositio recipientis which is the qualificat of the Matter to receive; And Christs Merits not effecting a change on God, fall under ye same kind of Cause; which our Divines meane when they say, It is Imputed to us; yt is, It is justly reputed as sufficient a reason for a believers being pardoned and Justifyed (as above) as if he had merited that himselfe. And so by so much Imputation or donation ad effectus, it is as if it had been our merit, and relatively become dispositio Recipientis. And besides, whoever enquireth af a mans Righteousnesse, enquireth of ye Meritorious Cause of his Sententi Justification; which is therefore as such ye Matter of his being Just, or o his Constitutive Justification // p. 13. You say justification formaliter is o Gods pronouncing us Just: But 1° How Just? Obedient (perfectly or sinc

-[illegible]endos: are these all one? I prove as you can, yt to make a man
not formall Justification, always antecedent to ye Sentencing him Just? || Pag. 16. 17.
mber me that I formerly was so free with you, as to tell you, that you speake so defect-
ively that ye Readers will thinke yt you hold yt christ dyed to make ye Jews equall
in welfare with ye rest of ye world; And so as if ye world had been better than ye Jews;
And as if all ye world as well as christians were now of ye true Religion, because
they have the meere Law of nature, and were all Redeemed from ye Jewish Law
which they were never under. Or rather that christ dyed for none but ye enslaved
Jewes, ye rest of ye world being free without his Redemption. And if it be so full a
felicity or way thereto, to be under ye meere Law of nature, what need we pray for ye
calling of ye Heathen world. Are they not happyer yn we that have so much of su-
pernaturall revelation to believe & doe? you should have avoided this scandal of su-
ch men, wherein ye Jews were happyer yn ye world? & ye christian Revelations above ye Law of
nature are our great priviledge; And of how great use ye knowledge of christ himselfe as ye Image
of ye Fathers Goodnesse, & great messenger of his Love, & procurer & Comunicator of his Guifts
is to bring men to the beliefe of ye world unseene and yt Love of God and one another, & all
yt holynesse, mortification and justice, wch ye Law of nature tells us is our duty. And yt ye
Spirit of christ (working by meanes) is given to ye church in as much more abundance &
excellencie yn to ye Heathen world, as our meanes by ye Gospell excelleth their sole
naturall light. I pray you read Dr Bates his new Booke. Men will thinke yt you
make christianity and ye naturall state of all ye world, to be all one, and glory in
this as purchased by christ. Neither ye Gospell nor christian experience will allow
us to believe, yt ye knowledge of ye Person, performance, death, Resurrection, Glory,
Intercession, Governmt, Teachings, Example or Judgmt of christ, are of so little
use as one would thinke you take them for. I dare say yt he yt yet keepeth
ye Law of nature shall be saved (for he will Love God above all as God). But ye
Question is who doth it? And how much ye knowledge of christ and ye Gospell
is needfull as a meanes to bring men to it? (& so ye speciall worke of his Spirit)
We grant that ye Covenant or promise of Grace as made to all mankind in Adam
and Noah is yet force to them all. But Abraham had more helps of supernatu-
rall Revelation than the world? And we have more than Abraham had. In para-
dise God (by Angels its like) was familiar with Adam; but when he was shut out
we read not of so much. || To your [N. B. p. 20] I say, that God condemneth all yt are
condemned, both for sinning agt ye Law of nature, and for neglecting or unthankfull
rejecting ye Remedy, by unbeliefe and Impenitence, according to yt state and measure
of mercy which was offerred them, would you put us to prove so plaine a thing? ||
To p. 24. 25. will you deny yt we are bound to believe all ye supernaturall articles
of ye Creed, wch ye Law called morall did not reveale? And yt we are bound to
Acts of Gratitude, Love and desire according to yt believe? And bound to performe
our daily obedience to christ as to God incarnate our Redeemer? and bound to learne
his Gospell, Doctrine and promises, and trust them? and bound to come to God by him
in all worship; and to looke for all mercies from his merits and personall Intercession
in heaven? and bound to pray and hope for ye Eminent Guift of ye Holy Ghost; & to
use his Sacramts and church ministry and discipline? And is not all this more
than was before written in nature or in ye Tables of Stone? || Pag. 30. 31. You seeme
to speake contradictions, as if a man could fro feare alone without Love to Holy-
nesse and God, preferre God & Holynesse, as his salvation before all ye world. Prefer-
ring is a Volition (or insufficient) & yt Volition is Love. And so it runs [He yt with-
out Love by feare alone, Loveth God, and Loveth to Love God in Heaven better then this
world shall be saved] || Pag. 32. 33. So much gratification of ye Papists is not due
to them, as to joyne with them in charging that erroneous description

te, or Protestants in Generall, or in Luther and Calvin in particular, who ha
t studyed ye point as its done of late, do sometimes speake one way, & sometimes
ther about ye nature of Speciall faith. // Deare Brother, as your sincere candour
maketh me to Love you, so your humilitie encourageth me to expect your pa
tient acceptance of these free animadversions from

Your very hearty friend
Ri: Baxter.

(No: 112)

For Mr Jo: Humphrey

Deare Brother

Upon ye perusall of your last, I find little to say, but what I said before: For I thinke it was all answered there; And repetitions will not profit but weary you. 1° You cañot deny that all your Controversie is barely de Nomine, whether only obeying denominate one just? And that de re you must grant yt more is necessary. 2° You cañot deny that the preceptive & minatory parts of ye Law of nature are so farre still in force, as in primo instanti to make everlasting punishmt our due for every sin, till it be pardoned, and that this guilt or obligation antecedeth pardon. 3° And therefore that [Repent and Beleive for pardon] is not the whole of the Law that we are under. But is only a secondary remedying Law. 4° You will not say that he that Repenteth of sin, is no sinner? Nor that he that is a siñer is so farre just? Nor that he that for sin deserveth punishmt, is justifyable agt either of those charges; [Thou art a siñer and thou art punishable or damnandus] 5° You know that you need not say, that he yt performeth ye Condition, is Judged by God to have performed it [while we are past all doubt, agreed of it. And that I hold as much as you, that we must our selves performe the condition of the Law of Grace, and that so farre as we do it, we are just and justifyable. 6° You do not deny yt Justification is as large respectively as Accusation and Condemnation, & that so farre as a man is Accusable & condemnable, and that so farre as a man is Accusable or Condemnable, he is Justifiable if that Accusation be false? 7° You will not say that to Make just, to Plead and Judge one Just and to use one as Just, are all one, or not to be distinguished. 8° Nor that a man must not first be made Just before he be Judged Just. Nor that to be Just is to be Sententially Justifyable. 9° You will not say, yt he that is accused as a sinner and Condemnable for sin as sin, is eo nomine justifyed agt that Accusation by saying [I believed & Repented and amended] confessing the charge; 10° You will not say (sure) that a man so Accused needeth no Justification, but only he that is accused of Impenitency & unbeliefe. He yt is said to be a sinner & damnable, needeth a Justification agt yt charge, for else he must perish. And yet you will still say on, that [To Judge a man a performer, is all one as Justifying him]; As if yet the word Justifying must be applyed to no other act. 11° You cañot deny that de re, Its one thing to justifie a man universally & absolutely agt all Accusations, (so no man is Justifyed), and another thing to justifie him against all that would else condemne him; & another thing to justify him only agt one particular charge. Will you not grant me that he that is universally or fully Just & Justifyed, must be Justifyed agt al these accusations [Thou art to be damned for thy sin: Thy sin is unpardoned: Thou art an unbeliever, Impenitent, an hypocrite &c] I askt you whether a siñer under the guilt of damnation be Just? and you say yea: what! with an universall justice? Is Guilt of Damnation no way opposite to Just? Would you be content with such a Justification as saith [Thou art to be damned as a sinner

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But you say, He performeth the Condition? what Condition? The Conde
tion of pardon and Justification agt the foresaid Guilt and charg
Therefore he is not pardoned or thus Justifyable till after he ha
so performed it. Hath God no Law, but [Repent & Believe & a
mend] If not, sin as sin needeth no pardon, or rather only the Contra
ries are sin. If he haue, will you deny, that Believing, Repenting
& amending is only a justitia secundū quid et non simpliciter w
justifyeth a man only in tantum from a particular accusation
but not in totum, nor from sin; It is indeed ye Condition of his
Justification from ye Guilt of sin, but not yt justification it selfe
Nisi intus existens prohiberet alienū, what need you & I any mo
words to make us understand one another and the matter than plainly to say, yt [God
having for christs merits & sacrifice made a free Grant of Pardon, Grace & Glory
to all true penitent believers, we must first haue ye particular Justitia Condit
onis, or be justifyable agt ye charge of Impenitencie & unbeliefe, that so we ma
haue Right to Pardon, further grace & Glory; or Jus ad Impunitatem et ad regnū
coelorum & be justifyable agt the charge, that as sinners we are damnabl
and haue no Right to heaven], Is Jus ad Impunitatē et Regnū, no Justitia
related to Accusation & damnability? Will you not be beholden to christ a
Advocate or Judge to Justifie your Right to impunity & Salvation? Nay is no
this the finall and great act of Judgement? To say thou art a Believer & penite
is but the first act in order to the 2d Thou art not to be damned, but to be g
rifyed.] Well done good and faithfull servant is the Justificatiō Conditionis
Enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord] is the Justificatio plenaria finalis. Both
together make our compleate Justification: Whole Volumes I haue been put
to write agt Mr Cartwright & others on one side that say, ye performance
of the Condition is no part of our Justifying Righteousnesse; And now (de te
mine) you warpe the other way, as if nothing else were to be called such:
part is set against part, et Conditio contra jus datum sub Conditione, and soule
agt body, & body agt soule, as if totality & union were not to be acknowledged
But I know it is only the Name still yt you make all this adoe about. Whe
you say, that Pardon is not Righteousnesse but an Effect of it. Its grant
ed you that pardon is not that Righteousnesse which you speake of, It is no
ye fullfilling of Law or Gospell precepts: But Law & Gospell haue premi
ant & minatory parts: Jus ad impunitatem et Regnū, is really Jus: et
qui Jus habet in tantum Justus est et Justificandus. But if I thought that
ye Name were of so much weight, as you seeme to thinke, I would not
doubt to proue yt not only ex aptitudine ad rem significandam, but by Scrip
ture use, Justifying is fit to be used in the sense yt I and other Protestants
use it: But Mr Wotton de Reconcil. hath fully done it besides many oth
Doth not [Justifying frō all things, frō which we could not be Justifyed b
ye Law of Moses] Act. 13. 39. include Justifying from the Guilt of sin, & pu
nishmt, but only from ye [Being of Impenitencie, unbeliefe & ungodlin
I think plainly & undenyably it doth. And Rom. 8. as v. 1. [There is no
condemnation] is all one as [there is Justification] So [It is God yt Justifyeth
who is he that shall condemne? who shall lay any thing to ye charge of
Gods elects], sure includeth more than [who shall proue ym ungodly] e
also [who shall proue ym damnable for their sins, & such as God will
reject from his Glory?] me thinks when it is called [Justification of Life] Rom
5. 18. it includeth a justification wch giveth us right to Life. That Conformity
to the Condition of the Covenant of Grace, is in tantum evangelicall Righteous
nesse, I assert: that he that is made such is made (so far) just & he that is
declared or Judged so, is Judged (so far) just) we are agreed.

And if he yt is Judged so far Just, shall thereupon also be Judged, pardoned, & not condemned but Glorifyed: But whether Scripture & ye Notatio Nominis warrant us not to say also that our Right to Impunity & Life must be Justifyed, & yt this is ye finall part of our Cause &c. to be tryed in judgmt, whether we are filii mortis or vitæ, heirs of hell or heaven to be saved or damned, & yt ye person is so farre justifyed, when this his main Cause is Justifyed & yt as a Law hath precept & retribution & neither part is its whole, so Righteousnesse must containe our performance of ye Gospell precept so far as it is Conditio præmii et impunitatis, & also a Jus ad Impunitatem et præmium, & yt a man is not justifyed, indeed & fully, unlesse he have both, & be Justifyed Conjunctly agt ye charge [Thou art to be damned as a sinner, & Thou art an Impenitent unbeliever]; This is ye question between you & me. I confesse I thought you would not have said, yt a man is Just & Justifyed not only secundum quid, in tantum, et particulariter, but also simpliciter et totaliter, & yet Guilty & obliged as a sinner to be damned, having no Right to Life or Impunity in ye same instant of nature: yt is, while is Considered meerly as a penitent believer in ye instant before he is forgiven. A guilty damnable Justifyed man, or a Justifyed heire of hell, are words wch to me need a mollifying exposition, wch can be only by saying, He is justifyed only quoad hoc. || But you say, you stumble at [Making men just]! what! de re? or de Homine? Do you thinke yt God Judgeth him falsly to be just yt is not so? Certainly you do not. And can any man doubt whether justificare, may not signifie Justum facere? Protestants deny not but yt this is one sense of ye word: yea, and oft used in Scripture, as Beza saith of 1 Cor. 6. 9. Tit. 3. (de quibus vid. Le blanc Thes. de Just.) || As to your reasons 1o I have told you of Scriptures, & more are obvious. 2o I deny yt there is no such thing among men: If a pardoned rebell be accused to be one yt is to die and his posterity to be disinherited &c & this cause be tryed, & he denyeth ye charge & pleadeth his Right to impunity, his plea is Just, & he is Just as to that charge? But why thrust you in ye word [Innocency by pardon]? As if I had granted or you had proved yt there is no Righteousnesse but Innocency. Indeed, do you thinke yt God Judgeth you Innocent? He yt saith he hath no sin deceiveth himselfe. 3o Are not you rather Confuted by your 3 reason yn I? I say yt ye Reatus Culpæ in se is never done away, & we have no such Justification. Do you think otherwise? & yt its done away before pardon or you had no such Reatus Culpæ at all, because you repent? 4. To say yt faith &c are ye only Righteousnesse is but to say so. Wn you say Rom. 4. 7. is a probation by Description ver. 7. A Description indeed of Blessednesse But of such a Blessednesse as is made equipollent to Justification, or Imputing Righteousnesse to ye ungodly without works. Not to impute sin, seemeth plainly a part of ye Justification there mentioned; But seeing you are agt Constitutive Justification, for declarative alone, what thinke you Justifying ye Ungodly meaneth? Is it (falsly) to declare him not to be ungodly? Or is ungodlynesse (suppose it meane but sin) no way contrary to Righteousnesse? But if [Righteousnesse] in Scripture did alwayes include Righteous actions, it followeth not yt it includeth also, a Right to Impunity or Reward, And yt Pardon & Donation convey no such Right. Ad 5m. Pardon & ye Guift of Right to Life, do make a man Just according to ye Gospell, as to his finall Cause, whether he be an heir of heaven or hell. Your saying [He is yn Justifyed by ye Law] needs no answer, but a denyall. As to ye Confounding you, as you say, with brewing two Righteousnesses together, you may as well be Confounded with making soule & body a man, or joyning any Condition with ye Guift; if a Justifyable Jus vitæ seeme to you inconsistent (as purchased & freely Given to Penitent Accepters) with ye Justifiablenesse of accepting it || And you erre in

missing pardon (to wch you should still have joyned Right to Life) to be
Act of your Righteousnesse: which way should your Righteousnesse effect it?
is Gods free Guift, & so to be accepted, & not by us effected. // You say Pauls &
James Justification is by faith & workes; therefore not by Remission, ba
tisfaction &c. I deny ye Consequence. Contrarily by faith is not all one
[of faith as ye sole Matter or merit, but by faith as a medium yt is a
Condition, which canot be ye same thing with ye Guift (or Reward as it is
of Grace). And what made you so oft call it ye Condition your selfe, if you
take it not to be so? Is not faith a Condition of Gods Justifying us at Judgm
& particularly of Justifying our Right to Life & Impunity (By Donatio
& Condonation)? If so, Is it ye same with yt whose Condition ~~it~~ is? //
Whether Paul & James had as much in their heads as Mr Bradshaw, I am
not fit to Judge. But I may thinke whether he truly explaine their
words. I would you had told me, where you thinke I mistake, in holdi
ye Law of Grace to be [a Remedying Law or Act of Oblivion]: For if you
prove me erroneous in yt, you will drive me quite to a new frame
of Theologie; And therefore I pray you give me some little hint of it
in time. // I own no Legall Justification as being either by or accord-
ing to ye Law of Innocency: But only a Prolegall or a Justification not
by but from or agt ye Laws condemnation through ye merits of him
yt fulfilled it. But I perceive you seeme to thinke yt either a penitent be-
liever (or godly man) is no sinner, or needeth no pardon nor ever did, or
else I understand you not. // You think because we are to be judged by one
Law, there needs but one Righteousnesse. But yt One may have more parts yn on
For ye Law hath more parts: One part is a free Guift of pardon & Life; & an
other part is ye imposing of a Condition of yt Guift, yea & another part is
ye precept or imposing of a Condition of yt Guift, yea & another part is ye pre-
cept of Duty as such wch is more yn yt bare Condition; And this both presupp
in nature, with ye naturall duenesse of punishmt till pardoned, & some
added by new institution. I perceive our difference is, wt Law God hath m
force to Rule us: And whether he command any more yn sincere obedience
or threaten or forgive any other sin yn yt want of yt. But if he did not
How forgiveth he former wickednesse to ye penitent, if ye precept & ye Condi
tion be of ye same extent, & ye Law have not severall parts? As to your Not
of Gods new Acts of pardoning, I hope your devotion is not laid upon a suppo
sition of Gods mutability. He yt is One causeth all diversity: And he yt is Im
mutable causeth mutations: Pardon is New & divers, ut recipitur in pa
& as it is an extrinsick denomination of Gods Law, yea & his will by me
Connotation of ye various & new effects: But if ex parte agentis you will
feigne God to have Acts wch are not his Essence, or any Essence mutable,
I must leave you there: And believe yt prayers & faith vary ye divine
effects, by varying ye Receptivity of ye patient & yt by prayer I draw
my heart to God (as ye boat to ye bank) & not God to me. To your
Conclusion, I say, when ye question is whether you are to be damned,
or saved, your Cause & person as to yt Cause, is justifyed wn its pleaded
& Judged yt you are not to be damned but saved, having a Guift of
pardon & Life procured by ye sacrifice & merits of Christ. & say-
ing, you Repented is not Justifying you here. But if ye Cause be
whether you are penitent believer, faith & repentance prove,
justifie you. But all this but de Nomine, & see yt you tell men so
that you dispute with, lest you make ym thinke yt there is reall
difference where there is none. Yours heartily Ri: Baxter.
Mar. 27. 1674

8

The case of the gentlewoman refered to mr Bachster by the Lady Holles at the gentlewomans especiall request

Shee beeinge in the first place of a timmerous and fearfull disposision, and Living in a sollitary plac tracted such a mellencholly upon her, that withou condrue her from ussing such exersizes as was requisit for her health, but at the last god blessed her with a Sonne, and never havinge any before, the sodaine telling her of it by the midwife, it is supposed, might to much rayse up her spirits with Joy, but soone upon her delivery shee aprehended sodaine death, and withall it was suggested into her minde, that shee shoulde dye, & that shee beeing a great sinner, hell was open to receaue her, after this, shee made a promise to god, that if he woulde please to send her a Longe life, shee would walke & spend that life accordinge to the strickt rule of godes worde, avoydinge the pompes & vanities of the worlde, doing nothinge but what was nessessary either in aperrell, or any other earthly content nowe how far this promise doth extend, concerninge these outward thinges, shee desireth to bee resolued, & till then shee denies her selfe, almost all thinges, of creature comforts,

there

Then ſhee deſires to be ſatiſfied what Liberty ſhee may vſe upon the Lordes day, and in what manner it ought to be kept, nowe in the time of the goſple;

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(No 117)

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These for my esteemed frend
Mr Backster preacher of
the gospell

My Lady Hollis Letter

Madam

The case of the person of whom you write is soe ordinary that its easily described, but not soe easily remedyed: which yet through gods mercy may be done, if shee be but able to follow the counsell that is given, and make any resistance against her owne infirmitys: In her case there is somewhat of gods mercy and something of her owne frailty: It is a very great mercy that shee is sensible of the evill of sin, the vanity of the world, the necessity of entire obedience to god, and is saved from ye common security, presumption and negligence of ye ungodly: And nothing must be done against this mercy and duty, on any pretence of curing her infirmity. By her infirmity I meane a setled Melancholy, occasioned partly through the weakness of her head, in the time of its surprisall: and partly through the seriousness of thoughts, and strength of passion, especially feare, and the perturbation which such passions and thoughts have caused in the fantasy, and spirits, which have contracted a habit injurious to ye free use of reason in ye particulars which it chiefly worketh on: As long as shee is melancholy, shee will be inwardly a tormentor of herselfe; all her thoughts will be vexatious scruples, or perplexing doubts, or selfe accusing, and selfe condemning tending to despaire, or else suggestions to blasphemy and unbeliefe against god, and ye scriptures, which are but ye malicious injections of satan upon ye speciall advantage yt melancholy giveth him without which he could not doe his worke: shee will thinke that all her lawfull comforts of life are unlawfull: And will be still tormenting herselfe for every word yt shee hath misplaced, for not doing more in prayer, meditation, and reproofe and other dutys: And after all conclude yt shee is graceless, miserable, and undone: These and an hundred such are ye ordinary workings of ye troublesome disease: as familiar symptomes of it, as thirst is of a feaver: and yet they all use to thinke yt never any was in yr case: And most of them will not beleive yt they are melancholy; but yt they are forsaken of god; and yt the day of grace is past, and such like thoughts doe continually possess them ‖ The disease is soe much in ye body yt reasoning alone will hardly cure it: and yet it is soe much in ye mind yt medicine alone will scarce suffice: And therefore both mind and body must be lookt to: yet I have knowne abundance cured by physicke alone, even by gentle purging with a potion of conveniently prepared, and taken two or three days a weeke for [illegible] weeks together: I advice her therefore in ye first place to commit herselfe under god to ye direction of some able experienced Physician who may see her, and be within reach for such variation of counsell as may be necessary: And supposing this I adde: 1. nothing yt I know of is better than to live in some constant Employment of a Callinge: shee must not live idly; but be exercised as far as strength will beare, in some businesse yt may take up both ye body and ye mind: If shee imagine yt it is a wronge to her soule by divertinge her thoughts from god, and takinge up her time, shee must know yt idlenesse is a sin, and an outward callinge is a duty: Noah yt was lord of all was a husbandman: And Adam in his state of innocency must dresse ye garden: while our soules are in flesh ye body must have employment suitable to it: And if it be not by necessary exercise kept in a right temper ye soule it selfe will be disenabled for its worke, as a man is for his journey that hath a lame or a tyred horse: And while shee thinkes shee should doe nothing but pray or read or such like holy exercises shee will find too soone yt shee will be made unfit to pray at all: By all meanes therefore as shee regardeth the health of her body, the safety and

of her soule, and the pleasinge of god let her be exercised mo
derately in ye oversight of her family and affaires; soe as most of
yt day to divert her mind from other thoughts (except such generall
ones or interveniant ones as beseemes us yt doe all for ye glory of god
And yt may stir her body as much as shee can beare:

2o Let not give way to fixed musing thoughts; but whenever such sur
prize her let her shake them of: or run into some company for d diver
sion: Meditation which is a greate and excelent duty to others yt
can beare it, is not duty now to her: but If shee should strive to
It, shee would but cast her thoughts into Confusion, and disable
herselfe more to yt duty and to all other:

3o Let her not be overlonge in secret prayer or readinge least be
fore shee is aware shee breake her thoughts in peeces: and be
disabled: but let her be most in dutys of society; in publi
family dutys, in instructinge her children or servants and prayin
with them when It is seasonable; and endeavouringe to doe g
to others || let her not be too much solitary, but in honest cheerf
Company as much as may be: For solitarynesse doth but give opp
tunity to unprofitable musinges which will increase the dis

4o Let her not blame her soule for ye proper effects of her diseas
any more than ye is cause: If melancholy disable her to meditat
read or pray or Conferre as shee desireth, let not this be
thought a signe of gracelessnes any more than If a Lethar
or palsy or Apoplexie or any other disease had disabled her:
god will not Condemne us for being sicke or diseased

5o Let her not give too much heed to ye inward apprehensions of he
owne heart, nor lay to greate a stresse uppon her owne feelin
and Conclusions and take them to be all from god:
Melancholy people usually too little gather ye mind of god from hi
written word, and too much observe ye sudden conceits & feelings
of ye owne hearts: and thinke yt all yt is said within them is spoken
god: If any terrible passage of scripture come into ye minds the
thinke It is god yt speaketh it to them, as ye owne case,
and soe they erroneously apply It uppon yt conceit: shee mus
know yt a troubled heart speaketh many thinges against Itselfe
which god never spake: And yt It is like ye sin of ye false prophe
to charge uppon god, ye words yt indeed are spoken by our selve
Nay It is satan many times, ye accuser of ye Brethren that
speaketh many of those thinges within us and against us, which we
are ready to say were spoken by ye lord to ye law and to ye te
mony: If ye gospell say to me, yt god will not heare my prayers or yt god hath forsaken me, and
yt ye day of grace is past I mu
believe It: But If Sattan and a Melancholy fancy say It again
ye encouragements of ye gospell I must abhorre It: It is as natura
for a Melancholy person to have sad thoughts of theire state as
If they were undone, almost as for a man to shake yt hath an
ague:

6o when ever any blasphemous or any despairing thoughts intrude, let
not allow ym parley or abode, but sodainly wth abhorrence cast ym out:
and turne to some Company or Employment yt may divert hir:
7o Let hir distinguish betweene Infirmitys and raigneing sins: and not
take ye former for ye latter: and let hir be sure to understand wherein sin-
cerity doth consist: viz: [that unfeigned Consent to ye Covenant
of grace yt God be our God and Christ or Saviour and ye holy ghost our
sanctifier and we his sanctified ones] is ye certaine evidence of our
Right to everlastinge life: and yt [what shee would be unfeig-
nedly yt shee is in Gods account] and yt [noe sin shall condemne hir
which shee had rather leave than keepe:] accordingly
let hir judghe of hir owne Condition:
8o Let hir get a skilfull holy faithfull pastor to open ye state
of hir soule to, and not bee too tenacious of hir owne opinion
or Confident of hir owne judghment, but (by a humane
beleife such as is due to physicians, lawyers and all men
in yr owne professions) let hir preferre yr judghment
before hir owne: and rest upon it till shee ~~be~~ fitter
to judghe of herselfe without them. // thus much for the
cure of hir distemper which lyeth much in hir owne
hands under god: If shee will doe hir best to performe
these few Directions and strive agt hir owne Infirmitys

Now as to ye Questions in ye paper:

1o outward comforts and pleasures must be soe far denyed as they
by pampering ye flesh tend to increase its lusts and provoke
us unto sin: and set up ye sensuall appetite above our faith and
reason: And they are soe far to be used as they fit our bodys
by strength or cheerefulness to serve our soules in our generall
or particular Callings: And therefore to deny any such Creature Com-
forts or delights to ourselves as further us in gods service is to
sin against him as our ruler and benefactour: If shee therefore
have made a promise to abstaine from all yt is unnecessary: shee
must know yt all is necessary which will helpe hir body and serve hir
soule for God: If shee have promised to hurt hir body and deny
yt which will disable hir for gods service, shee is noe more to
keepe yt promise, yn If shee had promised to deny provision to
hir Children, or food to ys yt are in want. And for outward busi-
ness shee will never please god, nor live healthfully and comfor-
tably, till shee make Conscience of livinge in an outward Callinge
yt is in some ordinary employment for ye body; tendinge to ye Com-
mon good: Religion is noe friend to Idleness in any, nor Idleness
any/ friend to sin in ye end, whatever it promiseth. And for ~~ye~~
apparell ye best rule is to follow ye fashions used by ye plainest, humblest
soberest persons of hir owne ranke: And in all thinges let hir cheerfully
please god as far as shee knoweth his will: And when shee
finds her failings, beleivingly and joyfully, as well as penitently to
cast hirselfe on Christ as hir sure remedy: And not to vex and
perplexe hirselfe with unprofitable scruples or Complaints:
shee would rather have hirselfe a servant yt would cheerfully
goe about hir worke though with some Imperfections than to
spend ye time in scruplinge and questioninge whether
shee should doe it this way or yt and sit downe weepinge
when shee should be workinge:

2o. [illegible] day is to bee kept as a day of holy Joy and thankfulne
for our redemption by Christ and all such provisions and Corpo
employments must be done as are needfull to promote ye Sp
rituall dutys and all such must be forborne as hinder ye holy
dutys of ye day: Christ saith, ye priests in ye temple breake the
sabbath (that is ye outward rest of it) and are blameless: The rin
ginge of a bell or other employment of such officers is lawfull
in order to ye publike worship: ye wearinge of better Apparell an
ordinary and moderate feasting are justly taken to be lawfull and
meet on a day of thanksgiving wch is ~~to god~~ devoted to god: And ye lords
day is a day of thanksgiving: And feastinge cannot be used without
yt labours of some: yet because our Joy should be spirituall ye
best way is to avoide both all excess and such feastinge as ma
disturbe ye spirituall worke and also all such abstinence as i
contrary to ye nature of ye day: and rest must be regarded soe far a
it furthereth ye holy joy and other dutys of ye day: but not Jew
-ishly for it selfe: and when one servant is hindred from publike
worship, for ye benefit of many, theire loss should be repaired b
other helps: And givinge them liberty at other times: Christian
prudence in contrivinge advantages for our soules, and chearfull dilig
in obeying gods will soe far as we know it is ye course of
wise well tempered christians: as carnality and negligence is ye wa
of ye ungodly: and selfe perplexing unprofitable scruples and
fears and sorrows and complaints is ye way of ye sicke yt are
weake and out of joynt though upright: and yt are tormented
by satan here because he cannot torment you hereafter.
I only adde yt it is not ye love of temporall life yt must be
spring or principall cause of duty, but ye beliefe of eve
lasting Joys & miserys yt are at hand: and ye feare and ye lov
of God himselfe and a desire to please and glorify him
our obedience. The lord resolve and ease and comfort
& satisfy this troubled soule and all his servants.

I rest
Madam yr humble and willing servant to
his power R B

To the Right Honble the Lady Hollis

ffor my euer Honoured frind
Mr Baxter minister of ye
Gospell at
Kederminster
thes

expres the terror my soule will sumtimes bee in, it will not be long before I must
look Death in the face, as is my travaile to mee & espechally my weakness in lying in I thought
the Last time I was willing to dye but when indeed all thought Death had seised one mee
and stood Lamenting by mee, then upon the co[illegible]ations I have mentsioned my very
heart trembled & meethought sathan told mee as once to saule this day thou shalt bee
with mee; I beged of the Lord a repreveall that I might yet have more time to work out
my salvations in, thinkeing if I had but one yeare more I would even bee upon my
knees night and day and give ~~[illegible]~~ my soule noe rest tell I could asuredly say my
beloued is mine and I am his, how did I think to mend my conversation to all relations
and espechally to bee much with the Lord but Dear Sr the time is sliped away and I am
now coming to ye same triall twas a wonder of mercy I skaped then, I may not now,
oh beg the Lord to apeare for mee, I beg not lif ~~e~~ except ye Lord would use mee in his hand
to doe sum good more then I have done, but I beg that I may have sum since of ye goodness
of ye Lord of my intrest in him which may make death not seeme terible to mee, and that
whilst I am in this ensnaring world I may bee kept from the snares of it, Sr my husband
presents his kind respects & servis to you; desiering the Lord of heaven to requiteall
your Labour of Love to mee I remaine

Your asured friend & servant
Mary Rogers

September ye 16th:
Captayn Taylour presents his servis to you

Honoured Sr

haveing sum ocations to send neere you my
grate respect obligeth mee to send to inquier how
it is with you, seing your health and any hopes
that yet the Lord will Lend you to his poor church
is esteemed by mee a grate mersy knowing how the
Lord is pleased to bles your endeavors I doe believe
the children unborne will have ocations to prayse ye
Lord for you, who hath made good his word good that
your Labour is not in vaine, in him, as to my poore
barren soule I may well set my seale to this truth
your book of mortificatione (of crucifying this
world) hath peirsed into the secrets of my soule and
shewed mee mine iniquity, the Lord yet Lay mee Lowe in
my owne eyes that I may abhor my self for minding
carnall things, oh how my thoughts are hurried up and
downe the world and in the crowde serious heavenly
th mediations can find Litle roome, would my God but
help mee out of this snare that I might set my
affections more one heavenly things (if I know my
owne heart) my aprooching hasardas time would
not make my heart troubled, I find indeed that
sin is the sting of death, for when I am consider
ing of a parting howre I am thinking the Lord
visiting mee that I could willingly enough Leave
my dear Husband, my poore children, and all
enjoyments to goe to my dearest redeemer, but
then when I consider the Lord hath saide they
that are far from him shall perish, and how
far I am from him in my thoughts, though still

me thinks I heare a voyce ringing in my eares how long shall vaine thoughts lodge
within thee, when I consider how little I have done for God since ye Lord hath changed
my condition, and when ye creature is neer thee affections will be risen, truly I
seekes the terror in my soule will sumtimes be in [illegible] will not the [illegible]

expres the terror my soule will sumtimes bee in, it will not bee long before I must
look death in the face, as is my travaile to mee & espeshally my weakenes in lying in I thought
the last time I was willing to dye but when indeed all thought death had seised one mee
and stood lamenting by mee, then upon the co[illegible]ations I have mentsioned my very
heart trembled & mee thought sathan told mee as once to saule this day thou shalt bee
with mee; I beged of the Lord a repreiveall that I might yet have mor time to work out
my salvations in, thinkeing if I had but one yere more I would even bee upon my
knees night and day and give ~~[illegible]~~ my soule nor rest tell I could asuredly say my
beloved is mine and I am his, how did I think to mend my conversation to all relations
and espechally to bee much with the Lord but dear sr the time is slipped away and I am
now coming to yr same triall twas a wonder of mercy I scaped then, I may not now,
oh beg the Lord to apeere for mee, I beg not life except yr Lord would use mee in his hand
to doe sum good more then I have done, but I beg that I may have sam since of yr goodnes
of Lord of my interest in him which may make death not seeme terible to mee, and that
whilst I am in this ensnaring world I may bee kept from the snares of it, sr my husband
presents his kind respects & servis to you; desireing the Lord of heaven to requiteall
your labour of love to mee I remaine

your asured friend & servant
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September ye 16th:
Captayn Taylour presents his servis to you :

Honoured Sr

haveing sum ocations to send neere you my greate respect oblligeth mee ~~to~~ send to inquier how it is with you, seing your health and any hopes that yet the Lord will lend you to his poor church is esteemed by mee a greate mersy knowing how the Lord is pleased to bles your endeavors I doe believe the children unborne will have ocations to praise ye Lord for you, who hath made good his word ~~good~~ that your Labour is not in vaine, in him, as to my poore barren soule I may well set my seale to this truth. your book of mortificatione (of crucifying this world) hath peirsed into the secrets of my soule and shewed mee mine iniquity, the Lord yet lay mee lower in my owne eys that I may obhor my self for mindeing carnall things, oh how my thoughts are hurried up and downe the world and in the crowde serious heavenly ~~th~~ meditations can find little roome, would my God but help mee out of this snare that I might set my affections more one heavenly things (if I know my owne heart) my aprooching hasardous time would not make my heart troubled, I find indeed that sin is the sting of death, for when I am considering of a parting howre I am thinking the Lord visiting mee that I could willingly enough leave my dear Husband, my poore children, and all enioyments to goe to my dearest redeemer, but then when I consider the Lord hath saied they that are far from him shall perish, and how far I am from him in my thoughts, though still

me thinks I heere a voyce ringing in my ears how long shall vaine thoughts Lodge
within you, when I considar how Litle I have done for God since ye Lord hath changed
my conditione, and wheras ye creature is new the affections will be new, truly Sr I
expres the terror my soule will sumtimes be in, it will not [illegible] I cant

(No 114) (1)

No 104 (1)

I thank you for ye continuance of yor xtian Love expressed by this kind remembrance, bec I am in hope yt it worketh for me in yor most usefull remembrance wn you are before ye Lord. By undeserved mercy abundance have vouchsafed me their prayers, even yt knew me not; & by prayer hath God upheld me untill now: many yt prayed daily for me are lately dead: when ye rest through customariness grow cold, I shall be gone. Let my experience perswade you (& yor owne much more) to trust God cheerfully in yor greatest straites, especially while prayer is kept alive. Death in itselfe is still an enemy; for it is ye last yt Xt by or Resurrection hath to overcome. If it had not bin a naturall evill it had not bin fitt to be ye matter of a penalty: but is not yt life desireable yt is beyond it? to be uncloathed is or trouble but to be cloathed againe wth or house from heaven, is yt wch we should earnestly groane after. If you find not these desires so forward as you would have them, see yt you hinder ym not by yor misapprehensions of God, & jealousyes & causeles doubtings of his Love, wch he hath so long & largely testifyed: especially see yt you fix one eye upon a Crucifyed Christ, yt by his Cross hath removed yor guilt & impedimts, & ye other eye on a Glorifyed Christ, yt is preparinge a place for you, & you (by his Spirit) for yt place, & will take you to himselfe, yt where he is, there you may be also. I have savoured more ye Reason of ye mystery of Redemption of late upon ~~this~~ account, yn heretofore. In or present state of mortality & sin, we are little capable of positive apprehensions of yt pure Godhead, wch is infinite & incomprehensible: And therefore hath God appeared in flesh, yt he might be neerer us, & a more familiar object for or thoughts. And so we so frequently find yt or removall from ye flesh is or passage into yt state where we are said to be with the Lord, & with Christ. Had it not bin higher to say, yt we shall be wth ye Godhead. O but it is God condescendinge & meetinge us in flesh halfe way, yt is most suited to be ye attractive of or present Desire; though ye pure Deity will yn be ye highest object of or fruition. When I have looked & longed for some more cleere & positive apprehension of ye blessed state of separated soules, I could have none yt satisfyed me, till I came to Xt & fastened upon yt word, yt we shall be wth Christ. For I can have positive apprehensions of his person, & some satisfaction in his office & his Love: The beloved Apostle wn he had said, It doth not yet appeare wt we shall be, is yet satisfyed in knowinge yt we shall be like him, & see him as he is, 1 Joh. 3.2. Christ is ye head & Center of holy soules. It is enough yt he knoweth whither & to wt state he will take us, though we have but a darke & generall knowledge of it. If my dearest friend were ye Lord of another country, if I had never seene that country myselfe, I could have pleasant thoughts of it as ye place of his residence & could be content to goe to him. Where should I be? where should I wish to be but wth Xt? He is preparinge for us, & doinge or worke now as certainly in Heaven as he did on earth. Our abode here is short; & his abode here in doinge ye lower part of his worke for us was short: but he hath a longer worke to doe for us in ye heavens, where we must make or long abode. There he hath taken possession in or nature, & allready gathered millions of purifyed soules unto himselfe. There are abundance of my old companions, yt sought him on earth by faith & prayer, & pressed on in fervent diligence, & waited in patience & selfe denyall. & where should I desire to be but there. O yt we could study better a Glorifyed as well as a Crucifyed Christ, till or hearts were wth him, & or wills were swallowed up in his will! Do not ye Head & members make one Body? & should one body have two wills? Let it satisfye you yt you are wholly in ye hands & at ye will of Xt. If you were wholly at ye will of yor husband, or but of me yt am yor more distant friend, I am confident you would not feare: you would easily beleive yt we would do you no harme though you knew not wt we [illegible] to doe. Its hard yt Xt canot have better thoughts from us, yn a fraile [illegible] insufficient friend! And yt after such [illegible] discoveryes of Love he [illegible]

[illegible] beloved to have more love for us, yn a sinfull man! And yt Love itselfe shou be so low in or apprehensions wch it hath bin ye very designe of Redemption to glorifye as much as Creation glorifyeth power. My hast forbids me speakinge more to you these things yt I am sure you knew long agoe! But I remind you of ym yt you use ym in this time of yor necessity. Sweeten yor thoughts of eternall life wth the remembrance of yor glorifyed Lord, yt hath made it his worke to conduct you th And in yor straites remember whose hands you are in, & how little cause you have t feare. I hope you will find it better wth you in ye houre of yor necessity yn you ha formerly done or yn yor feares suggest. But I am confident you are to be disposed by yt Will & Love where yor soule may rest to all eternity. To wch I recom you, & shall do in my weake prayers, remaininge

Sept. 17.
1658.

Yor faithfull friend & Servant.
Ri: Baxter

To Mris Mary Rogers wife to Colonell
Rogers Gobornor of Hereford

114 (2)

1

Worthie Sir I thought hit better to write my thoughts
then to speake to you in words ffirst at the cominge
downe from London of the Ladie Littelton I went to see her
shee ffell into a bitter rage ffor puttinge off
Mr Mose ffrom Arley and told me that you did
affirme that Mr Stead had never your consent to
come to Arley, but that you weare of Judgment
Arley was only ffitte ffor Mr Mose which hath so
heitned her that shee doth thinke all those, especially
me whom shee doth think doth & all at Arley, that
shee and her ffamily are in the bitterest rage at
me ~~and all~~ ~~that~~ unlesse ~~hit~~ weare my landlords the
Dean and Chapter ffor bringinge you to Kidderminster
I never had to doe with the like business, shee would
not beleeve me that you did at all assent to Mr Steads
cominge to Arley, but in her rage spoke against me
as a lier and the unworthiest person livinge and
~~that~~ I was not ffitte to have a hand to place a minister
at Arley, much more you at Kidderminster whom ffor
takinge part with her against me in effect, shee did
high extoll, now sir this is a very sad business that
you should joyne with us ffor the placinge Mr Stead
at Arley, and to bee so offended with me ffor
puttinge him off ffrom Arley that you have been
strange with me ever since, yea and threatned
to sue me ffor tythes, yea and would I thinke yf
you durst and yet yf my Ladie Littelton say true
you denigh all to her, and say you ar only ffor Mr Mose
yea and weare readie to testifie ffor him without
advisinge with me or anie other of the religious parti
at Arley, which wee put him off, should Mr Dance you
professore have doone worse then this whom went about
out to put you in his roome. doe not you remember
~~that~~ I kept quiete my sonn for the complayninge
of you for takinge part with [illegible] against him
and will you not leave takinge a part with them
still especially against me who have loved you upon
yf hit bee lawfull to speak truth was your first
patron as hit will ~~appeare~~ playnly appeare by this I
shall write

124

when my selfe and about 3 or 4 of the 23 [illegible] of Kidderminster and as manie of the fforayners
did joyne togeather to get a godly minister and to put out Mr Dance hit was ffor the good of Kidderminster
and not ffor my selfe [illegible] sometime after wee had brought Mr Dance to Consent and the
[illegible] were sought out ffor a godly minister, but would appeare about hit
some weare vehement to have Mr [illegible] after there had been some thoughts about this business my
selfe sitinge at Mr [illegible] house as ~~chiefe~~ of that Counsell told them I would [illegible]
[illegible] me

[illegible] best endever to perswad Sir [illegible] Clocker and his mother to [illegible]
while you know caus to the contrary and ffarther to write to [illegible] to fforbear
writing [illegible] and lies [illegible] me to his ladies house which agravat the matter very much
these things I hope you will take into your serious consideration and as I have been ffrind
to you so you will be true in this business and asure your self hit is my desire to be your
tru and ffaythffull ffrind to sarve you

John Corlyn

on to them and named you they had never heard of you
beefore I ~~told them~~ I had heard you preach at Bewdly
and ~~that~~ you had been at my house and had preached
a Sabath at Asly and whilst wee were advisinge
about hit at mr Wass house there came in Serjant
Tirball of Bewdly I told them hee had heard you
preach at Bewdly and asked him yf hee did not
remember you hee answered hee did and that you
were a man without exception yet ffor the love
they had to mr Dance this would not take with
them after ffarther studie at another meetinge
I prest on the businesse and sayd I had found out a way
I hoped ffor the best Good to ~~his~~ have you and mr Dance
both. and sayd I could remember a thursdy ~~lec~~
lecter and that wee would restore hit by haveinge
hit preacht by mr Dances and you this motion did take
and ~~the~~ the order was taken to call you to Kidderminster
which I left to them ~~f~~ the worke beinge doon I onely
yea and at the leysure at Wooster I think I was hee
that procured your returne now this beinge so an
cannot bee denied was I not your patron you having
no place elswhere I never looked ffor a reward
of you nor of Kidderminster ffor whom hit coste
me a deall of monie ffor the effectinge this busines
ffor there good and yours; now Sir I desire you to think
of what I have writ and what a wrath of my landlord
the dean and chapter and in the wars of the ~~the Warre~~
~~I~~ underwent ffor you, and now that ~~I~~ you should
joyne with this great house at Asly against the
Godly people at Asly and myselfe who served
with the greatest hazard ~~the~~ of there lives and landes
wealth to get them a Godly minister and you to bee
ffor there chapteren against us and never enquire
of anie of us whie wee did ~~[illegible]~~ hime
did the Godly people of Asly know this action of
yours what would they think of you nay were but
this put in print what would all the Godly minister
and people ~~[illegible]~~ of this nation that have you
thereafter judg you to bee

uppon consideration of what I have write my desire to you is that you would take
some paines to make upp this breach with the Ladie Litolton and to informe her that
all that myselfe and those that I ioyne with me seeke ~~[illegible]~~ haveinge got maynteynance passinge
is to get us a ffaythfull Godly minister and doe wish her and her house the like as to
our ~~[illegible]~~ selves and ~~that~~ she will bee ffriendly amongst us as heartofore and allso to doe
your best endevor to perswad sir Henry Litolton and his mother to remove mr Osford who
[illegible] you know cause to the contrary and ffarther to write to mr Moss to fforbeare

For his reverent ffreind
Mr Richard Baxter
minister at Kidderminster
these with trust

Mr Corbin. Spen 2

I receiued yor Letter from Mr Vashland: & truly I know not wt answere to
returne you yt is like to satisfye you & my conscience. If I please my conscience
I must displease you; If I please you I must displease my conscience. But my
conscience is neerer me yn you. You may remember neere Haberly, before the
warres as we walkt together I gaue you a plaine admonition concerninge yor
most palpable way of ostentation & seekinge yor owne glory, & thereby discouer-
inge yt pride of heart wch I thought should cause you to question yor selfe very far.
But still you goe on in such notorious Thrasonicall weaknes, yt a man of
ordinary braines would restraine though he had no grace. Still you are boast-
inge of yor selfe & yor deeds, & some very great benefactor to us you must be,
& now forsooth you are my Patron? & why so? you called me &c. yea you are
againe my Patron for recallinge me when I had no place! weake man! Is
every man my Patron yt desireth or inviteth me? I take my selfe beholden to you
for nothinge but yor loue, in this busynes. Did I come, or do I stay at Kederminster
for want of a place? When I came first I forsooke ye motion of ye best place
in Shrewsbury (my natiue country, a richer & more eminently religious people)
to come hither. When you say you last desired my returne, I was offered my
choice of vacant places in 4 Countyes, & one place reputed 500l p annum, and
many of 300l. I purposely kept my selfe unplaced all ye warres for loue of
my people, yt I might be free to returne to ym. And did my loue to ym draw me
to take here 90l p annum (for yts my share) wn I was offered 500l, & am I beholden
to you as my Patron? It beseemes me not to say ye open truth, yt sure my people
were beholden to me! Haue you euer lost 300l p annum for ye Church or loue
of yor friends; & were hitt in ye teeth with it wn you had done, as if you were
beholden to ym? Do you thinke I canot in worldly respects be quickly better
provided for then here, if I could leaue my friends yt are so deare to me. And
for whose sake do I thus deny myselfe? Truly much more for ye sake of many a
humble godly man in Kederminster yt hath scarce bread to his mouth, yn for yors.
And had I no humbler neighbors, in wm I could take spirituall comfort, yn you are, ye
Lord knowes, I would packe up & be gone if I had here many 100l more yn I haue.
I neuer came hither nor returned hither any more for yor sake yn for ye sake
of many a ragged Christian in towne. Do you thinke I know not my owne mind
better yn you? And wt did moue me? Or are you so weake as to thinke yt I came
hither for any worldly advantage, or could not haue returned without you? Sir I
beseech you get a humbler soule before you dye, or else I would not dye in yor
case for all ye world. Most yt I heare speake of you marke yor proud ostenta-
tion, as ridiculous in yor comon talke: & yet you either see it not yor selfe, or
reforme it not. If this faithfullnes fret you, yet remember another day yt
you were admonished. // As for your insinuation of yor sons forbearinge me,
it is so disingenious & inhumane yt you should not only be so unthankfull to me
for my forbearance of yor son, & ye furtherance of him to my power yt I used,
but also requite me wth such venemous intimations yt I must needs tell you
(in so high a cause) I regard not wt you or he or all ye malice on earth can
do in yt busynes, or any thinge of yt nature. I will not say I defye you, least
you thinke yt I urge you to iniquity: And yet yor unworthy intimation shall not
provoke me to open yor sons course till it be yor doinge. // As for any thinge yt I
haue receiued from you, I will restore it double wn you will, for I euer
valued my beinge beholden to you, at thrice ye worth of any thinge I receiued
because I knew I was like to heare of it, if I had bin yor debtor. // As for
ye Lady Littleton I neuer spoke wth her or any of hers to my remembrance
(but in curtesye in ye high way) but once in my life wch

yeares agoe about a sicke servant: but never of you. But wt to any other
I have spoken of you is lesse yn ye truth & no more; wch wn ever you desire
I will come & make good before ye Lady L. & you. For any words betweene hir
& you I am not responsible for ym. For yor businesse wth hir I will not med-
dle in it, nor any other yt you have a peculiar hand in, further yn there is a necessi
If you report (as yor words here seeme to intimate) yt I either joyned wth you
for placeinge Mr Read at Arely wthout ye peoples consent, or yt I now joyne
for any other, or oppose you, you will but adde much falshood to ye rest of
yor sin. I left Mr Reade to himselfe: I still told you I should not consent
yt he came thither wthout ye peoples consent: I told you it would do much to
frustrate his labors. I advised from ye begininge to goe in a way of unity. My
fixed advice to you was, yt ye Lady L. should choose 4 ministers, & ye other, 4.
more, & all should promise to accept of ye man yt those should name. Did you not
last come hither wth all yor indignation, upon this very supposition, openly here
exclaiminge agt him, amonge other things, for denyinge privately to be admitted be-
fore he had askt ye Lady & others consent? // That I certifyed for Mr Mosse
without advisinge wth you or others therein is a haynous crime! so I do for
many another in ye yeare. It was not for Arely but for Abbotsly. I told him
yt I would not have certifyed for him for Arely: And Mr Casland did yt & more,
I thinke justly: who bound me to advise wth you? // Yor story [of my being
so offended wth you for puttinge off Mr Read from Arely] is an unworthy fals-
hood: were there not witnesses enow by, yt know he put off himselfe by my
charge upon him? & yt my expostulations wth you were only for yor reproachfull
accusations of him, & defaming him & secretly writinge agt him, & never for puttinge him
off. Do not enow know yt he was invited to preach there but by turnes wth another
& yt I told him againe & againe yt he were best not goe too oft wthout a call, lest
ye people should thinke he was obtrudinge himselfe to be their minister. And its another
unworthy falshood yt you intimate, yt hence I threatned to sue you for tythes
& would if I durst, both are false: I never threatned you: nor I never mentioned
yor tythes but wth others of ye like nature; enquiringe only wt was due, & I
remember not yt ever I spake a word of suinge you: but if I did, I am
sure it was but as you were comprehended in ye generall. Its well knowne yt
I desired in generall those friends yt gather tythes to take none of ye unable, &
for ye rest to recover ym by ye Justices, & not to keepe a peny of ye mony, but
give all recovered theirs & mine to ye poore. And wt cause have I to feare ye like wth you, if
there had bin cause! I challenge you to prove if you can yt ever I said [Mr
Corbin payeth me not his due] And is it like I should threat to sue you before
ever I tooke you for my debtor. That I joyne wth ye great ones ~~Landlords~~ at Arely agt
ye godly people & you is another grosse falshood. I never to my best remembrance
said more for Mr Mosse to any other yn I did to yorselfe. nay yn I have heard
you say. As for ye taske of speakinge & writinge to ye Lady, Mr Mose &c yt you
put upon me, you shall better prove yor patronage & Episcopall power too
before I obey you in medlinge wth yor matters. But againe I offer to meet
ym & you wn you desire it, to open ye truth of my speeches & actions, wch I will
not thanke you to conceale; but will tell you where you may have a printer
if you meane to print ym. I ~~aske~~ beseech you humble yor soule before God for the
many untruths here written wth yor hand; & read againe the terrible passages of Christ
Mat. 6. ~~agains~~ against those hypocrites yt are ambitious of ye praise of men: ye summe is yt they have
their reward ~~here~~ & shall have none from ~~[illegible]~~ God ~~for all their good workes~~ but
(ye portion of hypocrites) You say you [never looked for a ~~[illegible]~~ reward of
me or of Kidderminster] for wch I wonder! It seemes you doe lookt for praise! but
have you such ignorant contemptuous thoughts of ye ministry yt you thinke wn they spend
ymselves for mens soules, as judginge not life or labor or estate too deare, they yet owe you

a reward for yor patience or consent? yea though they deny many 100 p anum & spend many 100l more yn they receive from ye place? I do not thinke you would beleive yt you owed a reward yorself to him yt called you to such lownes: (yet owe I to God unspeakable thankes, euen for my mercyes in this place, wch are better yn money, but I haue ym not from you): wt euer I am, it is for this people: you force me to play ye foole & yet to imitate Paul in this Apology, to conuince you of ye vanity of yor thoughts. But you say [it cost you a deale of money for effectinge this businesse]. Possibly you might contribute wth ye rest to deale agt Mr Dance & his Curate, but how it should cost you a deale of money or a shillinge, to bringe me hither first or last, I do not yet understand, nor did I euer heare a word of it. Surely I was not hired hither, nor any bribed for me yt I know of, nor did I liue so far off as yt it should cost much to seeke after me; nor were any at ye charge of presentation or institution or induction. But if you will come for it, this weeke, I will repay you, not only all yt euer I receiued this way of you, but alsoe all ye Tythes yt euer you payd me or any for me (wch I thinke is 2s 6d p anum) & all yt any other way I receiued of you: & this shall be from me yor reward. And once more to conuince you yt I owe ye Reward of my returne to others & not to you, Enquire whether I had not many score of my neighbors wth me in ye warres: some goinge wth me into Garrisons, & some went wth me in a Troop into ye feild, & many & many a time ventured their liues; some taken prisoners, some dead, some slaine, some wounded, many safe returned home; & it was they yt sticke to me & I to ym; resoluinge yn in the warres yt if euer God restored us I would not forsake ym, if now they forsooke not him & me. And do you thinke yt these my faithfull people, yt purposely went wth me (through so many yeares warres & dangers & sufferings) to engage me not to leaue ym, had not a greater hand in my returne, yn you yt say [you first motioned my returne at ye Leager at Worcester:] ffirst sir: you know not it seemes the fidelity & conuerse of yor poore neighbors & me. Did you thinke yt of (I thinke) some hundreds yt went wth & after me to ye warres, there had bin noman motioned my returne! These were my Patrons, if my faithfull people be my Patrons. I speake it not in passion or contempt of you, but yt ye judgment of a Minister, though unworthy, may helpe you to selfsuspicion & humiliation: Truly, though I beleiue here are many very much worse yn you, & though you are a Gentleman, & they are here most poore yet if all Kederminster Towne & Parish, were as good as you & none better (though its like you would thinke it ye best Parish on earth) I thinke I should leaue ym wthin a few weekes or months. This speakes not any want of Loue to you, for my heart is open to him yt knoweth yt I unfeignedly loue you & desire yor good: But I canot judge you humble & selfdenyinge till you are so, or seeme to be so at least: And as God delighteth in ye humble, & beholdeth ye Proud afar off, so doth he dispose his servts to do. I know men of yor temp use to thinke ye Reprouer to be Proud, yt will deale so plainly wth ym. But sharper reprouers yn I haue bin much humbler yn I; & I shall willingly receiue conuictions of my sin, from you or any yt will helpe me to discouer ym. If God show you yorself & humble you I shall much rejoice. If he do not, I confidently expect, yt this plaine answere will prouoke you but to passion & reproach & open defamation of me & cause you to run deeper into sin: wch will be harder in ye end, for you to beare, yn now to me: though I hope I shall not be void of compassion towards you. I read yor Letter (because unsealed) to Mr Sasland & Mr Jackson only, & most of this answere before I sent it, lest I should be ouerseene myselfe.

I rest

Yor faithfull though displeasinge freind
Rich: Baxter

Aug. 18. 1658.

Sr The many obligations laid upon me by ye kindnes of yor Parents, & ye last request
of yor mother on yor behalfe, comand me to make knowne my thoughts to you concernin
yor present & everlastinge state. I know ye Grace of God is free, & yt many Parents are in
Heaven, whose Children are in hell: But yet some respect ye mercy of God hath to
Children for their Parents sakes; wch puts me in some hope of you: & for myselfe, I can-
not thinke of yor mother, whose soule is now wth God, without a stronge affection to her of-
spring; wch will not suffer me to see you perish, in utter silence, & to forbeare my admonition
how ungratefull soever it may seeme to yor corruption. I have long enquired after yor
wellfare, & from ye voice of fame I heard a very sad report of you, yt you were quite
given up to drinkinge, sportinge, idle company & courses, in flatt licentiousnes, in yor dis-
obedience to yor father, to ye greife of his heart, & yt as you were a Child wn you should
have bin a man, so now you grow worse yn man or Child; so yt yor ffather was purpo-
sed to marry & disinherit you, yt he might leave his estate to such a ——. I was
loth to credit this report; but made further enquiry of some yt I knew to be yor friends
& all confirmed it: so yt I am in great feares lest it be true. Sr, beleive it, these lines
are not begun to you without teares! Alas, yt ye only son, ye (too much) beloved darlinge
of my deare deceased friend, should prove a wretch, an insensible neglecter of God, and
his salvation, & an heir of everlastinge misery (without Conversion)! Shall ye soule of such
an affectionate carefull mother see you in damnation? Shall ye heart of a lovinge ffather
who lookt for much of his earthly comfort in you, have his greatest earthly sorrow from
you? Is it not sorrow enough to him to part wth halfe himselfe, but he must see his only son
as lost & dead while he is alive? Sr, if you canot feele words, you shall shortly have yt
wch will make you feele: wt! Is yor heart become a stone? Have you so lately seene
ye face of Death in a deceased mother, & do you no better bethinke you of yor owne? I
beseech you, for ye sake of her yt charged you by her last words to you, to be ruled by me
nay I beseech you for ye sake of God & of yor soule, yt you would take these lines (a litle into yor
private serious thoughts; if you know how to be serious; & yt you will not proceed any further
in yor folly, till you can tell how to answere ye Questions wch I shall putt to you. Sr wt do
you thinke on? Do you not beleive yt ye infinite God beholdeth you? & yt you live in his
presence? Is Gods presence nothinge to you! Are you affected wth nothinge but wt you see
Do you live only by sence & not by faith? Say not so without an acknowledgmt of brui-
tishnes: Doe not so, unless you will disowne yor manhood. I beseech you tell me, Do you
ever thinke of dyinge & of wt followes? If not? wt shift do you make to overcome
yor witt ~~& sence itselfe~~ so far as to forgett it? If you do? wt shift make you to o-
vercome yor witt & sence itselfe so far as to disregard it? Can yor guilty soule endure
the terrors of an offended Majesty? Is it nothinge to be condemned by ye most holy God to
Everlastinge torments? Sr you are best bethinke you quickly who you have to do wth.
It is not only an earthly ffather yt you offend, but you are a creature & a subject of the
eternall majesty! you owe him yor highest love & obedience, & he will have it, or he will
have yor heart blood for it. He will make you know yorselfe & know yor maker, and
know his lawes & know yor duty, or he will make you howle in endless misery for it
You may make bold wth a man like yorselfe, but be not too bold wth ye consuminge fire.
The Sun is darknesse in comparison of his Glory: The Heavens & Earth are but as a hand-
breadth in comparison of his infinitenes. Thousands & tenthousands of glorious Angells are
prayshinge & servinge him, while such a thinge as you are slightinge, forgettinge & disobeying
him. And do you thinke he will long putt up this at yor hands? If you dare take
yor Prince by ye throat, If you dare play wth a raginge hungry Lyon, yet do not
play wth ye wrath of God. If you dare venture on fire or water, yet beware more
witt yn to venture on hell fire. Do you thinke these are but empty words? Beleive
you not a life to come? If you do not, yor unbeleife shall not secure yor escape, but
experience shall convince you, & make you in despight of you, beleive or confess, yt there
is an endless life yt you should have provided for. If you do beleive it? are you out
of yor witts, man, to beleive one thinge & do another? to beleive, yt you are neere to
heaven or hell, & yet make light of it. O Sir, it is but a few dayes yt you have to
take yor fleshly pleasure in, but its long & long indeed yt you must suffer for it, if
speedy sound conversion prevent it not! How many yeares must yor rotten flesh
& bones lye in ye earth, while yor soule is payinge deare for yor villanies! And how
many millions of yeares after must soule & body lye in hell? will you yet take comfort in

the remembrance of yor present pleasures? will it ease yor torments, thinke you, to remember yt once you had yor will, & once you gratifyed yor flesh? Sr deale plainly & not deceitfully wth yorselfe. Are you considerately resolved to sell all yor hopes of heaven for yor pleasures? Are you resolved of it? Will you make so mad a bargaine? Will you venture upon hell for a little sensuall delight? If this be yor deliberate Resolution, you be not worthy ye name of a man, nor worthy to come into ye Company of men: If it be not? wt meane you to do it? The Governor & Judge of ye world hath told you, yt [They yt are after ye flesh, do mind ye things of ye flesh, & they yt are after the Spirit, ye things of ye Spirit. For to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life & peace. because ye carnall mind is enmity agst God; for it is not subject to ye Law of God, neither indeed can be. So yn they yt are in ye flesh canot please God. ye are not in ye flesh but in ye Spirit, if so be yt ye Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not ye Spirit of Xt, he is none of his: For if ye live after ye flesh ye shall dye: but if ye through ye Spirit do mortifye ye deeds of ye body, ye shall live.] Rom. 8. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 13. [Now ye workes of ye flesh are manifest, wch are Adultery, fornication, uncleannes, lasciviousnes, — drunkenes, revellings & such like of wch I tell you before, as I have told you in times past, yt they wch do such things shall not inherit ye Kingdome of God]. Gal. 5. 19. 21. [This I say therefore & testifye in ye Lord, yt you henceforth walke not as other Gentiles in ye vanity of their mind having ye understanding darkened, beinge alienated from ye life of God by ye ignorance yt is in yem, because of ye blindnes of their heart; who being past feeling have given yms over to lasciviousnes, to worke all uncleannes wth greedines. But put off concerninge ye former conversation, ye old man yt is corrupt, accordinge to ye deceitfull lusts; & be renewed in ye spirit of yor mind, & yt you put on ye new man, wch after God, is created in righteousnes & true holynes] Eph. 4. 17. 18. 19. 22. 23. 24. [Walke honestly as in ye day not in ryottinge & drunkenes, not in chamberinge & wantones not in strife & envyinge, but put ye on ye Lord Jesus Xt & make not provision for ye flesh, to fullfill ye lusts thereof.] Rom. 13. 13. 14. [But yt evill servant yt shall say in his heart, my Lord delayeth his cominge, & shall begin to smite his fellow servants & to eate & drinke wth ye drunken, ye Lord of yt servt shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, & in an houre yt he is not ware of, & shall cutt him asunder & appoint him his portion, wth ye hypocrites, there shall be weepinge & gnashinge of teeth] Matth. 24. 48. 49. 50. 51. Sr all these, and an hundred more such, are ye true words of God, wch I mind you of, yt you may see who it is yt you are so bold wth, & wt it is yt you cast yor soule on. Jest not wth damnation! Hearken not to ye suggestions of yor vaine Imagination, nor to ye deceitfull words of pratinge sensualists, wn yu set ye words of God agt yem. Remember who you are & where you stand. Though you are a Gentleman, you are but a lumpe of walkinge dirt, as to yt bodily pt wch you pamper: you are continually in ye hand of God! How afraid am I, lest I should heare ere long of yor death, & so you should be past recovery in hell & out of ye reach of warnings & advice! And wt a base dishonor is it to yor understanding yt you should sett so high an estimate on ye sordid delights of yor fleshly mind as to cast away God & Xt & Heaven, & soule & friends, & credit & conscience & all for ym. Why, Sr, Is it really yor Judgmt yt yor fleshly pleasures are worth all these? If it be? wt a blind & sottish mind have you! I dare say & professe, yt no man in Bedlam hath a greater error. If it be not yor Judgmt, will you goe agt yor owne Judgment? why in this you are farre worse yn any beast: for a beast hath no reason to rule his appetite, & he disobeyeth not his reason: but you have reason, if you will not stifle & bury it, but use it. wt is it yt you love so much better yn God, Xt, ye heaven & all? Is it drinke & play & fleshly pleasure! Why a Heathen, a Turke, a Dog, a Swine hath his part in these as well as you. Take it not ill yt I speake to you in so plaine & homely a phrase. I tell you, ye day is even at hand, wn yor tongue shall confesse yt I spoke not halfe so ill of yor way of folly as it doth deserve. You have read in Luk. 16. of him yt was tormented in hell [illegible] he had his good things in this life, in gay cloathinge & delicious fare: And how much worse yn this do you? O Sir, Remember sin is deceitfull, ye flesh is base, ye world is worthlesse; pleasures here are short: but God is of infinite pfection; heaven is a certaine durable possession; holynes is sweet & amiable: ye life of Godlynes is cleane & safe & pleasant. I am loth to word it wth you any ~~further~~; but addresse myselfe to you in ye greife of my heart for yor sin & misery, wth these three earnest importunate requests, wch I intreate you yt you will not deny me. 1st That you will patiently & considerately read over & over this letter wch I write to you. 2o That you will deliberately read over this treatise of Conversion wch herewth I send you; & as you goe examine yor soule by it, & allow it yor most sober solitary thoughts. 3o That you would presently this night betake yorself to God in Prayer on yor knees, & lament wth teares yor former folly, & earnestly beg his pardoning grace, & beseech him to give you a new, a holy, a mortifyed mind: & make this seriously yor daily practice: & then goe to yor father, & on yor knees confesse yor sin & disobedience, & beg his pardon & promise unfeignedly to do so no more. And yt from this day forward you will take yor fleshly disposition for ye greatest dangerous enemy of yor soule; on ye conquest of wch yor salvation lyeth, & wch you must studye to subdue & not to please: (Read wt Paul himself thought necessary, 1 Cor. 9. 25. 26. 27:) And yt you never more meddle wth sports & recreations, or drink or other fleshly pleasure, but soberly & ordinately, & no more yn is needfull to fitt you for ye service of God: And yt yor care & busynes & every dayes worke, may be (wn you have bewailed yor youthfull folly) to do God all ye service yt you can, & make ready for yor appearing before ye Lord, & make sure of yt everlasting Glory, wch you have forfeited. Go not out of doores, till you have examined yorselfe, whether you goe upon yor masters busynes: & whether yor worke be such, yt you could be comfortably found in, if death shall call you before you come in againe. One thing is needfull, & all things else are toyes: choose ye better part, wch shall never be taken from you. Luk. 10. 42. Hate such a disposition as hankers after sensuall brutish delights, & loveth pleasures more yn God, & had rather be at sports or drinking yn in his service, and loves ye company of merry joviall fooles, better yn of ym yt feare ye Lord (Psal. 15. 4) & had rather sport & talke away time, yn spend it in preparing for Eternall Glory: For if this be ye present frame of yor mind, as true as ye word of God is true, you are dead in sin & an heire of hell, & canot be saved, unless converting saving grace, do make you a new creature, & give you a new heart, so yt old things pass away, & all become new wth you. 2 Cor. 5. 17. John 3. 5. 6. // Sir I againe beseech you to grant me these three requests yt I have made to you. It would rejoice me much to heare of yor conversion; as it grieves me, to heare wt you are, & feare wt you will be. If you yeild this much to God & me you will have ye everlasting comfort of it: If you will not, I do testifye to yor face, yt it is not yor fleshly pleasures, nor idle delusory companions, nor yor unbeleife, stupidity, false imaginations, or childish folly yt shall save you from ye burning wrath of God: & I confess, I had rather be a load yn you: & let me adde; The words of a dying mother, & these earnest requests of her & yor yet-surviving friend, shall witness agt you before ye Lord, & aggravate ye load yt must lye on yor soule to all eternity. //

Sir, no body shall know for me, wt I write to you, if you keepe it to yorself & amend: And as long as no eye seeth it but yor owne, ye plainest dealing (in so great a cause) can be no injury to you. But let me tell you, if you shall go on in folly, & turne not unto God, & live not in his feare, perhaps I may publish to ye knowledge of ye world ye admonition wch I have given you, yt yor name may rot to all posterity & it may appeare yt if you were disobedient to a dying mother, yet I was faithfull to ye last charge of a dying friend: And if you durst abuse ye Lord by sinning, so durst not I, by letting you alone. But God forbid yt you should put me to this! I canot, I will not yet give up my hope, yt God hath mercy for a son of so many Prayers & teares, wch have bin poured out for you by a saint now in heaven, & wch ye Lord is wittnes, are seconded wth ye teares of yor surviving monitor, wch wth these lines were begun & are now ending, & wch shall be followed wth my Prayers, while God will give me a heart to pray, yt you may presently prove a returning Prodigall, yt both yor heavenly & Earthly ffather may rejoice & say, This or Son was dead & is alive againe, was lost & is found. Luk. 15. 32 I Pray you, read ye whole chapter. Sr I remaine an earnest desirer of yor conversion & salvation

Rich: Baxter.

Sept. 17. 1657.

To Edward Rous Esq

fol. 130. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

144 (4)

Sr 4

By Mr Carswells report of Mr Gellibrands speeches first, & yor owne after, I
understand yt you take my last speeches wth you to have bin unjust & injurious to you
(or else they could not have bin ye matter of such complaints). Because veracity
must be a pserver of yor reputation (to use no higher motives wth you now)
I crave of you yt hereafter you will please (if you see cause to complaine of me
any more) to make a just report of my words, without any addition or detraction
wch may alter ye sence. The summe was this 1o That I take it to have bin yor
mothers duty to have kept as full accounts as was possible, of all yt shee had in trust
of yors, & not to have psumed upon a supposed identity of her interest & yors, & upon
ye neernes of an only son, to have judged it unnecessary or neglected it. 2o That if
yor mother have kept such Accounts, it is her duty to satisfye you therein. 3o That if
shee have kept none, or but such as are defective, it seemed to me her best way to
referre all differences neverthelesse to equall psons. This I before told her. This shee
readily seem'd to yeild to: this shee still professed herselfe willinge of before you;
but addinge yt shee owed you nothinge, & so desired you not to wronge yorselfe by ex-
pectinge from her moneys to discharge yor debts &c This much I spoke of my opini-
on of her duty. // Concerninge yors I only said, yt I had no mind because no
fitnes to interpose in yor busynes; but were ye case my owne, I should take it to be
my duty to beleive my Mother, professinge her fidelity in ye disposall of my estate;
rather yn to goe to Law wth her upon a supposition yt shee spoke untruly. The reasons
I yn gave you were, 1o Bec. shee behaveth herselfe here as a prudent, pious woman
fearinge God, & deservinge credit. I see so much tendernes of conscience in her course
yt I canot justly censure her to be a Lyar. 2o Bec. naturall affection in a mother
to an only son, is so stronge yt it is not easily extinguished. 3o Bec. I have seene in her teares
& heard in her words, her passionate Love to you. 4o Bec. when shee seemed neere to death
shee hath seriously professed ye same fidelity & affection to you, & innocency as to yor affaires
yt now shee doth. On these reasons I only told you, wt I should take myselfe bound to doe
if it had bin my case; but left you to God & better judgmts yn mine for advice. This is
ye summe of my injury to you: And I must desire you to remember yt I thrust not myselfe
into yor affaires. yor servant called me from my proper worke, as by yor desire. If you
will urge an insufficient pson to advise you, or to meddle in yor busynes, if ~~he~~ do it
amiss you may thanke yorself. That I am insufficient may be long of me, but yt I dis-
pleased you by it, was long of yorselfe. That a reed is fragile is its nature; but yt it
breakes & deceives you is long of yorselfe, yt will leane upon it. I never spoke ye words
yt offended you (yt I remember) before you called me. And whereas Mr C. tells me you
suppose yor mother ruled by me in such matters; I would not have you blemish yor under-
standinge wth yt mistake; or at least no more speake it, till you have more reason to be-
leive it. Desire Mr ffr. Wright of Wellington to shew you wt I wrote to him, wn yor
mother came first hither, & judge whether shee was ruled by me yn. And since, I have busynes
enough of my owne, & have so little meddled wth hers yt I was a meere stranger to it, till yor
words occasioned me to heare of it. It is but seldome yt I have leisure so much as to see
yor mother; & yn usually do little more yn see her. Once or twice especially in her sicknes
upon occasion of yor words, at yor first cominge over, I did heare her relate her case;
but never pretended much to understand it, nor never much meddled in it, but at yor call. //
But I must confess if it be an error to thinke yt I am bound to beleive my owne ffather
& yt wn he hath so much evidence of his veracity to shew as yor mother hath, my understand-
inge is guilty of this error. But I will tell you somewt more of ye reasons yt move me
to it. 1o I take it to be a great offense to censure any neighbor to be a Lyar (especially
agt an only son) without cogent evidence: much more would it be a heynous sin, if I thus
censured my owne ffather. 2o The honouringe of my ffather & Mother is made ye first
comand of ye 2d Table in ye Decalogue (if not one of ye first table, as they are sub-
stitutes of God;) & a speciall promise of temporall blessings is annexed. But to censure my
ffather without cogent evidence to be a Lyar & deceiver of his only son, is certainly to dishono
him. 3o I find how heavily Cham was cursed for openinge his ffathers nakednes, yea for not
coveringe it wth tendernes of his honor, even when his ffather was undoubtedly faulty:
much more should I sin, if I should openly to ye world, before ye publike Judicature, seeke to
prove my ffather a Lyar & deceiver (when there's no greater cause.) 4o I find many
speciall heavy curses agt ye dishonorers of Parents in Gods word. Pro. 30.17. The ey
eth at his ffather & despiseth to obey his mother, ye ravens of ye valley shall pick it
Deut 27.16. Cursed be he yt setteth light by his ffather or his mother, & all ye people
shall say Amen.] Many such words there are in Scripture.

5ly The light of Nature guided Heathens to acount ye Love & honor of Parents to be so indis-
pensible a duty, yt they called it Piety & counted ye violaters of it impious. I have given you
these few reasons why I take myselfe obliged to beleive my owne ffather. But I presume not
to perswade you to my judgmt; but if I erre I assure you I will erre to myselfe, & not to you, un-
lesse it be yor owne doinge. Yet will I presume to speake my confident thoughts of yor Mother.
Whereas you told me yt one halfe ye words yt shee spoke in or hearinge were not true,
& others had thought of her truth as I do, yt are now convinced &c: I do from my heart
beleive yt shee hateth a lye, & dare not willfully be guilty of it: And yt if you had
but lovingly desired her abode wth you (in a retired capacity), & regarded her honor
& given her ye comfort of yor presence (accordinge to my Letters to mr Wright & speeches
to her & you) shee would have bin as forward as you could have desired, to have grati-
fyed you wth any thinge yt shee had. And to this [illegible] shee professeth to me, yt if her
promises were performed wch were made upon her husbands will to her Daughters,
shee hath none in ye world yt shee is so willinge should have yt wch remaineth as yorselfe.
Sir were it not for feare of counsailinge you wthout a call, I should have told you
how far I apprehend yor everlastinge peace concern'd in these busynesses; & wch I sup-
pose yor righter course; & wt inheritance is first to be secured; & how far yor outward
estate is to be regarded, & how much I suppose you to have missed it as to both: But I
presume not to trouble you wth any such matters, havinge given you a reason of my
owne beleife wch I understand offended you. Sir pardon ye errors & freedome of

July 6.
1658.

Yor servant

Ri: Baxter

fol.131. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

(No 114)

To Mr Charlton
at Apley in
Shropshire

3

LETTERS
fol.131. of Baxter Letters in volume sh

Uppon an Accusation of John Doolittle here before us for the odious sin of drunkennes after private & open admonition, & uppon proofe of the said facts & admonitions by credible wittnesses, as also on proofe that he was desired to ~~appeare~~ ~~be here~~ present to have speake what he could in his owne defence, or to have received admonition, the said John Doolittle not appearing, we having impartially consulted with the word of God, do judge it the duty of the Ministers of the Church at Kederminster publi[illegible] to admonish the said John Doolittle of his sin & danger & to call him to repentance & to desire the prayers of the Congregation for him to that end, which we advise & desire them accordingly to performe.

May 28th
1657

Subscribed in the name & at the
desire of the Associated Ministers
assembled at Kederminster

Thomas Wright, minister of ye Gospell at Hartlebury
Jarvis Bryan minister in Oldswinford
Joseph Baker minister at Andrews in Worcester
Richard Dowley ministr of Stoke-prior.
Richard Wolley minister of Salwarpe.
Andrew Tristram of Bridgnorth

BAXTER
LETTERS

Fol.133: of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

144(6) ~~To Simon Harrington the Elder~~ & his wife

Beinge engaged by ye Lord through yor owne consent [illegible] oversight of yor Spiritu
state, & beinge threatned by ye Lord, yt if I warne you not of yor danger, yor bloud
shall be required at my hands, I dare not neglect to call you to Repentance
for ye sins which I perceived you openly to be guilty of, nor would it consist with
a Love to yor Soules to be silent. Ezek. 33. 8. 9. Lev. 19. 17.
The sins yt I call you to repentance for are these
1o That havinge a Son who hath long bin a contemner of Gods ordinances & those yt
would have reformed him, rebellious against his superiors & hardened in the way
to his owne perdition, you have beene so far from doinge yor duty for his recovery
as yt on pretence of too hard dealinge of ye officers with him, you have signify
yor resolution (witness myselfe & others) yt he should enter a suit at Law against
ym which accordingly he did. Herein you have beene guilty of all these sins
1o Of cruelty to ye soule of yor son, when you should in pity of him in his miser-
able state, have rather desired ye assistance of others for his recovery & have
thought nothinge too much yt might conduce to his salvation, (though it had gone
beyond ye letter of ye Law) you have done yt wch tendeth apparently to harden him
his sin, & so promoted ye damninge of his soule, as far as in you lieth; which is gre
crueltie yn if you had murdered him, wch in Parents above all others is intol
& contrary to these texts of Scripture. 1. Sam. 2. 22. 23. 24. 25. 29. 30. to ye end
& 3. 13. [Because his sons made yemselves vile & he restrained ym not] 14. Deut.
21. 18. 19. 20. 21. Pro. 13. 24. Pro. 22. 15. Pro. 23. 13. 14. & 26. 3. & 29. 15. & 19.
& 29. 17. Lev. 19. 17.
2o Herein you have beene guilty of endeavoringe to hinder ye reformation of
ye place, by bringinge trouble & odium upon ym, as far as in you lay, on pretence
of rightinge a private wronge. 3o Hereby you have beene guilty not only of
preferringe yor private interest before ye Publicke, but of preferringe yor [illegible]
to ye hurt of yor Son, before ye Publike good. 4o Hereby you have beene guilty of
endeavoringe ye encouragement of ye abusers of ye Lords day & other offend
to rejoice against officers yt endeavor reformation, & so to be hardened in their
sin to ye danger of ye damnation of multitudes amongst us. you could deny
when I asked you but this was like to have beene ye effect if you had prevai
in yor suite. 5o And herein as you have beene cruell to so many soules
so you have shewed ye absence of zeale for God. 6o yea you have beene
guilty of despisinge his honor, or else you durst not have preferred ye sup-
posed rightinge of yor Son before it. 7o And you have beene guilty
of sekinge revenge contrary to Lev. 19. 18. Rom. 12. 19. 8o you are guilty
of not forgivinge a wronge if it had beene a wronge contrary to Math. 6.
14. 15. & 18. 21. 35. Mark. 11. 25. 26. Math. 5. 44. 45. 46. & so condemne
yorselves before God when you pray to him to forgive you as you forgive ot
Besides ye pride, passion, rebellion & other sins yt are involved in these before exp
ssed.

The 2d thinge we call you to Repentance for is, the sin of railinge & rev
inge yor Brethren [witness Mr Vicaridge Mr Corbin & many others, with yor
owne confession] comparinge ym to Infidells & Devills, contrary 1 Pet.
22. 23. 1 Cor. 4. 14. & 1. 10. & 5. 11. 1 Pet. 3. 9. 10. & 2. 10. 11. Jude.
& many others
The 3d sin yt we call you to Repentance for is slanderinge & backb
you have not only divulged it as on hearsay (grace without adjudginge
Author) yt it was all my doinge (wch you deny not) but one of you
openly before ye Assembly said yt (they sought yor Sons life) accus
ym thereby of murderous endeavors, contrary to ye 9th commandmt & Exod.
23. 1. Pro. 10. 18. Psal. 101. 5. Jer. 6. 28. Luke 3. 14. 2 Tit. 2. 3.
many other places
The 4th sin yt we call you to Repentance for (one of you) is yor [illegible]
nge ye Church whereof you are members sayinge [If this be ye Ch
bless me from ye Church, & many will come less to it yn they have
witnessed by John Hinley, & not denyed: when you were before

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these wordes import little lesse yⁿ a renouncinge of yᵉ church, & a flyinge in yᵉ face of
yᵉ Congregation of yᵉ Lord for yoʳ owne ends & a joyninge with those yᵗ repeale
or Engage yᵐselves to the enemies of yᵉ worke. This sin is like that of Rab=
shakeh & yᵉ Churches enemyes, & is frequently condemned in Scripture, & as much
greater yⁿ yᵉ reproach of single persons, as they are below yᵉ Society of beleivers.
5 The 5th sin yᵗ we call you to Repentance for is yᵉ reproach of yoʳ Rulers, at
least consequentially. If it be an act as bad as of Infidells, or Devills to
imprison yoʳ Son, & if it be a murderous seekinge of his life to doe what
was done, yⁿ it was yᵉ Secular magistrate (the Major Generall, if no more) yᵗ
must be yᵉ Infidell, Devill & murderer: and this railinge against superiors is
contrary to Exod. 22. 28. Acts. 23. 5. & yᵉ 5th Comandemᵗ & Rom 13 & many yᵉ like.
6 The 6th sin yᵗ we call you to Repentance for is yᵉ disobeyinge of us whom you
tooke for yoʳ overseer: contrary to Heb. 13. 17. & yᵉ breach of yoʳ solemne
promise when you consented hereunto, where you promised to submitt to oʳ ministeri=
all guidance & oversight accordinge to Gods word, & to yᵉ Brotherly admonition
of fellow members which you have long now obstinately disregarded.
7 This is all aggravated in yᵗ you will be yᵉ only Judge of yoʳ owne cause so
farre as to refuse yᵉ advice of Neighboʳ Ministers, when one of yᵐ hath spoken
to you, & refusinge to come to yᵉ ministers or yᵗ accompt, yea or to choose such as
should by yoʳselves be thought to be most impartiall. Witness this Assembly and
Mʳ H. Osland of Bewdly.
8 yet all this together doth not so much reveale yoʳ misery as yᵉ sin of impenitency
under it all: but upon oʳ plainest convictions you will not see, & upon oʳ fre-
quent & earnest intreatyes & long waitings, yoʳ hearts relent not in yᵉ sence of
yoʳ sin; no not so farre as to say you have erred in any of this: nor doe we
know what more to doe by intreatys for yoʳ recovery.

All this beinge by me at yᵉ last monthly meetinge summarily propounded to yᵉ
Associated ministers accordinge to oʳ agreement for their advice they advise me
yᵗ I should yet once more admonish you, & try whether you will repent, before
we publikely declare yoʳ sin or avoid you; accordinge to which advice I desire
yoʳ Answere at oʳ meetinge this day to yᵗ end: And I doe here againe in the name
of Christ beseech & charge you to consider of yoʳ wayes, & bewaile these sins
before yᵉ Lord & his people, before they are charged on you at his barre. And
in his sight yᵗ knoweth my heart I doe professe, yᵗ it is yᵉ sence of my duty, & com=
passion & love to yoʳ Soules yᵗ hath moved me to all these warnings I have given you
and yᵗ I know not of yᵉ least ill will to you, & have done no more yⁿ I would
have done, if you had beene my owne Brother & Sister: and yᵗ it is yᵉ greife of
my soule for you, to thinke, yᵗ after so long profession there should be such
lamentable signes of deepe impenitency, yᵗ give me cause to feare you are neere
everlastinge fire, & yᵗ beinge so aged & unlikely to be long in this world you are
given over to so much hardnes of heart as no more to feare yᵉ damnation I feare
you are ready to fall into. These faithfull warnings I give you in yᵉ name
of yᵉ Lord: Repent or you will perish, & yoʳ blood will be on yoʳ heads; & these
warnings shall rise up against you both, in Judgment: and whether in this Life
you shall escape yᵉ hand of God, you doe not know.

Yoʳ faithfull friend

Nov. 26. 1656.

Rich: Baxter.

Col 134. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

134

An Admonition of Simon Harrington

115(7)

A Copy of a Letter of Richard Baxter's No. 115(7) of Bundle IV ^I.v.—160^; the Original being given to Mr Upcott of the London Institution for his collection of Autographs, by an ~~minute~~ order of the Trustees.

George Nichols

Because you shall have no pretense to say that wee deale hardly with you, I shall not meddle with that which is comonly called Excomunication against you. But because you have disclaimed yor membership in the Church, & denyed to express Repentance of it, even in private (which you should have done in publicke) I shall this day acquaint the Church of your sin & seperation, (in which you have broken your Covenant to God & us) & that you are no more a member of this Church or of my pastorall charge. I shall do no more, but leave the rest to God who will do more. Only I shall desire ye Church to pray for your Repentance & forgiveness; & therefore desire you this day to be there & joyne with us in those prayers. And then, except you openly lament your sin, you shall be troubled with my admonitions no more: From this time forward I have done with you; till either God convert you or I dying warnings & Sermons be brought in as a witness against you to your Confusion.

Your compassionate friend

Jan. 28. 1658. Richard Baxter

(In another hand on the same paper,

x

(a 135

(a folio half-sheet, is the following in another hand writing.) —

Sr/ Except Pearsall ye Constable will com to Church & there acknowledge yt he have done me wrong in saying I was drunck when I was not, I shall not appeare there, so I rest

Yr Servante
Geo: Nicholss.

True Copy.

Robert Aspland,
one of Dr Williams's Trustees.

Hackney Feby 6, 1827.

To yor Pap I returne you this answer, wch I desire you to accept & use as it deserves.

You are charged wth no words but wt are proved on oath, & yet not required
pticularly to confesse those words neither: but to confesse wth free, unconstrained [illegible]
[illegible] so much as you have confessed yorselfe to have spoken: as yt you saw psons
suspiciously together, wn yor companion said he saw ym in ye sin: yt you said one
was a member of ye Church, & yet after, yt you knew not whether you knew
ym: yt by these lyes you have occasioned those mischeifs yt have followed, & long
refused agt all intreaty to open ye truth: And worst of all yt you subscribed
a pap at yor publiqz confession, wherein it is said yt one of you saw ym in ye
act of uncleannes, & yt you yorselfe knew not one of ye psons, &c, thus joyning
to have contrived ye rumor, & deceive ye Church under pretence of a confession,
wn you knew ye truth & would not open it. This much you canot deny & yet
ought to confesse.

What you write of me is a falshood, wch you should have spoke to my face.
Dare you adde this to former untruths. They yt tell you yt I said, yt you swore
you saw ye psons in ye fact of uncleannes, speake falsly; & you should not do so
againe. I ever reported yor speeches just as they are under yor hands; yt
one of you said he saw ym in ye act & knew ym not, & yt you said you saw ym
not in ye act, but suspiciously, & knew not one of ym, & knew not whether you
knew ye other.

For usinge this course, I told you publiqzly many a day yt I must use this
Course: & how few unfitt psons are in my charge I care not: I greive for their
misery; but I have no greife yt I am not troubled wth ym. I dare not be
guilty of pswading any ungodly psons to sepate from us, because I know it is
their sin & losse & danger: But yet to ease myselfe much, I shall give you
this hint, yt if you know any yt love their sins better yn ye priviledges of the
Church, & shall tell ym yt they may sepate from us wn they please, if they do
but at ye monthly meetinge come in & tell us yt they will be no longer of the
Church, & give their reasons, I shall do no more agt ym, but only acquaint ye
Church of their removall: unlesse they remove under ye guilt of grosse sin,
& yn we shall require others to avoid ym. And ye more such psons wthdraw
ye more will be my ease. And I pray, let ym know, yt till they are out
either by their sepation or or ejection, they shall never have quiett in their sin.

If yor wife or any others refuse ye Assembly bec we obey God, I will never
ye more disobey him, but take ym alsoe as guilty of yor disobedience, & the
contempt of Gods ordinances.

If instead of confessinge yor sin, you shall declare yor owne justificaons,
& disturbe ye Congregation, you forfeit 5li by ye act of Parliamt, &
will render yor greater impenitency.

As to yor pretended Penitence, it is not true if you refuse so knowne a duty,
& yt after yor subscription to a deceitfull confession: would you have
made that, & will you refuse this wch is just. If Gods Honor & yor
duty & ye sense of yor sin, can do no more wth you, to ye trouble of my
heart I must tell you, there canot be one graine of savinge grace
in you. If he yt denyeth not himselfe, & forsaketh not all yt he hath canot
be Xts Disciple much lesse he yt will not so far deny himselfe as to confesse
an odious scandalous sin. You will take it ill, its like, but I dare not
for yt forbeare to tell you, yt you discover by this an unsanctifyed
heart, & I am confident yt if you should dye in such a state to night
you would be in hell to morrow: For my pt I would not be in yor state
for all ye world. I protest to you in ye sight of God, I speake all this

(a folio half-sheet, is the following in another hand writing.) —

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60

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one of you said he saw ym in ye act & knew ym not, & yt you said you saw ym
not in ye act, but suspiciously, & knew not one of ym, & knew not whether you
knew ye other.

Fforeseeing this course, I told you publiquely many a day yt I must use this
Course: & how few unfit psons are in my charge I care not; I greive for their
misery; but I haue no greife yt I am not troubled wth ym. I dare not be
guilty of psuading any ungodly psons to separate from us, because I know it is
their sin & losse & danger: But yet to ease myselfe much, I shall give you
this hint, yt if you know any yt loue their sins better yn ye priviledges of the
Church, & shall tell ym yt they may separate from us wn they please, if they do
but at ye monthly meeting come in & tell us yt they will be no longer of the
Church, & giue their reasons, I shall do no more agt ym, but only acquaint ye
Church of their remouall: unlesse they remoue under ye guilt of grosse sin,
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for yt forbeare to tell you, yt you discouer by this an unsanctifyed
heart, & I am confident yt if you should dye in such a state to night
you would be in hell to morrow: For my pt I would not be in yor state
for all ye world. I protest to you in ye sight of God, I speake not this

to you in choler & passion, but in such compassion, yt if you were my only Brother, I should say ye same, & would do by you as I doe, & dare do no otherwise, though you & a thousand should hate me for it.

For yor Question wt is meant by Scandalous & Impenitent, ye words are plaine: you are Scandalous by this sin, & you are Impenitent in refusing ye necessary demonstration of true Repentance, wch Gods word & yor teachers do require of you. True penitent psons would not refuse this but rather offer yrselves to it in sense of sin.

As to yor exception agt ye ministers of other Churches I say 1o They have more to do with you yn you are aware of, being ye authorized ministers of Christ in ye Universall Church. 2o But if they had not its sufficient yt they have to do with me, who am bound to take their advice. 3o would not humility & impartiality tell you, yt ministers yt are wiser & more impartiall yn you are liker to be in ye right yn you? Do you not know yt it is flesh & bloud only yt disswadeth you? why talke you of other ministers having nothing to do with you, wn you will not obey yor owne.

Ah John Pearsall, sin is not worthy all this friendship. It must up by the roots or you are a lost man: have you so little sense of wt hath bin so long preached to you from Prov. 5. 11. 12. Must those be yor owne complaints: And is there no remedy agt Deep-rooted selfishness & unreasonable Willfullness. Think not yt these lines are written to you without teares.

To conclude by Gods Assistance I resolve to morrow, if you refuse a free & downright Humiliation & Confession, to desire ye Congregation to Pray for you, & ye next day if you do it not, to warne ym to reject and avoid you. These phrases we use instead of ye word [Excommunicate] bec they are ye Scripture words, & bec ye highest sort of Excommunicn we meddle not with. The Lord give you Repentance & a new & soft heart.

I have sent you a booke wch I intreate you to accept & read over, & if we are forced to cast you out of or Communion, yet do not in passion deny me this favour. It may be you may consider of it better in ye reading yn you did in ye hearing.

Yor faithfull & truly-loving Pastor

Ri: Baxter

Aug. 1. 1657.

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To John Pearsall

9 Cosson Laurance Pearsall the cause of my ritting to you is to
desier you to tell mr Baxter that I shall not bee at Church to
morrow for divers reson
1 becaushe mr Baxter requiers mee to acknowledg those words
I yet never spoke him saying I did see [illegible] to in the acte of
adultery which I take the lord to wittnes to the best of
my knowledge I never spoke :: & in conshance I ought
not to acknowledg an untruth
2 whereas Mr Baxter [illegible] I should take my oth
that I did see the thons in the acte of uncleanes whereas
oth I never did take: if I publes Church acknowledg
ment as Ed walker did I should be counted as the
is pearison
at all & forsorne & not fit to keepe any trade
& allsoe uncapable of keeping any trade
3 whereas as if Mr Baxter bee of his [illegible] I have a
feared that hee is like to have but very few for
the fewer com in to this Church & divers that are of
this Church that would mee that if they were not of
the Church they would never bee of this care
them selfe ought of this Church ∴ & have without
4 reson is because of my wife beeing in this condishon
as shee is in for feare of distraying & beeing
her & her soule agreeted dell of count and allsoe
for feare shee should take so the resolushon as
as Ed walkers wife hath don: never to com to Church
for ought shee knowes agayne
5. because I shall not have time to drawe up those thinges
that I would doe to declare publikely in the Church how
I have bin wronged & the cause of this talke ~~[illegible]~~
that is now abroade
other reasons I have ~~but~~ shall now forbeare any
more
for the sinn I have commited against you I have
doe upon my knees begged his grace & pardon: & to my owne
master I shall stand or faule: & for the sinn I have
commited against the Church or any person I have prayed
the lord & doe pray the lord to forgive mee this I
doe hartily & desire the prayer of you & all the rest
of my frends :: concerning more I desier of you to [illegible] Mr
Baxter to let mee remove by those words rewroted & avoided
as scandalous & I am penitent as are in the note drawn
from your handes

I doo confesse that theare is nether mr Brian nor
non of the rest of the ministr haue any thing to doe
to Iudge mee in thes thay were of this charge
I haue diuers thinges it to wright wth the helpe &
assistance of my freindes but noe more at this
time I rest

your obedient freind soe far
that it will stand wth a good Con
science Jo Pearsall

Deare friend, seeing yu cannot come to speake with me & there is no other [illegible]
for it, between this & Munday I thinke it my duty to write this much, only to prevent
yr further sin: not that yr corporall absence will be in itselfe blame worthy, but yr
professio to withdraw on such a ground. 3 things you have to prove before yu can
be guiltles, before God & his peo: 1o yt it is a duty imposed by God under the gospel
to have a dinner & supp wn ever they keep a day of thanksgiving. 2o yt they
must eate both these meales all togethr. 3o yt these are of such necessity
yt yu may not joyne wth those yt do it not, but must separate from them to
shew yr dislike. for the first, remember it is yr part to prove it a duty: having
plaine scripture for it: I hope yu will not separat from yr brethren about
yt wch yu cannot prove a duty. Ile say this against it 1o I know no word of God
for it, among both Jewes & Romans they were used to eate but one meale
at any feast wch was oft at dinner but comonly a supper: eve on the passover day
they had but one meale 2o ye nature of the thing speaks to every understanding
[illegible] yt it is one of ye meere circumstances of a duty, wch varieth according to men
[illegible]rall appetites, strength, estate &c & is not ye same to all: & to withdraw for this
[illegible] all one as to say I will not heare ye word bec. the sermo begins at 10 a clock
[illegible] it should begin at 9 or bec. the pulpit stands not in ye right place. 3o it
[illegible] a sin to many, & yu know not how many; & therefore it can be no comon duty: to
every one yt cannot well digest two meales, or yt is not helpt in Gods prayses
by it, it is a sin to wast Gods creatures, as its a drunkards wn they are not druke
[illegible] is gluttony in any to eate more then helps the or fitly their body. 4 who they
[illegible] yt are helpt & who yt are hurt yu are not made judg, & therefore cannot
undertake to judge. phys: should know best: & yet phys: know better yt [illegible]
so many for one yt doth not, though they feele it not do yu hurt at psent. & I
know yt it must be a very strong stomacke yt digests 2 feasting meales, wn
they sit all day at duty, & stir not & yt wch digesteth not makes matter for
rheumes, stone, & other diseases. 5 it is offered yu yt all shall have a supp yt
will: so as if yu will give those leave to stand by yt thinke it gluttony to [illegible]
their needes. And friend, will not you give men leave to judge wn they have
enough: will yu force yu to eate more then they desire: & do yt wch they judg
gluttony: was ever the like attempted in ye chur: 2o for ye 2d poynt yu must
[illegible] yt these 2 meales must be eaten by all togethr & not one of yu at home
the contrary, so there is no word of God for yt 2o every L: day is a thanks-
giving & yet ye chu: joynes in ye solemne duty, wthout joyning in ye feast
[illegible] the noblest of all thanksgiving dayes is ye L: day. if yu say, it will be eate
[illegible] up yt duty & fastes us too soone: so yu ceased a day of humiliation to day
[illegible] without scruple a little after one a clocke wn yu had helpe: why can yu not
unanimously cease ye conjunctio in a thanksgiving day at 6 or 7. wch is a fit
[illegible] time. 3 but ye 3d is ye great questio. yu must prove it yr duty to sep
[illegible] from yu yt eate but one meale together on yt day. being such
scripture for it, as will quiet a dying mans conscience & acquit yu
before God: name ye text & do not misinterpret it. still remember ye [illegible]
in ye 7t but yet I will say thus 1o if this be a cause of withdrawing & sep
[illegible] ye poore chur: is uncureable: for we shall never be all of a mind in
[illegible] all ye scripture & argu[ments]
create th: by for yu this: I am ashamed to bring against ye separatists the [illegible]
give a palpable case, yt we are unfitly to bring against ye separatists [illegible] yet no warrant
Lutheran, abuse of Jesuits: feasting was create yu owes, & yet no warrant [illegible] by yt argumt
withdraw. if yu take yr self bound to declare yr dislike 1o by yt argumt
will be no peace in any chu: for as long as one heare dislikes any thing,
a sermo pray or psalm he might still declare it or separate 2 once declaring
yr dislike will free yu from all suspitio of consent: & if yu please yu
shall openly declare yr dislike to ye peo: so yu will be content wth, yt & not
withdraw. 3 if yt will not serve yu shall every time declare it, so yu will
can not (wch yet) I think no man will desire, yt is not far from com
on reason 2 if it be yr duty to withdraw on this ground its every mans
duty: & yu so it is on all differences of ye like importance; wch if yu dare
say yu are not ye man I look yu for. I will adde but 1o a motio 2 an
admonitio 1o let it be propounded at some meeting by yu & me to all ye
company, & let all those yt are for or against two meales on thanksgi-
ving dayes (to be eate together) give in their owne experience whether it hurt
[illegible] helpe yu; or rather whether it helpe yu (else be sil) or helpe yu not else be
gluttony. And ever after wn peo: minds are knowne those shall eate yt will
& ye rest shall stay 1o [illegible] 2o I dare not but on this call admonish you
as my deare friend of these things following not slatly concluding yt
yu are guilty, but desiring yu tenderly to suspect [illegible]
yu are guilty & yu know how much we should suspect [illegible]
friendly suspect wt 1o are yu not guilty of as palpable [illegible]
[illegible] I know [illegible] wth the extent of ye [illegible]
[illegible] grounds may [illegible]

If this were true there were cause of separatiō: these are false grounds, but not bigg
grounds. yu withdraw from ye chu: in ye solemne praising of God by psalmes bec:
are not pleased wth ye translatiō; & so renounce all ye praises yt God hath from
almost all his chu: on earth; & all yt ever yu gave him publiquely since yu
were a beleever. & all yt ever ye glorious servants of God in England conforma
or non-conformable ever gave him (for ye maine); yea & all yt ever he had
on earth since ye aptles dayes wch were as homely as ours & far more: never wa
God praised (yt can be proved) more sweetly & in more comlynes or bett lang
since ye aptles dayes yn in or psalmes. And thus yu separate in ye most heavenly du
from all xtn chu: till Romes psal: were framed: & dare yu do so? yea yu say
in yr actiō [I had rather God had no praise by ye psalmes of ye congregatio
yn have ye same yt he hath so long had from holy men & for me he shal
have none] for if yu must forbeare why not all these but one law for yu
& yn And shall ever ye chu: unite if so small things must needs divide 2o
ground in ye psent busines is yet smaller. name me ye most infamous
sectary a divider in ye world (of comon witt) yt thought it lawfull to ~~divide~~ withdra
on so small a ground as bec they eate but one meale lesse on a thanksgiv-
ing day 3 in these words I have told yu of 3 sins 1o yr separating from ye ch
praises now, & all xtn chu: (allmost) for ever since ye aptles 2o yr separating from
or thanksgiving 3 worst of all laying hereby ye ground of justifying the
bitterest separations in ye world; & of eternall perpetuall divisiō in all chu: 4
I adde yt yu would drive xtians to sin against God; wch to eate wn they thinke it
gluttony, & to psse meat in vaine for yn yt are unwilling to eate allmost a
yt I speake with, say they had rather be wthout a publiq supp; & yt it hinders yu
yu hopes yu And would yu have it provided for yn yt had rather be wthout it 5 ye si
of adding to Gods word I know not how yu willbe quite of: in making a ne-
cessary pt of service yt God never made, I know not any more yt can be sd for
yourse yn yt prelates ceremonies, if yu say yu take it not for necessary but in-
different, & yet withdraw for want of it, yu are no wiser yn they yt sd the
ceremonyes were indifferent & yet silenced ministers & denyed ye sacra: to pso: yt
would not use yn 6 I doubt yu are guilty of bringing a scandall on religio
in making men thinke yu place Gods service in stuffing or gutts; 7o yu sle
ye eyes against ye expres determinatiō of these controversies already by th
holy ghost who hath comanded us not to judge each other in meats & drinks: &
tells us yt Gods kingdom consists not in ym but in righteous: peace & joy in
the holy ghost 8 yu seeme to usurp authority over yr brethren & domineer
over ye inheritance of God while yu must have ye congregatiō & ye confer
of yr brethren conforme to yr opiniō or els yu will withdraw 9 yea yu
assume more power yn their teachers do & so step beyond yr place. for we
joyne wth those yt feast twice or once or not at all & leave every man to his
owne liberty. Let ye disposers of ye feast obey their consci: but yu will go
further yt have lesse authority so nay yu seeme to usurp authority over yr
overseers & teachers: for yu expect yt in their owne houses they should for-
sake yr owne judgt & be ruled by yours or els yu will withdraw. 11o And
it considerate & sincere dealing wth God & man to be so careles of feasting
on ye great dayes of thanksgiving ye Lords dayes; yea to be afraid of sin-
ning in suffering servants to dres any more meate then needs must be
had; & yet on lesse solemne dayes to make no consci: how many they
labor in it, nay to withdraw if they do not make a double feast 12
yu not discover to carnall a frame of spirit wn yr soules delight depen
on yr bodies fulnes; yt yu canot so well rejoyce as wn yr belly is full yea
twice filled. wn other christians find their mind most vigorous wn their b
are empty, so it be not to fainting 13 but ye great thing I would psse
to yr consci: is yt yu should now so unseasonably wn God hath drawne us on
to seeke ye union & reparatiō of ye chu: become ye instrumt of contradicting
& hindering it. all or endevours & hope of reuniting divided christians
do lie in this one poynt of bringing yn to center in ye great matters & forbear
beare each others in ye small: & without this there is no hope of uniō & peace
till we meet in another world. And now yu do psently gainsay this by yr
practice; as if yu would have all the christians in ye world divide asunder
till there be nothing in ye translatiō of a psal: or in a meales meate
they dislike. 14 And withall alas, yt yu should be ye first & great discouragmt
& hinderance of ye psently intended uniō & reformatiō of this congregatiō
begining a separatiō from ye chu: praises & thanksgivings just yn wn we
are going to reunite I have found from my first attempt of this worke
ye divell doth rage at it: & hath done all yt he can to hinder me. But di
thinke yt he would have bin able to make yu his only or cheife instru-
ment truly friend I am more afraid of hurt to ye worke & to this chu: from
yr selfe conceitednes & passiō (call it not zeale, unles ye zeale of [illegible]
[illegible] agt) yn of all ye opposit psons in ye place. I pray conside yrself how yu
have showed yt yu are in or psent conditiō uncapable of being any peac
able member of a chu: for yu can be no chu: member without consenting
to have ~~[illegible]~~ guides, & ~~[illegible]~~ submit in a meer circumstance wch is
[illegible] in peace wn ye teachers [illegible] yu not to do any thing agt yr
[illegible] must have ye & ye whole chu: conforme to yours or yu will
[illegible] from [illegible] can any man be

umber on such termes long.r doe: but consider how we should place any confidence in you wch we have so little hold of you yt if we conforme not to yr udgmt in translations & matter you will withdraw, is there any possibility yt yt we should have you long.r or any pso: on earth yt will not wholy be ruled by you 15 sad friend, is not ye heinous sin of pride discernable in this to him yt hath but halfe an eye: if you had reason to thinke so much better of yr owne understanding ~~yet~~ then ours, yet not to expect our conformity to yours, but to beare with our weakness 16 all this is after many a plaine & full admonitio. I told you out of James ye very working of this passionate zeale yt you are now raised wth, & yt they yt will be many masters shall rec. ye greater condemnacon. I pray you read over meet my directions in ye epistle of my book of rest. 17 all this is after many full discoveries of Gods judgmts on others yt through ye whole land for ye like sin how oft have you acknowledged yt pride undid ye apostate [illegible]: how oft have you blamed private christians separating & conceitedness & can you do it in any fame yrs: 18 I canot but tell you of ye sin in so ordinary abusing prayr (after all admonitions) as to make it ye opportunity of venting ye passions & conceits & declaming all yt you judge faulty in ye brethren before ever you tell ym of it to their faces, not only breaking Gods order in declaming many faults to ye assembly before ever they are admonished (nay it may be never admonish them at all) but also debauching Gods sacred ordinance of prayr turning it to a venting of passio or at least taking on you to speake to God wn you indeed speake to men & making duty an accusing of ~~yours~~ brethren before warning. wt if I should have filled my prayers wth all yt is in this pap agt you: would you take it well: or were it fitting worke: 19 And I canot but tell you of your passionate censoriousness agt ye performances of ye brethren if they please you not in phrase & method openly in duty telling God of it in a way of disgrace in ye eares of men is there no pride in this: would you be so done by: do you see no such weakness in yr owne duties: I would not for 50l yt the comon pso. heard yr expressions somtimes. if another be tedious in duty you blame them; if yrs: be twice as long, & yet you take it ill of those yt account you tedious, & thinke they resist the workings of ye sp: in you wn alas ye hearer thinkes also yt it is ye sp: yt lengthens out his duty as well as yours & ye hearers thinke so too 20 Lastly I canot but tell you yt I suspect pride but I am certaine a daring [illegible] indiscretio carries you on to fill yr prayrs & conference so much wth those doubts you little know wt hath gained by you. you heare not wt I have heard how pso: deride you & make a sport of you & you lose ye benefit of all yr comforts by it: they say one canot talke wth Mr Ware but he is psently talking of the devill at Bewdly. friend suppose it ye certainest miracle in ye world, you know ye scandall yt hath mixed its: wth it: so yt one canot be mentioned without ye minding of ye other: & you know sure yt ye faith depends not on yt: God hath sealed his word by a 1000 unquestionable sufficient miracles. use wt you have wisely for God (& be sure yt you eye not selfe) but make not such things more necessary then they ne. Iff you leave out nothing of greater moment in yr prayrs & conference you will have no roome for yt ‖all this I have written from ye dictates of my conscience wth persuasions yt God will blesse it to you; as he hath done former advice. I ye rather deale freely bec. consci: accuseth me of no sin in ye world so much as my former humoring professors too far in unpeaceable wayes utterly to scrape their [illegible] censures. truly friend my love to you is more tender you silently to let you sin on. alas after all my endeavrs for peace & unity one of my dearest friends in ye world shall be in ye frustratio of all my endeavrs & be made ye destroyers engine to divide this poore ch: yt hath bin so deare to me; truly it would go neere to breake my heart wt 1o he yt entertained me in his house 2o & yt brought me to this place 3o & yt stucke faithfully to me all ye warrs 4o & hath stucke to ye truth & overcom temptations to divisions till now 5o & yt hath so deep a roome in my heart! must he desert me in ye very beginning of a reformatio! alas, yt God takes no way to tell me yt theres no trust in man but by suffering ye miscarriage of my dearest friends one after another: my witness is in heaven yt it is tendernes of this ch: & ye sence yt drawes out all this, & yt you have bin ye humbling of my soule these humiliatio dayes & have made me intermixt writing & weeping, & writing & weeping againe friend I had [illegible] without you it is not wt you have done so much troubles me as ye palpable mountaine of pride & passion manifested in yr unreasonable obstinacy & threatning words for ye time to com, if feare prevent not. you have helpt to keep my body from ye grave by prayer: I will seeke God as I am able for yr soule. I intreate but this of you yt you will read this over twice & without prejudice & passio & if it convince you & win you to humility & meekness (wch I must needs hope) then let no living [illegible] heare of it if it do not convince you do so much as communicate it to Mr Tho: Doolittle who will be faithfull to you as yr owne soule & impartially take his judgmt of it I desire not to use any advantage of office or reputation of understanding in persuading you but plaine truth: & therefore I write yt you may consider of it & not say I [illegible]

will keep a coppy of this by me, yt if God will suffer yu to be carried yet
further this chu shall know how faithfully I admonished yu in time
& I do from my heart desire yu to deale as plainly wth me, not only in wt
yu se amisse in me, but wt yu iustly suspect me of. for we are all blin
in or owne cause. Againe I desire yu to let no know of this if it do
convince yu. or if yu be but in doubt & store of sinn (els wt kow) step
up to me at yu next leasure & let yu & I pray together for Gods
illumination // Let me also tell yu this; yt I am more scanda-
lized of the two at yu separatio from ye chu: praiers by singing
then at yu separatio from private thanksgivings for not eating
often for it is a far greater duty as being more noble & solemn
And let me also tell yu yt I will disswade or hinder non from
eating yt will (nor ever did at any day yt yu were at): but would
have providers & eaters all follow their owne iudgmt. but I will
never beleeve yt we must separate from all yt have weake stomak
& yt God would have non of his chu: but one of ten yt can
digest two feasts well wthout motio. Peter nor Paul never taught
such doctrine nor gave such an example. It is neer ten to me
Besids religio. the chu: wn they keept the Lords day together
wth lovefeasts (while ye congregations were so small yt one
house would hold ym) did never eate but one meale at a feas
together. there is more color of sept from this constant exa
of ye new testamt (ioyned wth ye same in ye old) yt it is a sin to
have two feasting meales together in a day yn any thing
yu can bring to prove it a duty: & yet I think it no sin ne
ther: her. tho: it were ye course of all Xtn chus & kingd: &
amples; yet it was not intended as binding. but I think not
one of ten can use ye contrary as it is comonly used wthout glu
tony; wch is to be shunned as much as drunkennesse. Lastly let
me tell yu yt yu could hardly have quarrelled with a peo
yt are lesse provoking & more tractable & willing to avoyd
offending you even where they stretch their consciences
for it. And for my owne pt I have not yt I know of
Lorded it over yu nor offered to force yr owne conscience
nor expected yt wch yu owe to yr Pastor, but only yt wch
you owe to every man on earth to heare him so far as he
brings reason. And as God seeth so by his grace ye world
shall se, yt we are as willing to reforme as you, accordin
to or measure of understanding & yt the difference is not
whether we should reforme but how we should reforme:
if we come behind you, I think it wilbe more for want of
your knowledge, yn for want of yor love to ye right way of
God. yea though ye subtile serpent ye raging Lion, do viole
ly & cunningly resist me in the intended reformation, I re-
solve to go on in ye strength of God & comit ye issue of
all to him: and I hope these last attempts of his wilbe sight
by yt God yt has carryed me on so far. and for yu I am per
swaded yt God who hath delivered yu so long, & mastered so much
of yt heady passionate & conceited zeale wch ye best freindes
have long agoe bewailed in yu will by ye spi: of his gra
overcome ye rest, & meeken yu & keept yu in unity with us a
and had I not so esteemed y
a brother dearly beloved
all these lines had not been written

Yor faithfull frie
Richard Baxter

Mar 19 this saturday night at 11 a clock
with an aking head & heart
& weeping eyes

114 (9)

Mrs Gell

My service presented &c. In answere to yor Question, why there is so little [illegible] desires the accept of this briefe returne. First, too often ye servants of God doe mista[illegible] nature of Grace & spirituall strength, & see not yt it most consisteth in high estimations & in firme Resolutions against sin, & in the willingnes of the soule to close with Christ: but they thinke yt it lyeth in Passions & violent workinge affections, wch much depend on the temper of the body, & are uncertaine things. If this be yor case (wch as I remember I spoke of in my last) no wonder if you have not ye answere of yor desires. God hath given you spirituall strength & you know it not, but cry for it as if you wanted it, when you have it. Tell me, doe you not set more by God, by Christ, by Heaven, yn by all yor Riches & Honors in the world? Are you not resolved against returninge to yor former state of sin & negligence? Do you not long to be rid of ye remnants of sin? of a hard, unbeleivinge, senceless heart? Are you not willinge to have Christ and Life as offered you? If not, what doe you complaine & strive & cry for? If you are, this is not only truth, but strength of Grace. And by these you must try ye strength as well as ye truth. The more of these, ye more strong. What if you were so far mistaken as to thinke that ye strength of Grace lyeth in a fluent tongue or a stronge memory, or any such comon guift, & thereupon should be daily importunate wth God to give you these? should you thinke it strange, if God deny you, wn you goe to him on such mistakes. // 2o Moreover, as I told you in my last, it is ordinary for some Christians to be importunate with God for deep affections & sensibility, than their very natures will beare; & God oft denyeth them such desires, because he knoweth yt it would overthrow their bodyes, & pearce their witts, if their feelings were as intense as they desire it. // 3o Moreover ye seasons of such guifts are best knowne to God. It is therefore unreasonable yt we should tye him to or seasons. // 4o Lastly ye measure of Grace itselfe, is a thinge yt God hath not absolutely promised; but will dispose of as he seeth meet, nor doth he use to bestow the same measure on all. Cry to God for some measure of growth, or at least for preservation & confirmation of yor sincerity; and charge him with denyinge you this if you can. Aske him for so much as will bringe you to heaven; & you have a ground of assurance yt he will not denye you. But if besides this you must needs have as much as the best you know, or as much as you would have I canot promise you yt, for God hath not promised it. I blame you not to desire it, but desire it modestly & with a submission to the donor. Otherwise if we should all have as much grace as we would, or as we will aske for, doe you thinke we should not be all of a size. yea yt we should be all perfect on Earth yt are sincere? For there is no man sincere, yt desireth not perfection. And so you may see, yt it will not stand with ye Glory of Gods wisedome or freedome, to give to every honest heart as much Grace on Earth as they desire: nor will it stand with ye state of or travailinge life or with ye Condition of ye Church militant as it must differ from the Church triumphant: for yn we should all be in heaven before we come to heaven. You know that Glory itselfe is certaine by promise to all yt in faith doe aske & seeke it: but so is not the highest degree of Glory. If James & John would have beg'd never so importunately yt they might sitt on Christs right & left hand in his Kingdome, they would not have procured it. For if askinge would serve, every one would be highest, wch is impossible. If God gi[illegible] you sincerity desire more & spare not, but not too peremptorily, as if you would [illegible] yor owne soule, & deny God ye Praise [illegible] what's due for what you have unless you had y[illegible] will: & withall you must stay Gods season, & looke not for perfection till you come [illegible] heaven; & expect not ye highest place there neither. You may as well marvaile yt God will not heare you, if you pray yt you may not be a woman but a man or not a man but an Angell, as yt he should not heare you, when you will pr[illegible] him what measure of grace or glory you shall have. // Moreover you should consider yt God giveth out his talents accordinge to the worke yt men have to do with ym; as every wise Master will deliver to his servants such tooles as their wo[illegible] requires, or such provision as may fit ym for ye service wch he setts ym upon. // Now you know yt God requireth not so much service from you as from many othe[illegible] not ordinarily so much from women as from men; nor from ordinary men [illegible] from Magistrates & Ministers: And can you in reason yn expect yt he should putt [illegible] great a stock into yor hands? Abundance more such considerations I might give you, to satisfye you of ye injustice of murmeringe at God, if he give you not the measure of Grace yt you doe desire. But indeed by yor former present letters, & by what I have heard of you, I doe judge the first [illegible] to speake to yor case, & yt you have strength of grace & doe not [illegible] observe it as you ought to doe; & [illegible]

[illegible] is much more dishonourable in yor Estimation & with yt in ye [illegible]
affections of yor Soule. And yet by severall passages, of weepinge out yor eyes,
prayinge yor heart out) & ye like I strongly conjecture, yt you are not so void of
such affections as yor complaints doe signifye. Once more I beseech you study ye
ye Love yt hath purchased & given you ye Sincerity wch you canot deny: & re-
member yt ye pardon of all sin, & ye crowne of eternall glory, are ye undoubted
portion of all yt are such; yt is of all yt set more by heaven yn by
Earth; by God yn by ye world; of all yt ~~are willing of Christ as he is~~
~~offered~~ had rather have holiness yn sensuality, & be freed from sin, yn keepe it
& of all yt are willing of Christ as he is offered. As sure as ye word of God
is true, you are justifyed, & an heir of Glory, if it be but thus with yor Soule:
And doth it yn beseeme such a one yt is advanced to ye dignity of a Saint & an
heir of life, to lye cryinge & complaininge as if God had nothinge for yn, and
disgracinge his service in ye eyes of ye world, & pleasinge ye Devill by tor-
mentinge yrselves, when their Lord hath comanded yn to rejoice continually,
& bid his little flock not feare, because it is ye fathers good pleasure to give
you ye Kingdome. I could well find in my heart to be longer in chidinge you
out of this unequall dealing with ye Lord: but I am sorry to heare that
you are in any measure Melancholy; for yt unhappy distemp doth usually
make people forgett in a few dayes, all ye satisfaction & comfort yt they
received, & ye reasons of it all: & we must speake over & over ye same things
to yn, & oft to little purpose. I beseech you see yt you be much busye in yor
necessary imployments in ye world, & much in cheerfull company, & give not
way to solitariness or musinge, & be not much in secrett meditation: for its
no duty to you wch is to others yt can beare it; for Melancholy people cannot
beare yt duty: but be ye more in discoursinge & exhortinge others & in dutys
of society. The Lord satisfye, quiet, & strengthen you, & make you still ser-
viceable to him for his Church. I remaine

Yor Servant Ri: Baxter.

Nov. 26. 1656.

To Mrs Katherine Gell at Hopton
in Darbyshire

(No 115)

LETTERS
Fol. 144. of Baxter Letters in volume sh

2 Reverend Sr

Since I came out of the WORLD (if I may so speake)
you are one of those I have Met with: since I
betooke myselfe more seriously to the thoughts
of Eternity, your Practical Writings have suited
most exactly to my better Apprehension. My Holy
Passions, (if I may dare to assume that Epithite
to any thing that is mine) as Indignation to
the World, &c. Meeting with yours, doe, as it
were, Join Forces, & so they become the Stronger.
I see, by this experience, that we are confirm'd in
our Affections, as well as our Opinions, when we
find the Same in Others. I can't imagine but
His Tongue is Toucht with a COAL from ye Gods
Altar, whose Words are so apt to Enkindle our
Devotion. Oh! Sr, I am so Full of thoughts towards
you, that my Heart would breake, if I should
not Vent some of them. My Mind will not let me
be at rest, till I shall have told you that I
Love, & Thanke you more then I can expresse
for your ZEALOUS Endeavours to bring Glory
to GOD & Salvation to Men through the Blood
of our forever blessed REDEEMER. Oh! Sr, If such
as yours be Plain Preaching, I shall endeavour by
all the Learning I shall ever acquire to make
my selfe a Plain Preacher: (for I intend one day

to undertake that noble Calling) but, alas! I have
observ'd, to the griefe of my Soule, that many men
in this Nation under the fair Pretence of Plai
Preaching, &c. dare vent in the Pulpit (either
through weaknesse, that they cannot doe bett
or laziness that they will not take the pains)
immethodicall, rude, vulgar, insignificant Langua
altogather unsuitable to that High, Maiestick Mat
they Undertake to treat of: viz. The Businesse betw
GOD, & Immortall Soules: And This, most Reverend, S
I humbly conceive to be a great cause that the
Gentry of this Nation, who have been (a great pa
of them) Vers'd in ingenious, handsome Expression
so much slight their Teachers: I conceive farth
that Preachers thus bringing down the Subiects, t
handle, to the Language of the basest of th
People, have given them occasion to take the
up, & handle them Themselves: I mean, most
Reverend Sr, that those Preaching Mechanicks, po
sick=brain'd wretches (which seem to me, as so ma
Scabs, & Filthy Ulcers in the Face of the Church) have ta
Encouragement to venture upon this great wor
by seeing others (vulgarly accounted Fit Teac
performe it, as weakly as themselves / My thinks my
Heart is somewhat eas'd, now I have pour'd forth
it these heavy thoughts before you, whom I cann
but believe to be a most Faithfull Servant of th
Living GOD, whose cause they concern. I could

larger, but I fear, I am tedious already. I wish
from my Soule you may liue to perfect the
Directory, you haue began: I doubt not but
many hundreds will hearken to that CALL: you
haue indeed Lifted vp your Voice like a
Trumpet —— never but in Holy Writ did
I observe more Life, & vigour, & Mightiness of
Speech, then I find in your Workes/
Dear Sr, Farewell: for a small Token of the
great love, & honour, I bear you, pray accept
this little Booke: which I haue let out into
the World, as a Drop of the WATERS OF THE
SANCTUARY. I shall only giue the verses this short
Character: They are (not the Fancy of my
Brain, but) the reall Worke of my SOULE: viz My
PRACTICALL NOTIONS (I think) Accuratily
Exprest/
Dear Sr, Farewell: And in your Prayers
Remember the Soule of
Sr
Your Servant
Edmund Elis

Oxon. Bal: Coll:
March 11th — 57

For Mr Richard Baxter

(N 116)

Recd Sr 3 Br Sa

Munday last I did this day sennight send a letter to you by Post, wch
I therein acquainted you yt I had sent to ~~Lont~~
did desire me to procure; wch now I have sent enclosed. They ca
lately and I had sent them away Wednesday, but yt I was willing to
them, lest myne to you should miscarry; wch I could not doe with
ye Post then. I had them not of my Father (he had not copy
some Friend in ye Towne; wch kept a coppy by him
original. I saw ye original, & read it often, from wch (according to
my memory) this coppy varies not a Title; I am sure in nothing
least material. The original to my Father was subscribed by
hand, & sealed wth his seale. The scriptures were in Greek in this,
without any thing to shew what was looked on ~~as~~ in them as
& proving. It becomes not me to passe any judgment on them. I accordin
since have procured & sent them. The author is a very holy
Godly person; who, I am persuaded, acts in ye integrity of his h
ding to his light; and as he concludes he ought ~~[illegible]~~ so acts. How
For his opinion I cannot in ye least favour it. If Mr Br thinks
take them into Consideration, I pray God guide him & make ye issue
As I writ in my last, the argument drawne from ye 4th Command
is ye Goliah as it stands in ye frontispiece. It is looked on as m
solid, though much is layd on ye rest, and yt of Nature not excep
is not nothing, I can assure you, as it is thought

I know not whither I might acquaint you wth a notion, or two of his
understood by a discourse wth him, managed by another Brother, &
before many yeares, when first this opinion came abroad; yet I will, though it m
(as perhaps it will be) to no purpose.

Μια σαββατων; he will not admit to be ye first day of ye weeke (the Transla
right) but one of ye daies of unleavened bread (wch he is not first in) wch
were called σαββατα. It was alleaged what was said in one place
πρωτη in another Mark. 16. 2. 9. He answered, πρωτη referred
ημερα, but σαββ. So yt he carryed thus; Jesus yt rose ye first
one of ye daies of unleavened bread. Perhaps herein he favours another
That yt lay in his grave full 3 daies, & 3 nights complete; if i e Three
houres complete wch he asserted; and be his ground yt of Jonah was make it
seem yt he did not arise till Munday about ye evening; That houre wch
concluded the full 3 daies & 3 nights from ye houre in wch he was buryed
was towards ye end of ye day called by us Fryday, a little before ye 7
began. As is said &c. Although I remember it would hardly be granted he
was buryed ye same day he was crucifyed: and all ~~[illegible]~~
to shut Fryday from being one of ye 3 daies in wch he ~~was~~ lay in ye grave
ye day of his resurrection might not be on ye first day; wch was asserted
this was not stood upon, at least was soone left. He will not admit yt one
or two should passe ~~for~~ a day; as it must, if Fryday be one of
questionless it is. To make good ye interpretation of 3 daies & 3 nigh
number of Ester. cap. 4. 16. & 5. 1 was produced, when three daies
must be taken ~~for~~ part for ye whole as will appeare if ye bookes are
other nothing was said

have given you such a broken account of these things. Pray Sr be pleased to let me know if you have receyved this Letter; I commit you to God, ye God of all Tr
and subscribe my selfe

Yours most affectionately to serve you in ye Lord

Recd Sr

N.B. Mr B. I see it fit to take any notice of these straw doctrine if it might be annexed who helped him to them; but I am afraid to lett Mr B. know it was I, but for other reasons.

117

For ye Reverend Mr Ja. Greene-
wood, at Mr Symmonds his
house at ye three Crownes,
nigh ye Conduit above Hol-
bourne Bridge

3

6 London

Sr 4

I haue receaued two Bookes from you, into which I haue made a good Entrance, but will not defer my thankes vntill I haue wholly gone through them, hauing (beſides Leſſer) two great Remoraes, Age & publick Employment. Accordingly, I returne preſent thankes for them, not only as they are Tokens of yr Reſpect to me, but for theyr greate Vſefullnes, wch I ſee by that progreſſe wch I haue alredy made in them.

Vſefull they are in regard of theyr Subiects, & ye cleare Euidence, & conuincing power in the handling of them. As to that of ye Sacrament, it is a thing moſt deſirable, that an Inſtitution wch Chriſt hath ſet vp as an eſpeciall Meanes of Vnity, & bringing vs into one Bread, were not made an Inſtrument of breaking vs into Crums. And I hope yr Endeuors, willbe helpfull to bring forth, this proper & expected End of ye Sacrament, euen Vnity, & that according to Verity.

In the Preſeruatiue againſt Popery, you haue done ye worke of an awaked Huſbandman, preuenting the Tares, which in the ſleepynes of many, are Likely to be ſowne by not-ſleeping Aduerſaryes. And ſurely I hope that it will be a meanes, not only to preſerue the Sound, but it may cure the Sick, if they do not ſhut theyr Eyes againſt ye Clearnes, & obfirme theyr Wills againſt ye Strength of yr Arguments.

To theſe & all yr pious Labors I wiſh a Bleſſing & a Meeting wth you in that Reſt wch is from all Labors, wherin thogh different Labors may haue a different, yet all ſhall receaue a full Reward, not for any Merite of the Receauer, but from the Bounty of a Free, & Allmighty Giuer, In whom I am

yr very affectionate friend
to ſerue you, F Rous

May 5.
1657.

To the Reverend & my much
honoured friend Mr
Baxter these at
Kidderminster

No 118

To the Reverend, & my much
Esteemed frind Mr [illegible]
Baxter pastor of
Kidderminster in

Worcestershire.

frank

ffranc: Rouse

ffrom Mr ffrancis Rous
one of the Privy Committe

Reverend Sr 5

Youres of Apr: 16. came ſeaſonably unto mee. and I had returned ſooner to you, but that I was deſirous to give you ~~a~~ full account in reference to both parts of your letter. Bleſſed be God mr Martindale is a better man now, and hee returnes you hearty thankes for your kindnes to him. — I was much troubled to underſtand that you ſhould bee ſo preſſed by both extreames in that great worke (wch is load enough of itſelfe) that is caſt upon you. I did not count my owne thoughts worth the impartinge to you, becauſe I knew they could miniſter little ſtrength to your encouragement and therefore I deſired to knowe the mindes of other of my Bren here touchinge that buſynes, and I finde them to concurre wth mee. ffor my owne part it is a wonder to mee that any ſhould be ſo ſet, as to count your endeavours of ſuch dangerous conſequence, ~~for~~ wch as wee ſhould count it a mercy (all thinges conſidered) if wee might enioy a reformed forme of ſervice. I never was yet ſo ſatiſfyed in my owne performances in the adminiſtration of the ordinances, but I could prefer a preſcribed forme before any conceived way of my owne, and I beleive many modeſt men are of the ſame minde. I hope I ſhould looke well about mee before I declined my poore ſervice & duty in the church for the impoſition of a Lithurgy. All I deſire is that wee might (if poſſible) ſerve God wth the beſt, that our time and ſtrength of light & parts could afford to ſerve him with. And I could hugely hope that the product of the preſent commiſſion you are in might be very happy this way. — I would not too much trouble you, yet if I might heare from you ſometimes how the buſynes ſucceeds I ſhould be very thankefull to you. In the interim I ceaſe not to pray for you, and reſt

Mancheſter
Apr: 30th
1661

Your obliged ffriende & unworthyeſt Brother

H: Newcome

N° 110

150

To the Reverend [illegible] mr Richard
Baxter [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(No 119)

ffor the Reuerend mr Richard
Baxter chaplayne in ordinary
to his matie to be left at the
houſe of mr Simeon Ash miniſter
of the gospel at St Augstins
neare the church there

London

post paid

MA 3

Inopinata forsan suborietur admiratio (Vir inclyte & undiquaque spectatissime) me jam tandem tibi in lucem prodire, idque linguâ [illegible] vernaculâ (uti moris est mihi cum Tanto, Talem aggrediar Virum) Reverendos vestros oculos quam submisse salutare. Non equidem quod te de quincunque aliquo perfecisse arbitrer, vel pares [pro pristina tui ipsius in me benevolentia] gratiarum hecatombas offerre potuissem; sed debito meo ad te scribendi officio fungi, ne socordiae & ingratae oblivionis grave, justum, & meritum mihi inuri expectem stigma. Des veniam (suppliciter precor) si te (ratus te aliquid otii suffurari, et exercitii obquantulum tandem tempore) parum impraesentiarum interpellem. Scripsi te occupatum tuis exercitiis, [illegible] interpellato [illegible] sermones hoc in diverso genere epistolari diutius vererer, nisi officii mei vinculo obstrictus & tantus tui candor animaret. Accessit nuper mihi nescio quis insperatus nuncius oppidanus, qui, ubi de te percontari caepi, quo pacto valeas? (de quo sum sollicitus & studiosissimus, absit verbo invidia) ita respondebat; quasi mane pollucere tenus, & eruditate crepitare, & pene quasi ὀκεκετον αὐτόματον. Quod autem tui corporis languore fiat hilaris mentis sanitate temperata istud pridem & laetus audivi. Quomodo se [illegible] res habent nostrates alii atque alii te dictum [illegible] sentient: praeter alia, inter ea quae mihi occurrunt observanda, prae aliis maxime mihi (heu mihi) dolenda est Mors piissimae illius Matronae Dnae Cloark: illa, illa inquam mihi charissima, & quasi animae dimidium meae; mihi & pietatis & consilii nec non christianae charitatis ἐκλυπος, [illegible]. & quamvis jamjam conclamatum est, quotiescumque illam mihi in mentem revoco, a madidis vix possum lachrymis temperare. Et sic de oeconomicis nostris satis super quod [illegible] quod spectat; eloquar, an sileam? heu quanta animi insolentia insultant alii! quasi actum esset de nostris animis, exulabit probitas, & pax mutua; imo insolentiae jus relinqueretur sedendi in Orchestra. Alii (partim illecebris, partim [illegible]) (Sirenis tanquam incantamento) Praelaticorum Genio & ingenio minus nimis indulgendo, absurde [illegible] versantur; & in arenam descendentes timidiculi, sic pusillanimes causa cadunt, idque (proh dolor) victoriam (ut aiunt) incruentam. Alii denique omni spei ultimum & extremum suum dicunt vale; ut potes summa (nullo reclamante)

posthac iam conspiciunt, et corruptis, transversis Academiis, ipsos ultimos omnium in supplicium reservari concludunt; haud aliter quam Polyphemus Ulyssem ultimum omnium devorandum promisit. Οὖτιν ἐγὼ πύματον ἔδομαι μετὰ οἷς ἑτάροισι,
Τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πρόσθεν, τὸ δέ τοι ξεινήϊον ἔσται.

Studium quartus aut quintus subduxit mihi ~~ante~~ oculos [illegible] (in te) ille [illegible], Euge, galli, galli est! [illegible] est ille, ille magnus columniator [illegible], perfrictae frontis homo, sed lenis linguax: mihi, mihi equidem (bona fide) lectitanti (ut aiunt) tinniebat auris. Aureum illud hoc (ἀνταγνώσεως) opus πάμφλοχθον transnominavit. Ego, liber ~~[illegible]~~ (ad unguem elimatus, & extra omnem obeliscorum & lituram aleam) delebiles hujusce censoris spongias pertulit, criticis suis unguibus vapulavit quasi is totum Archilochum perlegisset. Deum immortalem! velim, nolim, tandem eloquar. Hoccine fieri flagitia? Librum (quem legi, relegi, elegi, quem (cum Sanctorum regie) in succum & sanguinem denique converto, quibuscum (si cum aliis) immori potuissem) istum librum orbis terrarum [illegible] existimari? o hominem inconsultum, tribus Anticyris caput insanabile!

Imprimis, equidem de propria persona blaterat ille, [illegible] (o superbe), hypocrita & id genus alia convitia (sit honos auribus oculisque) haec, obstupuisti, [illegible] & [illegible] satyros, & virulenta Rabiosae linguae verbera quae totum acerbitatis suae virus evomuit! Nihil (nihil equidem, expecta loquor) quamvis maturum & concoctum, quod non interdum graphicis lectorum expungitur severissimis; & curiosis nec non vellicantibus hominum judiciis dispergitur, & detorquetur.

Rhetorici isti nimium Censores, mihi maxime omnium displicent, qui se erratis (quae dicuntur) alienis simulata quadam & vulpina sanctitate ingerunt Aristarchos, & [illegible] illatam naevis, ~~[illegible]~~ eo ipso turpissime debacchantur. Miror equidem quantis jactabundus hicce Pharisaeus ([illegible]) in suo strigilinio mirifice glorietur, quem a se nec verbis laesit, nec injuria affectum, ne minimo stimulo provocatum conspicit.

Atat contra Sycophantae morsum nullum est remedium, restat quod (vir plurimum observande) ut Socraticae patientiae pelle Loricam assumas, faucem herba hyppolapatho cingas: quod quaeso lucri cum jurgioso litigare; clamet, obstrepat, crepet, increpet, nihil est quod tibi dari queat vitio. Nemo est qui suos non patiatur Manes; nec sapientis est futiles curare nugas, quae palearum moveri strepitu.

Libro (cui titulus Holy Commonwealth) quod spectat ex suis citatis paginis apud Authorem, abunde refutari poterit: ubi (ni fallor) (quomodo pace tua liceat loqui) adeo rem acu tetigisti, ut ne digitum quidem transversum, aut latum unguem a veritate aberrasti, imo ut ne Zoilus quidem ille [illegible] potuit [illegible]; Cum Zoilus tamen noster quae [illegible] & Centauricae logice, suisque captionibus balbutiens aliis atque aliis modis se reddit balbutientem; [illegible] scriptoris γράμματα sed [illegible] obeli praejudicium, & Rhetoricam [illegible]

Verbo quoque uno, ut paucis omnia complectar, Colophonem quae [illegible] dua nota Homerica ipsi [illegible], qui rectius nullo non [illegible] potuisset in hunce [illegible], [illegible] τε [illegible] τε [illegible] οὐρανὸν [illegible] et [illegible] Calchanta

Calchanta allocutus est Heros ille Atrides
Μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πώποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας.

Jam tandem (Vir Spectatissime) Deus [illegible] N. dirigat, protegat, consulat te inter ~~ad~~ aulicos istos, Satrapas, Magnates, (ubi consulitur de religione) ~~qui~~ ne oleum (ut aiunt) in auriculas tibi instillarent: quidam Salpones dulcis fallace vulpe benigniores, in specie tantum formosi, aureos montes pollicentur, & nihilo efficiant.

Faxint Superi (ut pro parte virili in quantum fieri potest publicis ecclesiae exercitiis) ope et Sctâ Divini Numinis tutelâ tu redires incolumis nos incolumes offendas cui reduci sospiti ~~quot~~ omnes ad unum ex animo gratulabimur. Has lineas rudi Minervâ compositas ~~&~~ omnis suadae expertes, nullis eloquentiae calamistris exornatas aequi boniq. consulere deprecabundus es oporandus. En exilem stylum insulsum & rusticum, solaecismis (ut cum & cum Erasmo loquar) ubivis scatentem, prolixitatem jam excusarem meam ni id agendo fierem prolixior. Valeas demum Bone Pater et dehortato omni ornatu & verborum lautitiâ optatam benè consulas.

Tuus in omni pietatis officio devotissimus Simon Potter.

E scholâ nâ Ked^rensi
Septembris i. vel ~~[illegible]~~
calend ~~[illegible]~~ eodem.
phaniae. 1660.

Those //

For the Reverend mr Richard
Baxter at his lodgings at mr Tho:
ffoleyes in Austins Fryars
neere Broadstreete
London

S

London

(No 120)

Deare Sr

Notwithstanding my intimat conver with yor workes, I am altogether a stranger yor person, for I have not (though I have mu desired it) so much as seen yor face. It hat pleased the Lord to put me into a valetudinary condition, and by reason of strong hypochondriack distempers I am confined to Banbury the plac of my abode and imployment. But (Sr) the infirmityes in my flesh are nothing to those burdens which oppress my spirit. It is the desire of my soul in all things to approve my heart to God; and both in doing and suffering I would make his will my rule. And therfore I beseech you by that strong and sincere love which (I am confident) you bear to Jesus Christ, to assist me yor poore and unworthy fellow-labourer in Christs vineyar by your spirituall advice. Sr I need not tell you that the dayes are evill: that which renders them evill in my eye is the sinfullness of them; and it is my earnest endeavour to avoyd those snares which (I feare) are layd on purpose to catch poor ministers. The design now on foot is to reduce the publick worship o God to the forme of that Liturgy whic was formerly in use in England; I presum that you have by this time by the blessi of God upon yor conferences with yor god brethren, discovered the strength of the mos considerable arguments both pro and con w referre to the lawfullness or unlawfullness of omitting ~~the~~, & complying with that kind of

153 Now (S

Now (Sr) for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake and in tender compassion toward me his poore and afflicted Servant, vouchsafe me your help and assistance so farr, as to furnish me which some brief hints of those Mediums which have been improved both on the one side and on the other. If you judge it not safe for you to declare yor own judgement with yor groundes and reasons, I will not be so uncivill as to press you; I had rather dye then that an haire should fall from your head through any unfaithfullness of mine to you; but being a stranger to you I can not expect that you should be so open to me as to a familiar friend. Howsoever let me begg of you and p'vaile with you to comunicat to me what you may with saftey for my personall satisfaction. The bearer hereof my deare friend Mr Wickins is yor auditor, and one who hath receivd mercy to be faithfull; if you shall please to put a short return to this request of mine into his hand, he will be carefull to convey it to me. Deare Sr pardon my boldness, and the rather because it proceeds from one who is often earnest with the Lord for you, that you may be strong in him and in the power of his might; that you may be further instrumentall in turning many to righteousness, and may yor self at last shine as the starres for ever and ever. I rest

Yor sincerely affectionat (though
unknown) brother
Sam: Welles.

Banbury.
20. May. 1661.

To the Reverend Mr Richard
Baxter Minister of the
Gospel in London

these psent.

(No 121)

LETTERS
fol.155. of Baxter Letters in volume

Lond. 30th March

8

Deare Sr

I am very joyfull for yt measure of health wch God hath in mercy restored to you; earnestly desiring you may bee long continued, as a chosen instrument to advance ye kingdome of Jesus Christ. the losse of you in this season would have bin very much aggravated; considering ye powerful influence your counsells may have uppon ye spirits of good men to keepe them in ye wayes of submission and dependance on God as to ye issue of our present affaires: you know in what a floating uncertainty wee have bin, and how for many yeares wee have bin struck from one Hazard to another; but ye Lord hath shined uppon us in our obscurity, and by miraculous mercy hath rescued us from apparent ruine: this should bee food for our faith yt wee may quietly waite uppon him: indeed wee are still in crepusculo, there is a great mixture of darkenes with our light, there are great and just feares least profanes like a torrent should overflow us,x yet through ye mercy of God there are some persons yt manage the present affaires, whose uprightnes and integrity is unstained, whoe make it their chiefe care to preserve religion and our libertys inviolable: and wee have some hopes ye gospell may soe farr represse ye lusts of men, that profanes will not dare discover its selfe with such an open face as in ye times of darknes and superstition:

x and ye common enemy returne with more fury against good men

turne over

howeverso things should succeed; it becomes you now
to limit their ~~actions~~ endeavours in opposeing sin and danger
within their owne sphere; and not to glorify god
by irregular actings: I judge you will easily
grant ye spring and rise of all our troubles
hath bin, ye breaking out of ye way of duty
for selfe preservatio; religion hath received ye dee=
pest wound by her friends; soe few moral men
become religious because soe few religious men are
really moral; now if you will raise ye honour
of religion by ye sufferings of his people; it is
infinitely better to submit then too see prosperous
in wayes of sin: ~~[illegible]~~ 'tis true we are obliged al by our
prayers soe by all lawfull meanes to preserve
ye gospel in its purity and to secure ye interest
of ye church; ~~but~~ yet to comit as our lives soe
our temporal affaires to god in welldoeing: Sr you
will pardon ye trouble I give you in this long
letter; your owne thoughts furnish you with these
things farr better then I can expresse them;
but I was moved to write to you by some
friends (wch exceedingly honour you) there
being a report generally spread that you are
extreamely opposite to ye comeing of ______
I beleive my lord whose letter is inclosed can
give you as much s faction as any one;
the lord confirme you ngth; and favourably in
terpret this interru for I assure you there
is none wch C re unfaynedly love
and esteeme yo r brother in christ 156.
W: B:

(No 122)

For the reverend
and his endeared frend
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of ye gospel
at Kederminster

in Worcestershire

Honored S^{r} I shal acknowledge my expectations (as to what hands
wee are like to fall under espetially if any measure may
bee taken from the disposition of the most whether
9 abroade or at home) doe p[ro]mise nothing but a combi
nation to extirpate those principles & persons wch I
desyre to bee confident the L^{d} will somm tyme vindi
cate, & I thinke that ought not & I hope will not
take off good menn from perparing & if there bee
opportunity from attempting w^{t} may bee fitt lett
the fruit bee w^{t} itt will; There is an observation in
our books that good motions in Parliam^{t} never to=
tally dye, the next meeting usually taking up w^{t} was
left undone in the former, The L^{d} may humble this
or rayse up another generation who may learne by
example w^{t} this will not by experience & assent w^{t}
the most doe now despise; but w^{t}ever bee the de=
syre of the most or the successe of the lesser num
ber may wee bee found in the constant discharge
of duty, & how great things the L^{d} can bring to
passe by smal & those unlikely lawfull means who cann
imagine who knows that all mens hearts are in his
hand & who has observed his wonderfull worke but
the other daye; & this in short may serve for the rea
son of putting you to the trouble of your last, w^{ch}
for want of leasure I have not yett so particularly
digested as to geeve you my thoughts thereon, att
present I shal only geeve you my thanks for that
& y^{t} many other labours by wch I am perswaded
the church of God & my selfe in spetial have reaped
great advantage The L^{d} spinn out your thread &
blesse y^{r} labours prayes

Y^{rs} in all Christian love
& service.

Jo Bampfeilde.

Aprill the 14th
1660

Honored Sr I shal acknowledge my expectations (as to what hands wee are like to fall under especially if any measures may bee taken from the disposition of the most who live abroad or at home) doe promise nothing but a combination to extirpate those principles & persons wch I desyre to bee confident the Ld will [illegible] them significant, & I think that ought not & I hope will not take off good men from preparing & if there bee opportunity from attempting wt may bee fitt tho the fruit bee wth ye Ld. There is an observation in our books that good motions in Parliamt never totally dye, the next meeting usually taking up wt was left undone in the former, the Ld may humble this or raise up another generation who may have ye example wt this will not by experience & effect wth the most bee now despise, but wch never the lesse the lyfe of the most or the much of the lesser number may bee found in the constant discharge of duty by wch great things the Ld can bring to pass by small & those unlikely lawfull means who can imagine who knows that all mens hearts are in his hand & who has observed his wonderfull works but the other dayes, & this in short may serve for the reason of putting you to the trouble of your last wch for want of leisure I have not yet so far sufficiently digested as to give you my thoughts thereon at present I shal only give you my thanks for that & ye many other labours by wch I am perswaded the church of God & my selfe in particular have reaped great advantage the Ld spinn out your threed & blesse yr labours prayes

April the 14th
1660

Yr in all Christian love
& service

(No 123)

These
ffor the honored mr Richard
Baxter mynister of the gosple
att
Kedarminster.

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Reverend Sr

There came forth a treatise of myne in September last, concerning the Object and Office of faith, as justifying; perhaps it may have come to yor hands from the Presse assoone, if not before it came to myne. However I thought good to give you notice; partly because I perceive in some lines of yor Answer to Dr Owen you intende to publish something on that subject; as also because (to confesse it ingenuously) myne is directed primarily against some part of yor Aphorismes; chiefly yor definition of faith, as justifying. The scope of yt discourse being to demonstrate a difference of faiths objects, or objective respects, by wch its acts have theyr specifications, together with the diversitie of the acts of faith, thence grounded. I doe seriously professe Reverend Sr, that those my Papers had never beene made publique, if others had not beene more forward then my selfe. For ye Manuscript being shewed to, and approved by Dr Kendall; it was by another freynd detained, and had never been returned to me, if I had not consented to its publication. Now though my zeale I hope, for maintaining what is there asserted will be answerable to my knowledge and present judgmt: yet Sr you may be assured (by the grace of god) to finde yt zeale allayed with Christian meeknesse, soe as to encline me to an amicable condiscent and closure with you, even to become yor Proselyte, if my present judgement be taken captive by you. To which purpose, having intended a journey within 30 miles of Kidderminster about the ende of March next, (if god permitt) I shall be willing, if it be possible, to ride the other 30 miles, if my presence may (as you thinke) add any thing to myne, or yor better information in the points controverted: provided, that I heare from you something to yt purpose this next moneth; wch if you intende; I desire you to sende yor letter to me, directing it to be left with Mr John Phelps at his house in ye Old Pallace yard Westminster next to the Upper house or now called Other house staires. Sr in the whole of my discourse you will finde no bad language; my intent being not to meddle with mens persons, but opinions; and though I confesse my selfe yor most unlearned Adversarie, yet not most unchristian; as not laying aside love in contending for faith. And such returne of Christian dealing I expect from you. The Lord direct you herein, and be revealed more and more to us, and by us is ye prayer Sr

Of yor Brother and
fellow labourer
John Warner

Christchurch in Hantshire. Jan 18th $\frac{57}{58}$

The Printer having two copies of Erratas, was led by yt wch was most imperfect. It being to give notice of some defects of Interrogatory markes, and misplaceing of points. pag 29. l. 10 for reasonable read [illegible] Ans. Epistle to ye Reader. pag 1. for Seale read Zeale. p. 3. marg. read Jerousio. p. 19. for scouring r. scorning besides some literal faults.

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(No 124)

Thes:

For the Reverend his worthy freynd
Mr Richard Baxter
Teacher of ye Church
at Kederminster
in
Worcestershire

psent with speed
and trust

3

To Mr Warner about
his booke.

Reverend Sr and beloved in ye Lord.

I thanke you heartily for your favourable condiscent in vouchsafing to returne an answer
to my letter, and I shall esteeme it no small happinesse, if upon any future doubt on my side
you will please to entertaine the like intercourse. You have conferred more honour upon me
1 by placing me among ye learned Divines in your late Disputes, than you have given
content in yor Reply to me. For notwithstanding all yt you have written therein, I cannot
perceave, but my opinion stands firme. And though you are therein pleased extreamely to vilifie
my knowledge in Divinity and Philosophy, I am so farr from an overweening affection to what
is myne, that I have as lowe conceits of it, as you can have; though every truth in it, as
it is precious in it selfe, so also to me. Truly Sr if it were not folly to boast, I believe
I could prepare a Rejoynder to you, as fast as I can write, but seeing my betters are Abetters
in the same cause, I shall waite upon them, if not leave it to them. However I am so farr
jealous of my owne imperfections in knowledge, that I will search further into yor other Disputes
chiefly yor first, with Mr Blake: wherein I desire the helpe of yor prayers, that god
would please to open myne eyes & not hide his truthes from me. As for the reasons of my dissent
and dissatisfaction, I thought good to minde you. 1. that that part of the Treatise wherein
I did dispute against ye necessity of a 2d justification for justification was not somuch intended
against you, as the Papists; I understood it also ag: Mr Pyters sonne in some passages who doth so often oppose the
righteousnesse of ye law and workes to that of grace and faith. And though I knew my owne
minde therein, yet I must confesse I was therein defective in expressions for informing others.
2ly. As for my dispute against your supposed Causality or procurement of workes, I thinke I had
sufficient ground, by your broad sayings in order thereto, set forth in ye margent of ye 243 page
of my booke, where you are quoted to ascribe to workes the same kind of causality & procurement
with faith. Thus pag 300 of yor Aphorismes, you saye, the word, By, implyeth more than
an able concomitancy; This also Mr Burges hath observed against you. Wherefore I had cause
to argue against yt causality and procurement. But seeing yor ingenuity is to declare
yor selfe otherwise, I shall in charitie thinke otherwise of you for time to come, and crave
yor pardon, for wt through misconception is past. 3. When you replye to what I have written
against a 2d Justification, it had been yor wisdome to have set forth wherein that which
you call a second justification differs from the Papists. As also it would have been very
satisfactory to ye Readers, if you had shewed wherein your doctrine of justifying faith
differs from those sayings of ye Socinians, and Arminians by me quoted. But I wonder
why yor thumb lays all ye while on my 15th chapt: vindicating yor exposition of
St James against my exceptions; besides, many other material parts and passages in
my booke, you would not vouchsafe to looke upon. And whereas you grant a diversity
of physical acts in the same justifying faith, I yet wonder how or why those acts
came to reunite into one morall act in justification; especially seeing the other acts are
of a different nature, viz, not only receptive but expective. As for yor Reply to my last chap:
with a Non solum, you may please to remember what I have said to it, pag 367, of my
Discourse. And truly Sr, your not rescuing yor own Arguments from my Answers, doth make
my Arguments for ye contrary stande alone without the helpe of yor Solution. Xt only is ye
object of justifying faith as justifying, till you better prove your acceptation of him as
Ld and Lawgiver for the same purpose. As for yor perverting my sence of ye Distinction
Specification cap. 5. in ye same chapt: I thinke it sufficiently cleared in the subsequent lines of
my old Copy. Either my Scribe or my Printer did me some wrong therein, for in
my old Copy I reade it thus: Man as a reasonable creature discerneth as a living
creature feeleth &c. My sense I thinke is plaine enough. But what men would not
know, they cannot understand. And therefore yor framing of other possible senses
notions of it, is only a raising of dust to cloude wt is cleare. or in [illegible]
of Christ with [illegible]

thereto, we will refer the sense and use of ye distinction to Mr Barlow Provost of Queens-Oxon a man well knowne for eminency in Metaphysicks; and I will stand to his judgment for ye application of ye distinction. To this purpose if you please to write to me, inclose a paper to him, and I will send it to him, with my hand subscribed to it, and will faithfully transmit it to you. This you cannot denye me, if you are an honest man, as I hope you are, though knowledge of it selfe apt to puffe up. I well remember that Dr Conant did approve ye distinction, and said I was a scholler in so doing; so also did Dr Wilkinson the Margaret Professor, and with these very words to me; you saye true Mr Warner. And I must tell you truly, they both approved my booke, and commended it in my absence to another, and promised to subscribe to it; Though when I came to Dr Wilkinson the last time, he saw me out of his window in ye Quadrangle and I saw him, but would not be knowne to be within, but after almost a quarter of an hour waiting sent his servant, telling me he was gone forth, to whom I delivered as much of the booke as was printed; with this carriage I being displeased, assoone as I came home I sent him a letter smelling sharpe, upon ye receipt whereof I perceive the Dr sent you the book I left with his servant, it being ended without the epistle. Yet Sr I can assure you the Bookseller to whom I was stranger had never at his own costs printed it, if they had not encouraged him thereto, nor would they suffer such a booke to be printed in theyr University, if they had thought it to be erroneous; especially when it laye two Monthes in the said Doctors hands for perusal. I will not tell you now, lest I become a [illegible]. But Sr in yor dispute about ye offices of Xt, I wish yor practise had also attended. You have no unworthy language of me, however you misapprehend me; for the booke was not directed only against you. As for ye place of [illegible], God knows I did not reflect on you; for I know you have rather too much, then too little philosophy. And as for yt of Scaliger, I did not only meane you, but all the disputers of this age. Wherfore you might have spared yor Poetry in the ende of yor epistle, wherein you unChristianly bespatter me, and all ye others with me, and that in such a waye as will reflect more upon yor selfe then on us, by them yt knowe us. You call us Independents; but I'le assure you there is but one of ye five that ever was suspected to be so; yet he takes us of ye County Associa[tion] with honest Presbyterians. And whereas you are pleased to implye we were fuller of wine then of the spirit, I praye tell me what you meane, and whence! As for Dr K: I must confess I never saw him, yet I never heard any thing but good of him: and as for the other I am confident that all ye godly, both Ministers and people in ye whole County elsewhere would subscribe for theyr piety and parts. If you meane my selfe; I protest unto you in the presence of God, that though we have a taverne in the towne, yet I did never spend a shilling at it, or any other in ye County at any time or times by my selfe or with others. Nay though I have bene here neere 13 yeares, did never at all times in my family expende there 13 shillings for my selfe and strangers, to my best remembrance excepting Christning feasts. I would therefore desire you to explaine yor riddle, or to take [illegible], so shall yor defect of love herein be made up by us in repeating yor best sense of ye words, and this you would readily doe if you knowe the persons names, whereof only the first letters are in my Epistle. Well Sr by such expressions I do perceive you partaker of ye like passions with others, though you are above others in your perfection. However, saye what you please of me, I will saye only of you as Calvin did of an eminent man, though his calumniator, that you are, Eximius Dei servus. I have not so learned Xt, as to retaliate. Let us indeed take Xt to be our teacher, if we doe not, he will not be our Lord. To conclude Sr I did never yet differ in affection where I did in opinion differ. And I enjoyne you to returne love for love, and that not in word but in deed, for his sake who is our Teacher and Lord. The God of love, peace & truth be with you is the prayer Sr Of yor loving Brother and fellowlabourer John Warner

Christchurch
Jan. 3d
1652

Yor letter laye many dayes with Mr Phelps, wherefore I praye you direct yor next letter to be left for me with Mr William Smith Bookseller in (Salisbury. Mr Ekins may to ye purpose send it by ye [illegible] fol.162. of Baxter Letters in volume show

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These
For the Reverend Mr Richard Baxter
Ministr of Kederminster
in Worcestershire

Post pd to London
from Sarum 2d

Leave these with Mr Nathaneel Ekins Bookseller
at ye Gun in Pouls Churchyard to be
sent as above sd

Reverend Sir

Yors of Jan 18. I received Feb. 7. It is many weekes since my reply to you was
in the presse, & out of my power to make any alterations. If you meet wth any
thing in it yt seemes to import too low an esteeme of yor writings or judgment,
if it be pardonable, pardon it; however impute it to ye true cause, wch is a confidence
yt I have ye truth on my side, as you also are confident it is wth you. I
2 have an intellect nothinge so ductile & tractable as many of my Brethren wish,
wch is an offense to ym; but I canot helpe it; for I find it is not perfectly imperate.
But I hope it will be open to what light God by you or any shall reveale to me.
I make no Question but we are both hearty Lovers of ye truths of God in generall
& willinge to use his meanes for information: so far as we have attained let us
agree in Christian Love: or if you thinke I am not capable of yt yor speciall
Love let me have yor comon Love of compassion & prayers, for my fuller inform-
ation. I rejoice yt I have this advantage of you, yt you are far neerer me in
judgmt (i.e. accordinge to my apprehension) yn I am to you (i.e. accordinge to
yors as I find it in yor writings); & consequently I can Love you wth a fuller Love
yn you can me; because yt understandinge must necessarily guide & feed ye affections:
For I had much rather Love yn be beloved. And yet my rejoicinge in this doth
halt wth a mixture of sorrow, because my incapacity or yor misapprehension, or
somewt of both, doth so much hinder yt fuller closure, yt is desirable on both
parts. As to yor writings, I must confesse I take it to have done me some wrong
in defraudinge me of a weeke or fortnight of my hasty precious time for
a reply: but otherwise as I perceive in it a zealous mind for God, so ye language
of it is far gentler yn I deserve. I hope we shall shortly be fully reconciled:
till yn, beare wth ye imperfections of

Yor weake Brother

Ri: Baxter

Feb. 9. 1657/8

Reverend Brother

I understand by yor last yt you thinke yor opinion still stands firme. I shall not thinke so highly
of any argumentations of mine, as to expect they should make any change upon yor judgment
& so thinke it somewhat uselesse to trouble you wth any more of ym. If as you say, I
canot have lower conceits of yor knowledge yn you have yorselfe, why are you so
much more offended wth me yn wth yorselfe for such conceits? But if I mistake
not, you are too sensible, & call yt [extreame vilifying] yt is not so: nor could
I well reply to you wthout opening yor mistakes. That you can prepare a rejoinder as fast as you can write I do not much doubt. But who shall judge
of it? I understand yor other two (chosen) adversarys have written their defence: I wish they may avoid any miscarriage yt I have bin guilty of. For yor
accusation of my words about ye [causality] of workes &c I fully answered
it to Mr Burges, where you may see it was palpable injustice. The things yt
you say had bin my wisedome to do I have done over & over. What I call [Justificn at first & justificn continued] you (supposing me to use yt word) second
justificn] would have me difference from ye Papists doctrine. Many a time
have I done it in severall bookes. Do not you hold yors. yt we are justifyed
by faith as long as we live? do you thinke, we are justifyed by no act of faith
but ye first? sure you do not. And yn do you not difference betweene your
justificn as begun, & as continued? & are you Popish in this? Is not yor difference
from ye Papists & mine ye same? You should have told me where I call it a
[second Justificn]: But if I had so done, I doubt not but yt wch next followeth ye first is a second; & such is yt wch we call a particular justificn from particular renewed sins; & ye finall justificn at Judgmt, wch is ye 2d universall
justificn. If so many volumes opening my sence, tell you not sufficiently
wherein it differeth from ye Socinians & Arminians wm you cite, I freely
leave you to judge as you please. // Whether my thumbe were on yor
15 ch. or ye rest concerneth yor cause or reader but little. It hid not yor
words from ye eyes of any reader in ye world. They stand still upon record
in their fullest sense. If I have left ym unanswered bec I could not answer
ym, I have given you ye more of ye honor comonly desired by disputers;
& if I had so dealt by all yor booke, I thought you would not have bin offended. If I past over any thinge as needing not answere, I have yt lesse prejudiced yor Readers & left it to their judgmt. I had oft before confuted yt
substance of ye Chapt you mention as far as concerneth me, & I could not
have while to do all againe as oft as any man expects it. In yt very booke
ye substance of yor 15 ch: is answered. Pardon me if I passe over ye rest
of yor exceptions: as finding myselfe apter to repent for saying too much
yn too little. But I see neither to speake nor to be silent pleaseth you. // 164
You make a motion to me to referre ye maine cause to Mr Barlow & would
have me write to him: & you conclude yt this I canot deny, if I am a humble
man. Say you so? I will refer yt great antecedent Qun to him, & yn we
will debate ye other. And I will here underwrite a note according to yor
motion, wch you may subscribe & send to him & I will stand to his judgment.
The things yt follow are yor grosse mistake, wch I perceive you are more prone
to yn you suspect. I never heard from Dr Wilkinson of you, nor had yor
booke from him, nor ever had ye least acquaintance wth him: nor had I knowne
any of those passages betweene you & him, if you had not told ym me. The Poetry
wch offends you in ye Epistle did offend myselfe wn it was too late to recall
it, but upon no such account as yor surmises render. For ought I perceive you
scarce understand one word of it: Would any man in ye world but you have
dreamt yt I intimated accusations of you for drinking wine &c? I see Enigmaticall writings, will have misinterpreters. You might easily have seene yt it
was Dr Kendalls words yt occasioned those lines, & yt they have no shew of such
a meaning as you fancyed: nor do I know who you meane by ye rest you
mention, nor dreamt of any of ym. I thinke you could scarce have consulted
wth any man of yor profession but might have helpt you to a better exposition of my words. But perhaps one of ye next bookes yt comes out say me
will be ye Expositor. And as vainly did you suspect yt I accused you of Independency

wch you are in such reports. I never enquired or heard or dreamt; nor did I meane ye way of ym as a party so called: But had meerly relation to Mr Boltons comon sayinge yt Ignorancye & Independancye make ye crankest xtians, let those would those; but see yt I mentioned ye want of substantive Independancy as ye character of ym of whom I there speake: you make me admire to read you so earnestly vindicatinge yor selfe as from ye charge of drunkennes & Independancye (wch 4 of yor 5 brethren of wm I never heard or thought). Well might you have thought me a gross calumniator if I had intimated any such thinge. But little did I once thinke yt ever man would so have construed my words. Yet yt I am of like passions wth other men, & worse yn you are aware of, God knoweth to be true, & my heart is not altogether insensible of it. It is my greife yt I can do no worke of God but somewt of selfe is droppinge in, wch dishonoreth it, & hindereth ye successe, & wrongs ye truth I plead for. And I wish I had left out those enigmaticall lines, as havinge too much of selfe, though no such meaninge as you imagined, nor any such wrong to you: nor yet so causeles as those thinke yt know not ye cause. Your Confession in ye end, of Lovinge where you differ, doth present you more lovely to my apprehension yn most yt differ not from me. Upon wch account I do at this day maintaine wth divers worthy Brethren a deare & intimate familiarity, wth wm yet I manage (by private letters) higher controversyes yn yors: & so love ym above other men, for more of ye spirit of Christ appeareth in ym yt can love under such temptations to overheat & disaffection, yn in others yt have no such temptations. For yorselfe I never spoke wth man yt knew you, or saw me any description of you: but meerly by yor booke (to deale freely wth you) I judged you a man, though much more confident of yor apprehensions in controversyes yn you have cause, yet really godly, havinge a Love to ye precious truths of ye Gospell, wch you thought I had injured. And for yor adjuringe me to Love, I take it acceptinge thankfully, & can truly say in ye presence of my God & yors (in ye Love of wm or soules I doubt not are centred (made one)) yt I unfeignedly love you (& so did while I defended my doctrine from yor opposition) as a member of my deare Lord & a minister in his Church, whose labors I desire of God may be lengthened & succeeded. In way of controversye we have many temptations to doe as we would not be done by; while we thinke it or duty to defend ye truth, we are ready to take somewt in ye manner to be or duty. I know my stile to be so fowle yt I suspect myselfe wn I see not my faults; & so I dare not justify any of my writings from such a charge. While I thinke I fitt words to things, I displease persons. Deare Brother, I confesse I am like to come behind you so far as you exceed me in Love, you exceed me in Heat; but if I canot reach you, I will justifye you (pardon yt phrase) & longe to reach you. And to speake truly my conscience doth not accuse me much for disaffection to you or any yt I write agt: If it deceive me not or contendinge makes little or no alteration of my affection to ym: wth some it doth by accident increase it. The great things yt offend me are these two: 1o I know yt to be truth yt you oppose, & so am sorry it should be hindered. 2ly I am exceedingly weary of controversye, partly bec it tieth me to harsh expressions & cheifly bec it robs me of my time & troubles others: & so I confesse I am troubled to find such as you are one after another still callinge me to it, & will not give me leave to forbeare it & spend my time in more gratefull workes. This only moves me when I see such bookes; but far be it from my soule to be disaffected to my deare Brethren, wth wm I live in hope to see wth Christ, wn after a little strivinge & patience or warfare is accomplished. Sometimes it greiveth me to thinke yt I should have good men to strive wth, wn I once thought of strivinge only wth ye ungodly: But wn I consider yt I have greater conflicts wth myselfe yn wth all ye world, it shameth me for grudginge at a little tryall from my Brethren. And I doubt not but God will make use of Paul & Barnabas's dissension for ye service of his Church. Sir I crave yor pardon for any thinge yt I have said unmeetly (but yet be not too tender & impatient) & yor prayers for pardon from ye jealous God wm we both offend: And I pray you stay till you have better seene into ye matter, before you any more assault any of yor Brethren, or any point wch you think they so heynously erre in. I remaine

July 17 1658.

Yor unworthy Brother
Ri: Baxter

To Mr John Warner
about his booke.

Mr Baxter !

It may be you may wonder to see a strange hand directing a letter to you
4 but I desire that you I would give a stranger leave to be a petitioner to you,
I have first begd of God to be my teacher, & he as my master hath sent
me to you (if I be not much mistaken) as to an higher scholler in the same
schoole wch made to tell me what I asked, indeed Sr upon my having
read yor aphorismes & Saints rest I perceived you to be a man of a
very peircing judgmt & sincere heart, whereupon I heartily blessed God for
bestowing so much of his spirit upon any man & did as earnestly desire
that he would increase yor grace & gifts & that very often, I pray God
Sr to make you humbly & diligently to improve his mercys, & let this
motto be written upon them all who made thee to differ, & I desire God
that you may lovingly accept my present request wch is that you
would send me but the heads of some argumts to prove the Divinity
of ye scriptures. Sr I am a young scholler or minister of ye gospell if
you will, though I am ashamed to stile my selfe so knowing mine own unworthinesse
& weaknesse & therefore upon this account yor helping mee
would be an helpe to the church, I see Sr a necessity of preaching ye
Divinity of scriptures but I never read of them neither know I where
to read wth expectation of any great satisfaction: beside it will cost mee
more time then such a sickly weake & impotent man can wth any
convenience (if possibility) spare, Sr you may make yor argumts as short as you
please wth plainesse, & you need not say any things of what is in yor Saints
Rest unlesse order or further clearnesse requires it, for it is not my
desire to trouble you but to satisfy my selfe & only desire you but to hold
forth yor candle to the lighting of mine, indeed Sr if I did not in
my conscience thinke this the best way I can take for the obtaining knowledge
of this question I should never have taken it neither should I
have ventured upon it if I were not very much perswaded of yor humility
& desire to do good, I will assure you sir if you do me this favour
you shall doe it to one who desires it only (if he knows his own heart)
for ye good of ye church & gods glory, & to one who has already a
very great esteeme of you & has many times prayd for you but by this
benefit shall for the future account it his duty so to doe continually
& set you downe among the number of my soul benefactors, Mr Baldwin
knows me a little who I hope will further my request & put you upon
acting for one who dares promise you a thankefull heart. Sr if
now you have ~~att~~ read my letter you thinke it too troublesome or bold
take it & burne it but first pray for its author

June 24. 1653.
Kirke house Londo.

yor unknown but true friend
Abr. Pinchbecke

you may direct yor letter to mee chaplain to
ye Earle of Mulgrave & order it to be
left at Mr Tibbays for mee. vale.

(No 125)

To the very much esteemed & reverenced
Mr Richard Baxter minister of the word
of Christ to his church at
Kederminster in Wostershire
these

Dear Brother.

5

Having this opportunity of wrighting to y^u by Mr Watson I shall now give y^u my thoughts concerning ye poynt wch y^u mentioned in your last, viz ye manageing of ye ministeriall w[illegible] 1° still looke to y^r ends not only y^t they be right (ye glory of ye redeemer ye saving of soules) but also y^t ye intention of y^t end be frequently & seriously acted seeing y^t this is y^t y^u must be ~~[illegible]~~ animated to & in ye meanes. & watch ag^t ye encroachm^t of any other ends. 2° pray for yor people as well as study for y^m 3° let y^r p[illegible] dealing wth y^m [show] y^t yor very heart is set upon y^m for their salvation & studie w^t cause may hinder it or may bring y^m to other thoughts of yo^u. highly esteem interest in y^m: but carefully so y^t it be not for y^r self y^t y^u esteeme or use it but for y^m but for ye right wch by so doing y^u are likely to further their salvation. avoyd all suits & contentions with y^m if possible. let y^m not have any occasion to suspect y^u y^t be worldly. meddle as little as y^u can wth any secular things; but set yor [illegible] some of yor neighbo^rs y^t y^u may both be freed from ye care & losse of time & also y^t offence & disgust wch if y^u mixe y^rself in such affaires y^u will unavoydably incurr [illegible] 4° study to speake to y^m as plainly seriously & movingly as y^u can speake. let both yor language & tone be as familiar as is possible. speake to y^m as y^u would discourse wth y^m. & study to avoyd an affected, starched, elegant [illegible]. to these ends 1° dwell most on ye fundamentall truthes, about sin, misery, redemption, ye nature & way of conversion &c. & spend not [illegible] in method & [illegible], 2° study y^e [illegible] ye same things, so you [illegible] diversify in method & [illegible] most convincing way of speaking: make all so evident to y^m in their owne way of reasoning y^t they may be forced to confesse y^t its all reasonable wch y^u require of y^m [illegible] & [illegible] their commonest objections 3° in dealing wth their sins be sure still to [illegible] ye greatest & damning (unbelief hardnesse of heart pride worldliness & sensuality or [illegible]) & [illegible] part y^t in every man wch is so naturall to all. 4 dwell [illegible] tending to resolution & [illegible] tend, & to y^t end ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] y^m as home as you can to ye very quicke of ye affections. be as serious & deeply affected y^rself as is possible, to whose ~~y^r~~ own [illegible] will doe more y^n to speake [illegible] y^m let y^m see y^t you meane as y^u speake & deale not as in a dubious or indifferent [illegible] And w^n y^u presse any duty on y^m urge y^m to resolve ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ after y^m whether they do resolve or not & let y^m know w^t will follow obeying or not obeying. The cheifest helps y^t I have found to get both matter & affection for this worke are these 1° to study well ye certainty & greatnes of ye misery of y^e [illegible] [illegible] till my heart be moved with compassion & can deale with y^m as men [illegible] till my heart be moved [illegible] privately, till I am acquainted with their [illegible] y^t are ready to [illegible] & to converse [illegible] & misapprehensions of each man (as far as I can), wch y^t states, & ye objections scruples & misapprehensions I should dwell upon 3 to study well my [illegible] ye best direction to me for ye matter I with matter supposing in common cases, y^t heart, whose wants & sins will furnish me wth matter [illegible] to ponder seriously of ye greatnes & weight of many hearts are like my owne I to ponder (of x^t & ye life to come) & apply y^m first to my self. & [illegible] truthes y^t I deliver to y^m, (of x^t & ye life to come) & apply y^m first to my self. & [illegible] to quicken my owne heart, before I bring y^m to others, for how can I hope y^t poore ignorant hearers should be affected wth y^t as a matter of weight w^n their teacher [illegible] it affected with no more y^n if it were ye lightest trifle. & w^n my heart is very dull I find it very usefull to take in hand some rousing lively writing (such as Mr Hooker M^r [illegible], M^r [illegible] or any y^t will most affect me) & to read a little till my heart grow warme, & y^n I am much fitter either to study or to pray. 6. but specially I must have recourse to God thro: x^t by [illegible] earnest prayer wch may revive [illegible] w^t other meanes do faile. // 5 in preaching & private dealing, be sure to manifest much love to y^r hearers as you can: preach rather with tender melting affection y^n with anger & disdaine. speake to y^m as lovingly as if they were y^r owne children [illegible] sure to acquaint y^m frequently with their duty of coming to y^u as their teacher & guide to aske w^t they should doe to be saved & to enquire after ye good way, & to seeke instruction on & open their doubts. y^u cannot so well know their case nor w^t & where to [illegible] y^m as they may know w^n & where to find you. let y^m well understand how much the ministeriall worke lyeth in such private instructions & solutions, & also understand how much ye people are bound to aske ye law at their mouthes. & make use of them [illegible] bid y^m come to y^u & wellcome. ye those y^t will not ~~~~ do ye go oft to y^m & so [illegible] [illegible] in a way of duty in families & private, & deale seriously yet prudently [illegible] [illegible] & set y^m in a way of their salvation: so do w^t ever y^u are cast on their society [illegible] y^m for y^e [illegible] of their salvation: so do w^n ever y^u are [illegible] [illegible] y^u heare of any y^t live in scandalous sin or grosse omissions 8. yet deale with all [illegible] w^t ye heare of any y^t live in scandalous sin or grosse omissions [illegible] as secretly as y^u can; for sinners will take you [illegible] you [illegible] [illegible] or questionable sins as secretly as y^u can; for sinners will take you [illegible] to be with y^m [illegible] y^m by publishing it (till there is remedy) 9 take all opportunities to be with y^m in afflictions especially w^n they are in danger of death. for y^n their eares are open [illegible] tion & they will more tractably entertaine advice. And make y^m [illegible] reformation they reckon it to be as mercifull & bountifull to ye poore as y^t estate will beare [illegible] great duty in it self as ye greatest meanes to win ye hearts of yor people & remove prejudice. I shall adde no more as to ye winning of soules. And for ye right [illegible] ordering ye more godly of yor flocke especially young converts (a matter of great [illegible] I shall omitt it now till I know w^t quality yor congregation is of, & w^t [illegible] have for such directions only this one thing I add

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I would have you keep a private meeting once a weeke. & let ym know yt it is not for separa
but edification by redeeming time for ye greatest things; spend it in prayr praise repeati
[illegible] of ye sermons or other instructions. let yor people have leave to propound any doubt conc
ing ye sermon then or any case of conscience or weaknes expect yor solution; but let
not schoole or resolve cases of doubt yt so much lesse then their gifts in prayng or expoun
ing. but if any will teach his owne family thus in a preaching way, so he goe not beyon
his understanding & teach no error, do not discourage him. 12 lastly see yt all yor people
will spend ye Lords day: let all yt can repeate ye sermons in their families; & those
cannot perswade ym to goe into those yt doe. // And for yor carriage to yor neighbour mi
[illegible] I advise yu yt yu further ye worke of unity & association with all yor interest & p
[illegible] as little of Gods worke dividedly as yu can, well countenance others to take cognisance of
[illegible] may be done in unity. be constant in ministeriall meetings & ye profitable exercis
[illegible] to be performed. joyne with all yt feare God, & are diligent in their office, & hu
[illegible] holding the fundamentalls of Xtian faith & practise. if any weake people or mi
[illegible] yu, fall into errors heale ym if possible with a spirit of meekness & deale with ym
rather yn before others. for the pride will but animate & give ym matter to glory
[illegible] flame will goe out by private withdrawing ye fewell wch by ye winds of ~~[illegible]~~ con
[illegible] will more furiously ~~burne~~ rage. // Remember also to regard ye health of yor body,
[illegible] will find great use of it for a vigorous service of God neither clog nor starve
[illegible] yor dyet. use no offensive recreation; but twice a day an houre before dinner & an
before supper allow yorself constantly as much exercise as yor body can well beare (walk
over a mile is my only recreation) lastly do not weaken nor dampe yor spirits b
[illegible] sadnes & melancholy. live so cheerfully among yor neighbors yt they may not
[illegible] by yu to thinke of Gods service as grievous & distructive to their peace & ho
[illegible] but rather let ym see in you yt godlines is ye joyfullest course of life. in a wo
[illegible] a faithfull & unwearyable labor for Xt in ye whole course of yor ministry. d
yorself wholly to him for yor reward waite patiently for ye desired fruit
[illegible] labors & patiently beare ye ingratitude of men. this is all yt in this hast I
[illegible] ~~Mr~~ little of (though I find much in ye practise myself) wherein ye Lord grant
yt I may be found faithfull ~~[illegible]~~ servant

Yor loving brother
Rich: Baxter

Kidder: July 5. 1651

LETTERS
fol.169. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

ffor my Reverend Brother Mr Abraham
Pinchbeck minister of the Gospell
This dd

(No 126)

[illegible] that ever was ye cause of my [illegible] I am glad yt [illegible]
p[ro]tected this. I have observed yt God doth oft by p[er]mitting tempta-
ons to infidelity p[re]pare many for a fuller discovery & firmer
well-grounded faith yn ever they had els bin like to have attain-
ed; yet in ye meane time it is a sad shaking & should it
6 but little p[re]vaile, it would involve ye soule in a fearfull guilt.
most melancholly men yt I have mett wth (yt are few sons) are
assaulted in this point. Wheras you say yt your Library hath not
Grotius, Cameron, or Mornay, I answ: they are comon books as most
/ in ye shops: and whereas you talke of length I say you must
not thinke to have any considerable knowledge in any art or
science wthout labor. If yor body have strength to spare, its
like you can read longer volumes yn those. To yor objections
1° I answ: yor first before wch I need not repeate. It is of ye
same nature wth theirs yt say why might not men annext
false doctrine to Miracles? To both I say, bec. they can do no
thing of ye supernaturall, but by Gods immediate gift, or spe-
all extraordinary providence: & yo for him to enable men by
Prophecies, & Miracles of such unquestionable evidence to con-
firme a doctrine of delusions, were litle (for God himself to become
a lying spirit (wch nature will tremble to imagine) or to give
up ye world to be remedilessly seduced by some lying spirits
while himself is ye supreme Governor; wch is equall to a flatt
denying of a Deity. men could not p[ro]phesy or worke Miracles
wn & to wt end they pleased but wn & to wt end God would en-
able ym. The poore world hath not remedy agt such a way
of supernaturall seduction as is objected. The text Act 21. saies
nothing to ye purpose to wch you alledge it. They said not to Paul
yt [he ought not to go up] de jure, nor yt [he should not go up]
de eventu but they p[er]swaded him not to go up; & this was no
falshood, for it is no affirmation, or negation: nor was it con-
trary to their revelation: for it was but this yt [if Paul went
up to Jerusalem he should be there bound or p[er]secuted. where
note also yt they father not their advice on ye spirit: yt wch ye sp-
irit taught ym was Pauls dainger (suppose it were de eventu
both yt he should go up & be bound) to wch from humane com-
passion they added their advise to him to avoyde ye danger. note
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velit. and the wordes may fitly be translated as Dr Hamond doth, they
speake to him not to go up. // 2° yor objectio agt ye 2d argument speaks
not to ye case. you talke wt following ages may do by way of invent-
ing supplementall lawes wch is not yt I speake of. 1° The body
of lawes wch you imagine first framed is either p[er]fect & temporary it
stateth p[re]senti wthout ye latter, or it is supposed so & [illegible] imperfect
for want of foresight, or sufficiency in ye legislator. But ye lawes of
Moses were all framed but as ye p[ar]t of a systeme as one or two wheeles
in a watch yt can do nothing wthout ye rest. Xt signifyed in all their
sacrifices & other types & revealed in p[ro]mises & p[ro]phecies, is ye soule
& life of all wthout wm all was but a shell & carcase. 2° yor legisla-
tor knoweth not yt his lawes are insufficient for ye future till
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some change discover ye insufficiency. But ye legislator did at ye time
reveale his intention to stablish a better covent in ye Messiah to wch
all yt was but p[re]paratory; & they were taught still to expect ye great
p[ro]phet wm God would raise up to ym like to Moses; & yt whosoever
would not heare him should be cutt of. all ye p[ro]phets also in all
following ages still foretold ye coming of ye Messiah & ye lawes yt
should go out of Zion from him, & ye spreading glory of his kingdome
& ye spirituality of it, & ye conversion of ye Gentiles to it &c insomuch
yt ye infidell Jewes are fully satisfyed beyond all doubt yt a Messiah
must come tho: they beleeve not yt Jesus is he. could yor humane
Legislators have foreknowne yt ye world should have a Redeemer
thousands of yeares before & have fitted their lawes on this fore-
sight to ye state of such an ~~ex~~ expectant people yt all might
x but as ye p[re]paration to his coming? wt if this could have serv'd ye
[illegible] of their p[re]dictions? could they also have sent the one

for my Reverend Brother Mr Abraham
Pinchbeck minister of the Gospell
this d d d

(No 126)

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[illegible] of their predecessors? could they also have seene the end

designe so many ages before? & would they conspire in ye same predictions thereof, & ye same way thereto: yea wn Xt is come, & ye old law is to be taken downe it is not by charging ye authour wth any deficiency in framing it (as yor supplementer must do); but it is to ye the law by fulfilling it & so remove all ye types, & shaddowes & prophecys, by ye presence of ye substance as a prophecy ceaseth wn it is fulfilled or an obligation wn it is solved & so cancelled wthout an accusation but as a thing intended but to such a time & use, & as ye day bre ceaseth by ye rising of ye sun. 3o moreover yor supplying legislator could only devise words & lawes, but not cause those great reall preternaturall mutations wch are ye matter & foundation of all. If ages had foretold as Esay yt a virgin shall bring forth a son, & call name Emanuell, & yt to us a child shall be borne, & a son given & governmt be laid on his shoulder & he be called Wonderfull counsellor mighty God, ye Everlasting Father, ye Prince of peace &c. Is. 9. 6. 7. yt he should be wounded for or transgressions, & bruised for or iniquities & ye chastisemt of or peace laid on him & we healed by his stripes &c & yt from ye going forth of ye commandemt to restore & build Jerusalem unto ye Messiah ye prince shall be .7. weekes & 62. & yn ye Messia be cut of, but not for himself. &c Dan 9 26. 27. (of wch see Broughtons concent of Scr & on Dan) I say, if former ages had foretold these things, could yor following legislator have effected ye designe by ye bringing of this to p ye like may be said of many more particulars. (Broughtons concent is a small usefull booke to shew you much of ye compasse of ye designe in a small roome). // 3o If you account the 3d argumt good wt need you any more? yor ignorance of antiquity must be cured by diligent reading & faithfull endeavor to know wt you know not. how you can thinke yt I should shew you in any other way, or in few words, wt is contained in faithfull hystory, & ye volumes of ancient writers I cannot imagine. No knowledge will be got wthout labor you are made for nothing els but to know God else & have yor reason time & helpes for nothing els. ye Fathers & councells will & do I. Ch: hystory & ye many volumes of ye Fathers wch are small ones be read as you are able: specially ye eldest first. Besides ye very being of so many Chs in Ethiopia, Asia, Europe presently upon ye Apostles daies, & all having this script: daily preached among ym, & making it ye matter of their imploymt every Lords day, at least & all differing parties pleading ye same script: one agt another & ye substance of their religion lying in ye hopes of eternall life wch this word gives, & ye use of those meanes thereto to wch this directeth without wch they could be no xtians, fully sheweth yt ye records were extant: & all ye translations, of ye most eminent Chs Greeke, Latine Syriacke Chalde, Ethiopicke Persian & yet extant (yea copies of exceeding great antiquity yet) besides ye transcripts wch most countries must use yn old copies & all agreeing except in inconsiderable wordes (as ye Parisian bible will yt shew you) do fully evince this. In a word all sorts of records, Ecclesiasticke Civill writings of Fathers Councells, enemies put it past doubt yt these are ye bookes wch ye Apostles delivered to ye Chs. To them yt say, they know non of this I answered in my last wt course should a man take yt knowes not yt ye lawes now used are not forged, but were made by those Kings & Parlamts yt they are ascribed to: why sure full tradition & records, & lawsuites betweene contenders & tenures by ym are infallible evidences. But if he have not time or ability to try by ye 3 latter he must use the first, & take up wth ye judgmt of those yt do know wt he knowes not. so must men here. yet will not this carry ym to Rome, but only as to a chu: yt has had ye advantages by its tempted especially to keepe fast ye Vatican library & by ye imperiall residence to have ye Chs affaires in those parts to have a fuller record to convey to posterity. One Usher, Vatablus, Buxtorfe is of more authority yn ye Pope: & one old copy in Vatican, or Florence library (or any other, whereof ye world hath many) is more yn ye meere determination of a Pope. // 4o my 4th you mistake for tho: its principall use is to ym yt have ye Spirits worke in ym, yet it might be a convincing evidence to beholders, if they did their duties in observing & judging. I speake not of that wch is comonly called ye witness of ye spirit, i.e, by efficient perswasion us yt Script: is Gods word: but ye sanctifying worke of ye Sp appearts in ye lives of beleivers might convince to ye wo animate his followers wth such a spirit as ye rest of men voyde of. // I have said ye less, & not studied or attempted to forth any supplementall fruits, &c. you assure me yt you not in doubting. I suppose so yt you are able to ans these objections yors. For if you bee nowe tempted to doubte of Script: verily now to take it on popish (most wretched) grounds, I conceiv you have no great use for any further arguings of mine. //

Indeed ye Script: must first be apprehended as true, at least in high probability, before men can truly obey its precepts, or feare its threatnings, or rest upon its promises: but its conscionable improvemt of yt light vouchsafed us, yt is a most excellent & necessary meanes to or reception of more. God useth to let in light into or soules by degrees, & ye loving cherishing & obeying of ye first degrees would wth some men do more to advance their understanding, yn wthout this can be expected in any other way. There is an unexpressible sweetnes & kernell & vitall spirits as it were in divine truth wch a close application & conscionable improvemt gives men a taste of, wch others do but see, & wthout tasting cannot be well knowne; & by those yt do know it is not enjoyed. Every man can say Theologie is a practicall science; but did they study it accordingly, as knowing yt all is lost, yt dies before it is operative they would make other manner of Divines yn most of us are. they are glorious & attractive objects wch ye xtian verity propoundeth to us; & able to do wonders on mens hearts were they but received & improved according to their natures; they would yn turne mens eyes from ye intising vanities & take ym of from ye imploymts of children, & make ym spit out their sensuall delights. But alas xt holdeth out glory to us, & we will not looke at it. the importunity & clamor of ye flesh & ye world make us not only forget yt we are xtians but yt we are men: reason as well as faith is layd by. unspeakable consolations are neglected bec: this flesh must be pleased. the presence of sensuall objects gives such an advantage to ye tempter yt we will not heare him yt tells us of tenthousandfold more wch is future & unseene: wn yet we know yt or deluding vanities doe perish in ye using; & if this were all or happiness, a man is but little happier yn a dog. O wt would man have bin in worldlines & wickednes, had ye length of his life bin continued as before ye deluge, wn we yt are still living at ye doore of another world & feele or flesh to be or burden & are dying while we live are yet so impotently addicted to these toyes, & mastered by every slight temptation. so yt ye worth of two pence will draw us to transgress. should God give us up to disbeleive yt truth wch we would not receive in love, & to conforme our judgmts to ye inclination of or flesh, who would not mortify yt flesh & reduce or lives to ye acknowledged truth, he would be justifyed in or perdition. Farewell

the Lord enlighten, stablish, & sanctify you

Yr fellowservant in ye Gospell of xt

Ri: Baxter

Aug: 26. 1653.

To my Reverend Brother Mr Abraham Pinchbecke
Chaplaine to the Earle of Mulgrave
at Kirkhouse London

(No 127)

Deare Sr 7

One word after this our long silence would be very refreshing especially seeing I heare a report this weeke from the Cathedrall here that the Agreement in point of Liturgy is perfected of which I desire an account from you of the truth and circumstances. I had a message from Mr Calamy that we should be considering of exceptions backed with arguments I have thought of it, but when I had done so I found so much of that nature in the papers of the old Non-Conformists ~~and~~ that I thought it superfluous, I heare you are chosen of the Convocation at London a meeting so constituted ~~that~~ as if it were appointed only for the use of Cathedralls I wish you may doe good in it. Wee have also chosen here or rather they for two of ~~[illegible]~~ are called Presbyterians concerned themselves in the Election and the choice is accordingly. But or Clerkes only say Amen to Canterbury Province so that its not much materiall. Wee had also a Latin Sermon on Wednesday from Dr Samwayes Parson of Bedall and Wath it was good Latin and pretty indifferently managed he did pronounce the Non Conformists sectatores, and told his brethren of the Chapter that there were Canonici rumores they were vel nummariis nimis attenti, and did fisco magis quam Christo consulere. I have only my respects to adde Sr

Yorke May 11
1661

Your very affectionate
ffriend and brother
Edw. Bowles

My service to Dr Bates

(Nº128)

London from mr Tho [illegible] house at yͤ Crowne in [illegible] street

Reverend & well beloved though unknowne but only by yoͬ books, I have sent you a booke of mine on yͤ Sabbath, for the notions sake of it: if you please to make any ~~Animadversions~~ on it I have above signified where you may direct yoͬ letter to me, for I live in yͤ County in yͤ [illegible] of Bucks:

Sir yoͬ last replies were to me very acceptable; I am glad that god did so assist you to quit yoͬ selfe & the truth: though I receive by my bookseller that ministers are exceedingly divided in their censures: some abundantly satisfied & others as censorious as ever: but I have some cause to suspect that some of them out of former prejudice speak evill of that they know not: reading slightly cursorily & not seriously: But it seemes it is yoͬ lott to be reproched for error, in those pointes wherein you shunne error & advance truth:

[illegible] in my perusall of yoͬ replies, though I approve yͤ maine, yet there is one thing in matter that I thinke is not iustifiable: In yoͬ Reply to mr Kendall p. 143 Argu. 21. 7. you say that: when the Scripture so oft denyeth iustification by the Law, It plainely implyeth that there is such a thinge in Rerum Natura as Justification By a Law: & that it is no improper unfitt speech, for else god would not use it Gal. 5.4. & 3.11. Act 13.39.

my ~~answer~~ is. That god ordained a way of outward iustification by yͤ workes of yͤ Ceremoniall law: for if any Jew were legally unclean by any accident he might not come into yͤ Sanctuary: on paine of Cutting of: which sometymes was by death as Lev 15.31 untill he was legally iustified from his legall sin, by such purgations as god had appointed for every severall degree of uncleanes in this regard they were very strict in yͤ observation of these legall iustifications: & for their strict care of this outward holinesse yͤ whole nation are calld men of holinesse Exo 22.31 But in tyme they abused yͤ use of this outward iustifications, for absolut iustification from all sin in yͤ sight of god: & it is evident that yͤ apostle opposed this corrupt opinion in Act 13.39. phi. 3. 6. & Ezekiell did thwarte such iustitiaries in Ch 21.3. I will draw out my sword & cutt of from thee both yͤ righteous & yͤ wicked: Ezekiell doth there call the hypocriticall Justitiaries The Righteous, ironically bec of their confidence of their iustification ~~& righteousnesse~~ by their legall performances: & yͤ 70 translate this word unrighteous [illegible] & purifications are called iustifications in Heb 9.1.10 & Dan 8.14. the 70 for cleansed put iustified.

But it may be you hold as most do that yͤ morall law was given to Adam for his iustification in his innocency: But when things come to be well considered I believe that will not prove to be a truth: I take yͤ nature of yͤ first Covenant to lie in positive precepts about things indifferent in their owne nature & not about any morall precepts But I shall not now ~~[illegible]~~ debate this point for I thinke ere long I shall have occasion to expresse my selfe more fully: & so I rest

yoͬ assured ~~loving friend~~
William Pynchon

Pinchon

(No129)

To ye Reverend & his
much esteemed ffriend
mr Richard Baxter
Pastor of ye Church
at Kidderminster

Mr Pinckney

My deare friend and Brother,

9 Tumbling up and downe, and settling hath taken up so much of my time, yt I may seeme to forget myselfe in not remembring you and your precious letter sent last. But at the last I have stolne a little time to pay a penny for a pound. All I can say is yt I am abundantly satisfied wth your reasons about the influence of Christ's suretiship into our Justification. It doth not much vary fro my old conceptions, but, I confesse, is clearer against Antinomianisme. For the rest, I heartily thank you for your last booke against the Anabaptists. my argument is so prosecuted yt, I think, it will stop the mouth of Mr Tombes and all his favourites. I confesse yt within this few howres I heard a great Stickler except against it for affirming childre of beleevers to be Justified and adopted, & yet, after their Infancy, they may fall fro. I said yt I remembred not yt passage: yet upon a sleight review I would give him an account, and, as I thought, for the defense of your sense. your Aphorismes, and your everlasting rest are almost out of presse, and the church will have a losse if so ~~[illegible]~~ they rest. I doe heartily wish, yt upo your ~~[illegible]~~ Examinatio, and supply they may come agayne: but above all, oh yt I could see that yt of Redemptio, and the other mentioned might not be buried by your weaknesse. God in mercy to us prolong your dayes for the glory of his truth in these darke tymes among men light. You shall see yt the hand of providence recalleth to you fro London for your preferment I saw God in it yt a good gentlewoman

and enquired of my acquaintance wth you. I told
her yt I was sorry yt I never sawe you; but I was
willing to be acquainted wth you by writing, and for
highly account of your returnes to mee. She said yt
she heard you was a pious man, of great peace, and
paynes, yet very weake; and yt she was willing
to be an instrument to prolong your dayes for
the service of the church. I humbly thanked her, and
I told her yt (if she would instance that she had vnder
God supported) I would readily convey any thing vnto
you. She told mee of diverse ministers as Mr Love
Mr Blackwell &c I entreated her to name wt she was
willing to send wth Mr Blackwell, whom she knew
well. Shee promised, and performed. I ~~f~~ went
and found by Mr Blackwell yt she had done him
very much good, and therefore I was confident to
take this little vessel fro thence, and to send it to
Mr Tyton for you. The good Lord yt brings healing
vnder his wings, heale you. O Lord rebuke thy feaver
yt thou mayst minister to Christ more, and more.
You buy bookes deare, so doe I: But if I suspect too hard
measure, be pleased to impart prizes, and I shall
faithfully examine them wth other booksellers. If I
can doe you any other service (not wronging Mr
Tyton whom I account an honest man, though I chide
him for printing your last in so little a print)
you shall find mee very ready, who am, Syr

Feb: the 27th
1650:

Your faithful brother in Xt

Robert Abbott

(No 130)

Sr

I receivd yours of oct: 25. with your Epistle to be prefixed before my treatise of the light, which I intend to print entirely as it is, and intreate your other Epistle to be printed afore the treatise against the papists with what speede you can, for which and the rest of the things in your letter I do really thank you. And for the things you presse me to the preventing of the toleration of Popery and our owne union I hope I shall not be wanting, but intend as I shall finde it convenient to give you such account as I shall iudge meete: which I wish may not be hindered by the proceedings in Scotland. The papers of accomodation I had at Lemster, but have not here, but intend to call on Mr Lambe or Mr Allen for them, and to propound to those of my iudgment about baptism those things ~~you~~ which are contained in your paper if the meeting at Alderman Tichbournes or Col: Shepheards over against Thomas Apostles be not removed, after I have in the meeting of the messengers of the churches of the baptized ~~from~~ abated the rigid severity of those that iudge none ~~meet~~ visible churchmembers till baptized, ~~&c~~ and the ministers calling Antichristian by a bishop, and thereupon deny communion with them, and by reason of maintenance by tithes and from the state, from which I finde sundry of the churches here under baptism already, and theire chiefest guides already taken off. And for the preventing of a toleration of popery I intend to advise with Mr Kiffin, Col. Packer, and some others, and if I see Dr Owen inclinable to it I shall consult with him. In Mr Allens retractation I conceive there is a defect of distinguishing betweene separation and non admission, and communion and regular having communion, the later though arising from saintship yet requiring something previous according to institution. My iudgment was long since known in the meeting at the Cockpit oct: 1653. If hereafter I finde time to set down Aphorismes about churches and communion in government, breaking bread, ordination, schism, I hope I shall have a iust regard to truth and peace I pray you minde Mr Osland at Bewdley that he do not in sermons and conferences utter such things as give occasion to keepe us at a further distance. Judge of me as you finde me to be a real friend to the Gospell and welfare of the churches of God of dissenting iudgment, and pray for

At the House of Henry Hils
printer next doore to the pea
cock in Aldersgate streete
London oct: 29. 1659.

Your imperfect, yet brother
in the Lord

John Tombes

(N° 131)

Honored Sr,

As I cannot but blesse god for al the good I have formerly receivd by
your bookes, and of late by your discourses, so I cannot but returne
myne & my peoples gratefull service to you: Here I could be large but —
in publica commoda peccem, si longo sermone morer tua tempora —
you weare speaking of the want of an Amanuensis: there is now with
me a very godly youth, as I suppose, & so he is iudged by al that know him, of
an humble, meeke, & serious spirit, very diligent in his studys, that writes
characters very well, & swift, and I am confident wil quickly learne to
read yours. he writes a very good hand: he hath bin scholler of Wadham
College Oxon for almost 4 yeares, & hath time for his Batchelors degree
next terme: he is extraordinary desirous, to enioy that happines as to be
your Amanuensis: His friends wth his full consent have dedicated him
to the Ministry, he is wholy at my disposall, & if you please to
accept of him on any termes that you shall iudge fit, he shall be
wholy yours; ~~on what termes you please~~. I shall not propose any thing unto you
if you please to let me know your mind herein in any sort to make tryall of the
yong man, he shall speedily be with you, if you like him not, he shall returne
if you please to keepe him with you, I will se him furnished wth all things
requisite both for his iorney unto and abode with you;
if I may obtaine an answer to this motion, be pleased to send it directed to me
to be left at Salisbury at mr Antram, ye younger, a clothier, & it will be
speedily conveyd unto me;

I received on my returne, a letter from mr Turner, of whom you heard not onely by us
lately, but it seemes by others before, that he hath something against your Aphorismes
his former exceptions being without ether endeavoring to confute your positions, or
confirming his owne, It was not iudged fit your perusal: Now in his last le
(wch should have bin with me, before my iorney to you) he assures me that he will
more fully & clearly state the question, and will more directly order his reasons
and arguments against such Aphorismes, as he is not satisfyed in; If I can
gain a promise from you of answering his arguments, without mentioning his name in print
I shal shortly be in those parts, I intend to conferre wth mr Turner, I see in many things he
mistakes ye meaning, the greatest material poynt that I find him differing from
you, is about the totall abrogation of the Covenant of works by Christ to beleevers;
the man is accounted very godly & of pretty parts; if I cannot satisfy him, how far you
wil be pleased to take notice of his arguments, I leave to your consideration, seeing the
most generall obiection I find is, your slighting of godly able divines yt do not concur
with you, & mr Turner in his last letter did wish me to desire you to be sensible
that ye virulency of your stile did make you more formidable than the strength
of yr arguments, not that I am of his iudgment, neither do I present this as my
desire, but as a comon obiection.

176

That Answer to ye Aphorismes by mr Crandon endeavoring to prove you a flat Papist by ye
Aphorismes, is now in presse, & much cryd up by the Antinomian party, as an unanswerable piece: if it comes abroad before ye next edition of ye Infants Baptisme
your few animadversions on it would much stop the mouths of or sectarys here for
we know if a booke be unanswered because not worth it, they cry it up as unanswerable;

The Lord give you strength suitable to your worke, and encourage and assist you for the
comon good to publish more, then you preach, that England as well as Kederminster
may be edifyed by your labors. I must, & so doth many more, serious Christians

X

bless god for youre bookes, in being resolved more cleerely in doctrinall
poynts, & being directed into the love of god and patient wayting of Christ
more sweetly & kept fixedly than by al the writings, preachings, conferences
were we inioyd before: Oh let not Satan so tempt as to prevayle with
you to hide the rest of youre talents: I must not tell you how to writing, [illegible]
communing: May the god of health make youre body prosper, as youre soule prospers
to wch end, be assured you have the earnest & dayly prayers & fastings of gods
people here; less than the least of whome is

Fordinbridge: in Hampshire.
Aug: 28. 1652

your gratefull servant
Henry Bartlett.

Mr Grove & my Brother Ince most
heartily remember you, & gladly you
will heare, whether Dr [illegible] have [illegible]
[illegible] any Posthuma of his workes:

(No 132)

Febr: 12: 1650

2

Deare frend

I have recd yr letter & am very glad yt yu receaved my strange lynes with [illegible] to say
Christian ingenuity I had much beg'd by the same [illegible] that I suppose [illegible] (as yu call it)
before forwarde yr letter as for citing pages to make good the charge [illegible]
but was yr mistake I judg it needless for many reasons, [illegible] I writ what I did
upon that accompt not pointedly eying pages, only yt the [illegible] I hinted to yu the
misgiving thoughts of some of yr loving friends, & if upon self-reflection yu find it
but their feares not yr fault, it will amount but to thus much that they were jealous
over yu with a godly jealousy I intimated soe much unto yu that yu might be more jealous
over yr self & shun any seeming occasions for the future of any such prejudice. but because yu
love plaine dealing [for I beleive yu are reall in that] give me leave to cite one page but
not in any of yr bookes but in page 1st of yr last letter to me wch write thus having spoken of Mr
Walker [but he shall call all the divynes in the world Heritiks, & set all on fyre before
I will ever blame him againe] was I ~~[illegible]~~ make the Inclination by blaming it] an angry expression of good anger
Deare Sir when I read these lynes I thought I [illegible] as a brother
Jonah, is Mr Walker unforgiveable must he never more bee admonished by yu wch not by soe much
in rash he set all, all what all ye churches or states or both, on fire & yu not by soe much [illegible] in the world
as blaming it endevour to extinguish it: & shall he abuse all the divynes in the world together
soe far as to call them Heritiks & will yu ~~[illegible]~~ yu bett all ye divynes in ye world together
with yr self before yu indevour to take quill of Mr Walker or vindicate all ye divynes in
the world from an unjust & rash censure, & all bee yu be blamed for missing it in ye maine
of yr reproofe of an antient & I hope godly divyne, I suppose any wch will count it a mistake
& possibly ye same pen hath slipped before now: but I am not peremptory it may bee I
mistake in this alsoe I submitt to yr better & stronger thoughts: / one thing more of for ye
I doe not understand not: it is this) [He that makes his Creed soe large & fundamentalls soe
numerous as to reach to Arminianisme shall damne him self I dare answer it] I suppose if
some goe not beyond that wch they call their Creed they will come short of heaven their Creed is
soe narrow (I speake of some Arminian persons amongst us) I know on ye other side men
may damne others by making their Creede soe large as by making yt fundamentall wch
it not & others cannot reach unto but if I judg an Arminian point to bee fundamentall
wch is not, though it bee a grosse mistake & is carefully to bee shunned yet how I shall
damne my self thereby I understand not / I suppose where I have read one Controversy
yu may have read 40 yt hath it I have read but few judging many above my Capacity
& judging others not soe necessary but I have within these 2 yeares busied my thoughts about
this Controversy what is Heresie: & after I have don all I can returne noe better answer
then the Pharisyes when Christ asked them abt ye baptisme of John: I cannot tell only thus much
I have learned in yt case to know it is hard to say what is Heresie & as hard if not
harder to tell who is an Heritike I blame yu not for not damning Pelagius & Arminius I
know yt is not yr worke, only I observed yu crossed by their opinions with such a Parenthesis
as this, though I like them not I which I supposed yr leaning towards divynes yt yu think
mistaken, & I suppose in a less nature was more like acrimonious, but I am but a foole
I will say noe more: only thank yu for yr opinion soe farr as it relates to yr self abt ye
Engagement it was as much as I expected, but when shall I know when all or ye major yt hath
altered ye government &c. but noe more of yt: I am hartily glad yu are soe sensible of ye
Ministry the lord enkindle & increase those bowells: as for writing to ___ I judg it alsoe
together unprofitable he is letter proof hee hath bin delt with in a ministeriall way by
a grave minister that formerly hee boasted as his spirituall father [if ye work bee not
yet to doe] but to noe purpose only ye good man could not be quiet till he had discharged
his Conscience in soe doeing: others have delt with him abt ye Ministry but his answer
was he judges not them fitt to preach that have not ye spiritt of the times in them. &
will not speake a word for the day if yu say yu understand not these termes noe more
doe I: but as for printing something full & playne in defence of ye ministry &c I have
spoken with divers good men & discreete both ministers & others & they all conclude
yu may doe very well in soe doeing & give good reasons for what they say & therefore
should much desire a full & briefe defence of ye ministry with ye danger of
attempts yt indevour to eradicate & root it out but much care is herein required for
that reproveth makes himself a prey / yesterday I was where a godly minister of that
who was inveigled to subscribe to keepe his place & when hee had don it they cast him out
ye good man is soe sad & lyes in his owne spirit yt yu would weepe with him to see
him weepe / this they have dealt in ye like manner with Dr Reynolds of Oxon
is not certayne) if yu did know how many godly ministers sweetly qualifyed with
ministeriall gifts are put out for not conforming & did but heare what [illegible]
simple boyes sett up in their pulpitts (yu would conclude if I print but [illegible]
it shall bee of this subject.

[illegible] the more likely it is to doe good: not only be

godly ministers as well them of Salopp as others are shortly to make their

to the Councell of State wch have lately bin new modelled 20 new ones put in

[illegible] put out (some of the new ones are more hopef

the others, [illegible] man you writ of is one of them) & as for silencing any

[illegible] I hope they will not dare not, for they only [illegible]

[illegible] testimony to the truth: & I shall heartily wish what they intend

[illegible] it doe, yor selfe in yt life tyme longer be abashed & the truth [illegible]

[illegible] in all truth & [illegible], pardon I have writ soe much to soe little purpose

[illegible] pray for

Yr loving frend
H Smith

what become all Dr Reynalds I know it too [illegible]
not [illegible] having subscribed in a qualifyed
some are put out of their places & [illegible] of
[illegible] by their advertisements for doing [illegible]
any thing I feare we shall lose a ministers
[illegible] I heard not

(No 133)

Honored Sr,

Did I not feare the miscarriage of my former lrs
by the way of London, I should not trouble you with this
paper: wch is but a renewing ~~of~~ my petition of what you
granted before I asked, your reconciliatory paper about
church-governt: seing you have promised so friendly, I hope
that you will as kindly bestow it. We do much reioyce in these
parts for your late Edition of ye Infant-Baptisme: We do
earnestly beg of god that your body may prosper as your soul
prospers. My brother Fuce & mr Grove have also sent unto
you, & they asked me lately of you, do heartily remember
you to our good god, & do hereby present there entire respects
to you, & earnestly long to hear from you:
I cannot but blesse God, & tell you, how much good ye
Sts rest hath don in these parts; Many even of ye best
christians had too much of Sardis-sins; And or good god
hath made your booke instrumentall ἀναζωπυρεῖν τὸ
χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ: Oh that the antient of Days that is the
same yesterday to day & for ever, would give you an
opportunity to perfect those other practicall pieces of
pride, and the hearts-deceitfulness: Good Sir, practise
what you learned long ago of Bucholzer desij disputare
Oh that you would put an end to your altercations about
ye Aphorismes, & give us your iudgement in them as is expected
that you might wholy spend that time in publishing those
other treatises: Were this my single desire I should
not so boldly present it, but I know it to be the earnest
request of the most godly & iudicious in these parts.
May the Father of lights still shine down on you, that you may
farther cleare up those truths, that are yet so darke to many
I have sent this by the way of Oxon, that if you please to send
yt way to Henry Dent who is wth mr Robartson soon it will
come speedily to yr most thankfully engaged

Hen Bartlett

ffordinbridge
xber. 30. 1652.

(Nº 134)

Honored ffriend, 4

I had ſooner awnſwered yr very Kind lr, but I was
from home, & I went to mr Grove & my Br: Jull
who reſolved wth me to ſend altogether to you, but we
weare interrupted, I ſuppoſe they will now ſend apart
Howeuer we do all earneſtly deſire that you would be
pleaſed to ſend that paper wch you promiſed in yr
lr. I have bin very much importuned for copyes of yr
other papers, but yr word is a law: yet I ſuppoſe did
you ſe how uſefull they would prove if privately
communicated, you would either give us them largely, or
allow theſe more comon: Mr Cr: hath stopt his booke,
I am promiſed a ſight of it, & then you ſhall heare more
I have ſince talked wth mr Furnace, whom I find now
to have more of charity, & leſſe of Paſſion. Unles his
arguments be ſuch as the godlieſt & iudiciouſt here be
ſuppoſed worth ſending, I hope they will not trouble you
Did you know how earneſtly your next edition of yr
Aphoriſmes (as you ſeemed to promiſe, & is generally
taken for a promiſe) is deſired by ye most godly & mode-
-rate Miniſters, you would I preſume haſten it.
Every one (I meet with) is very inquiſitive, & deſirous that
you would publiſh more. And we do generally acknow-
-ledge, that we have found more for that points you
have handled in yours, then in al the bookes we have
read beſides: ffor my part I dare not give flattering
titles to any; But tis feared, leſt your not publiſhing
any more is none of the leaſt temptations on you:
you that could awnſwere mr Bedford ſo —— in ſo few
days, might have in ſo many yeares ſince, have done
more precious worke. I beſeech you in the bowels of
Christ hide not your talent. your candle was not
given you to be hid under that buſhell: If we do not
ſee you agayn in print, you will ~~have~~ erelong have
many hands to ſuch a paper:-

I have very abruptly, scribled these lines, pray be pleased to send that promised paper; I and my people are very glad, that we can yet continue to pray for you; And I know not any one breathing, whose workes, they have so used & benefited by; & whose person, is more frequently & fervently commended to the throne of grace. If you please to mention us to or good God, you will farther engage us & more especially

Nov. 3. 1652.

your obliged servant in Christ.

Wm. Bartlett.

if you please to send to mr Samuell Gellibrand at ye Ball in Pauls church yard it will be conveyed to me at mr Ankorn ye younger in Exon.

Dr Davenant I suppose will let mr Grove have any papers of the Bpps; if you please I will go with mr Grove to ye Dr & see what is there & if you like any I will transcribe them at mr Groves, ffor beyond thy house I perceive they shall not go.

No 135

My deare friend,

The same report that flies of you about B: Ushers death (his fearing was commeth also of yours) as it is [illegible] much afflict mee. I could not be quiet before I have bene both at Mr Underhill, and at Mr Tyton. I thank God that I heard of your life, and safety after that shaking shock at Worcester. [illegible] of Redemption, blame mee not to enquire of your worke. Those words you will acknowledge (the [illegible] minister that is full in the ends and fruits of Xts death and our redemption) make mee to expect something more from you. Those [illegible] got home [illegible] in others Davenant I could not get before now, neither have I yet read a line in it. [illegible] 600 each [illegible] friends, and for the booke [illegible] hands for want of large [illegible] in the sort of men. The nearest is Martinius Bremensis [illegible] agree my way Catholica, on the 4th Article of Faith. As for B: Davenant, I can not yet beleive that he should say something to satisfy the Church about Mr Goodwins booke of Redemption Redeemed, and he readily answered that he had thoughts about it, and had begun something against it, and I beleive that is all.

I am glad you have had those Expectations of learned men of generall perswasions about your Aphorismes. It will make it the more ripe when it doth appeare. I have conferred with Divers about it in London, and never heard any reasonable exception. That about Justification by works [illegible] But when I opened your sense of Jam: 2 according to [illegible] I never could [illegible] reply.

Somthing is also spoken about Circles, and Crosses
as though fall upõ you; these upon God: but to like
yr respects. I think it a dispute about words. I have
while a prayer to God [illegible] smile to you. tho
is y you may be bount up in the bundle of life
to cleare up many darker truths before you
goe hence and be the more in mortal after. You
live above Envie, and can not be lifted up; you
I tell you y God hath given you a clearer head though
this worke then to most now, though there are too
many pretenders to new lights: This is y you
would not loose any of your dispatchings, and
replies; but file them up in order, and commit
them to faithfull one, who may publish them
when you are dead.

As to books; the state of times is such, as yt good
books are not esteemed and vendible, and base
bookes (except Bibles) raise the gaines of all
Stationers. I feare you have seene y malicious
booke called Fur Praedestinatus: and Blaserus
Apelles Evangelium: and some sermons called A
Stop to the Gangreen of J: Goodwin: and the
Pagans debt and dowry by J: Goodwin, about
the salvation of Heathen, as a result of his
universal Redemption: but besides these there
is but one considerable one, and yt is Divinity
of [illegible] Mediatourship. If you would have these,
or any of the first, your next returne shall
[illegible] [illegible]
My last word now is concerning my Nephew
Will: Allen, of whom I can expect noe great
matter of learning. He [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
I am glad yt he [illegible] [illegible], and [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] this matter [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] His Father is of [illegible] a good
church and one of his [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] you can keep him [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] engage
Your [illegible] friend Robert Abbott

6

Reverend and deare Sr

I heartily thanke yu for yr friendlynesse to us when we were wth you at Kiderminster and blesse God for thr society we enjoyd. I have many a time heartily lamented it since I saw yr bookes, yt I was so much a stranger to you at Wrm. had I bin aware of those gifts and graces wch or holy God (I see) hath given you; it had not bin; but it is too late to recover past oppor=tunityes. Truly I know not any booke yt ye Lord hath made more use of for ye rowsinge men up to an active and busy religiousnesse (wch is religiousnesse indeed) then that of yours. I speake not this to make yu proud but thankfull, and did yu know wt an advantage you have gaind upon ye spirits of men by it, you would follow it and make ye soules of many yet more holy by those writinges wch ly uselesse by you. I am confident writinge would make yr life more generally usefull while God lengthens it out, then any othr your welldoinge. I was very sorry to find such aversinesse fro it by yr discourse; but I hope yu will discover, and overcome temptation in it. I know yu want not worke; my desire is yt yu would only change lesse considerable worke for this wch is more usefull. by yr writinges yu may be preachinge to ye worlds end & I am perswaded no man may (through ye grace of God) promise himselfe a greater successe. ye Ld (Deare Sr) I think hath given yu more incouragemt to such worke then any one besides you. would yu use yr reason in this as yu doe about othr things you would not any longer hold yr hand.

(No 137)

when religion was growne so generally notionall who
could have imagined that a booke urginge laborious
holynesse should have found such quicke & generall
welcome? Truly ye acceptation of yr booke hath made
6 me to have some bettr thoughts that religion is
not so much lost in ye land as I thought it had bin.
Good Sr thinke wt a charity it is to recover coolinge
& declininge soules, & to doe any thinge that may set
ye power of Godlynesse upon its legge againe. I may
seeme senselesse of yr weaknesses by my thrustinge yu forward
upon more labours but ye Ld knowes I am not. I
desire not ye least addition to yr labor but ye orderinge
of it to most publicke advantage. The God of all
grace and mercy mitigate yr paines, increase ye conso-
lations of ye holy ghost in yu, and make a continuall
addition to those many eminent and sweete exp-
eriences yu have had of his goodnesse, ye Ld blesse
yr preachinge, writinge, conference and be your
god & guide to death. this is & shall be earnestly
sought of or God by

Dunhd Nov: 16. Yr faithfull thankfull friend
and fellow servant
Peter Ince.

I thanke yu for yr kind remembrance
in my brothr Bartlet's letter I pray yu
send us yr practicall propositions about
church governmt and ye subscription you
require of membrs wch yu spoke of when
we were wth you. I pray yu remembr me
to Mr Sarjant & tell him I heard not fro him since I was
at kidderminster.

Medbourn in [illegible]
this 25. Decemb. 1651.

Sr

Among other the good providences of God towards me in my late Journy, I record that which led me into some acquaintance with yourselfe, with much contentment. Not without freq[illegible]t and inward acknowledgments of your civilitie, mansuetude and indulgence, whereof yoe private converse (and my owne indispositions) gave me large experience in that litle time I stayed at Kedirminster. But chiefly I desire to praise God for those sweet effusions of his Name by your publiq Ministration, ~~to~~ whereof I hope I still do and shall retaine some tincture upon my spirit for edification. The Father of lights (I humbly pray) double his Spirit upon you, and multiply your encouragements and successes, to his Glory, more and more continually. He also, if it may stand with his good pleasure, draw out the thread of your life (strengthened with health, and accomodated with all Comforts) that so the Church of Christ may get receive such farther reliefe by yoe ministration, as the exigencies thereof require, and the Proportion of yoe Talent (through His blessing) may contribute. And farther; may His great and gracious hand be ever actually powerfull upon yoe Heart, to secure you from the assaults of Sin and Satan in all disguises whatsoever. For, I am persuaded, the Soule that is of largest capacity to instrument the worke of God, shall find it selfe not only much Interrupted, but more in danger (tho none are exempt) to be Corrupted, in, or from the Worke, by the secret practises of the Enemy, than any other. Yea, it seemes (by Pauls experience) to be one of Gods antidotes against that pest of the Soule (Pride and spiritual surfet): or his usuall expedient to contemperate and allay the glory and Sweetnes of his divine Enlargements, to the condition of Mortality; that they be ever attended by some messengers of Satan. Deare Sr I mention those, not as discerning cause in you to be sollicitous for you: nor yet as secretly insinuating such experience of myselfe as might pretend to Extraordinaries under covert of such complaints: (tho my God knowes I have cause enough to complaine.) but with all sincerity both toward yourselfe and me: and so, I hope, you understand me.

Sr, with those, according to promise, I send a copy of those unprofitable thoughts whereof you were pleasd to expresse yourselfe desirous: but, I confesse, not without some reluctancie as being both conscious to their weaknes, and also sensible of what value any thing should be that I esteem'd worthy your time and ~~[illegible]~~ paines of perusall. Neither am I unmindfull of what you proposed concerning the Aphorisms. although there occurrs not at present that I account worthy the communicating. One thing give me leave earnestly to request of You Sr: I remember you complaind of the losse of much time and strength in ye perusall of unprofitable Bookes: be pleasd to bestow some thoughts upon your owne experience, and communicate what Authors or bookes you would lay out your time and study upon, were you to begin your course againe: I shall esteeme this performance a singular Obligation, and shall embrace it as Yours. Farther, at present, I shall not trouble you, but with tender of my deare and great respects assure you that I am, Sr

Your much obliged friend and unworthy fellow servant

Tho: Doughtey

I pray Sr comend my hearty service to Mr Baxter your good father with Mrs Baxter and my good Aunt Doughtey; and wherein you may, please to consolat or encourage

(Nº138)

Decemb. 15. 1657:

I must craue yor ꝑdon yt I answered not yor last till now, it beinge my
first opportunity. I much rejoice yt God hath calmed & comforted yor mind &
yt by ye meanes of so good a booke as Mr Gurnalls: & yt alsoe you should be
brought to such a willingnes to dye, is an extraordinary mercy, yt few of his
servants on Earth attaine unto. The more cause have you of thankfullnes &
future confidence, in yt fatherly Love yt hath added this to all his mercyes.
But I would have you record yor present mercyes, lest any change should come yt
might cause ye feelinge of ym to abate. For I perceive yt yor nature hath that
melancholy disposition still, wch may be a roote for troublesome thoughts, if
extraordinary mercy did not comfort you. For yor feares wch you complaine
of in ye darke, they are meerly ye effect of yt distemp conjunct wth yor naturall im=
becillity. For my part, though they are not quite gone, yet they are as nothinge
to wt they have bin: And I beleive yt they vanish more from some change in my
temperature by age, yn by any reasons or faith it selfe; though I beleive yt faith
& reason have bin assistant. And one great helpe agt ym was this. I was
heretofore molested wth some temptations yt had a tendency to Infidelity
wch were so abhominable to me yt I oft thought wth myselfe yt if ye Divell
should appeare to me, he would but cross his owne temptations, & give me fur=
ther Argumt agt such temptations by ye apparition, & so do me more good, yn ye
feare would do me hurt; & many other wayes I apprehended it may do me good,
wch somewt conduced to ye abatement of my fearfullnes. But for you, I know
not wt advise to give you yt shall overcome it, but to hold on as you are advised
to avoid ye darke, & patiently waite for ye season of deliverance. for if you get
ground a little longer of yor melancholy, yt will abate as age comes on. In the
meane time I know you remember yt Satan is but a conquered chained enemy, &
should God suffer him to appeare to you, it would be but for some great advantage
of yor owne. wt say you to such a man as Mr White of Dorchester, who (as Mr
Clarke hath printed) livinge in a house at Lambeth yt was wont to be haunted (for
want of a better) ye Divell one night appeared as standinge at his beds foot: wn
he had stood there awhile saith Mr White to him [If thou hast nothinge else to do
stand there still] & so setled himselfe to sleepe, & ye Divell vanished as ashamed
of ye Contempt. See Heb. 2. 14. 15. // As to yor case about selfe examination, yor
Diary may well be used as yor helpe, adjoininge ye remembrance of yor most notable
failings renewed since. But I would not advise you to spend so much time as ye thought=
full recountinge & writinge downe of every ordinary infirmity would require.
For such, alas, we carry ym wth us so constantly, yt we need no writinge to tell us yt we
have ym; & ye frequent recordinge ye same infirmity over & over, will make us as cus=
tomary & senceles as if we recorded ym not, or else will tempt us to despaire bec
we live still in ye same recorded sins: And ye time so spent may be better improved. //
As to yor case of usury, I am a very unfitt ꝑson to give you advise in it, for I am not
satisfyed myselfe how far usury is unlawfull. whether it be any where unlawfull
where it is not oppressinge or injurious I canot affirme. All sin towards others is
either unmercyfullnes or injustice, & how yt usury can be unlawfull, yt is neither
of those I see not; but yet will not be confident agt so many. I know such as
by lettinge mony to use are growne very rich (by tradinge) perhaps riches worth a
thousand of those they take it of, & yet hold on still. And how it can be unjust or un=
mercifull to lend to such, I see not. But for yorselfe, I will suppose yor Judgmt un=
satisfyed, & yn I confess I would not have you goe agt yor Judgmt. But doubtles you
may have some way of improvinge it without usury: Or if not yet you may procure
ye man to putt it into ye hands of some able faithfull ꝑson yt scrupleth not settinge
it to usury or increase to some rich tradesman yt may gaine by it. The Lord direct
& strengthen you. Pardon ye necessary delayes & hast of

yor servant for Christ

Ri: Baxter

fol.184. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

184

To the Right worp^{ll} M^{ris} Katherine
Gell at Hopton in Darbyshire.

(No 139)

G Sr/

give me leave to put you in minde of one thing,
not to be much troublesom to you in the middest of
your many & great imployments & that is of Marsilius
Patavinus his exposition of these words of St Hierom
in his epistle ad Evagrium, quid facit episcopus
excepta ordinatione quod non faciat presbiter,
wch he understands, not of the ordination of ministers,
as it is usually admitted by our divines, ~~[illegible]~~ but
of the ordering of the ~~[illegible]~~ rites of the Church, as
being a power given them mediately by man; I have
read Hieroms epistle, & conceive it to ~~be~~ agreeable
to the scope of his epistle; & that ~~exposition~~ doth re-
concile Hierom to himselfe; ~~and~~ I remember not any
that take notice of this exposit but mr Lawson in his
book; ~~I hope~~ I hope to give you meeting ere long at
Kidderminster & then to know of you how you
like Marsilius his exposition: Dr Nicolson in his
book about Church government troubles himselfe
much to find out the meaning of these words of
St Hierom: I trouble you noe further but take leave,

Defens. Pacis
2 part cap: 15:

Salop Jul: 17: 1661.

yours R. R.

185

×

(No:140)

ffor my reverend friend
mr Richard Baxter
at mr ffoleys house in
St Austins fryers
London

Post paid.

3

141

London 30th May 1659

I have yors of the 10th instant. And as touching the Confession you
were pleased to send, there was little or nothing excepted against the
matter of it in any part, only some little doubt there was, whether
160 all yor say touching the pastorall blessing & the Lords day
capable of that degree of credence which is due to an article
of faith. But truly the principall reason as I think why
men did not pitch upon that Confession, was, because there was not
a thorow resolution to close with yor offer of agreemt; as
on the other hand there was no resolution to refuse it.
Some of us can hardly beleeve that you will have many
Presbyterians concurre with you in that offer, considering
the constant representations that have been made of us.
And some know not what to thinke of yor offer of agreement,
when they read that in yor Key for Catholicks which reflects
so foule an odium on the Anabaptists, as to lay the
late Kings death at their doore, together with Libertines &
Papists; wch as is conceived, you had no ground in [illegible]
world to doe. For ~~we~~ there was but two Anabaptists a
in the Parliament; Mr Lawrence late Lord President
and Coll Bennet. And my Lord Lawrence left the
Parliament from that day to this as being dissatisfied
with their proceeding against the King. And as for Coll
Bennet, he lay sick in the west while that business
was done. And I am informed, that then there were
no Anabaptists in the Army above the degree of a Captain,
and but [illegible] of these neither: and its well knowne they
were men of greater interest in the Army, that were
instrumentall about the taking off the King. And for the
Anabaptists then in being, that were neither of the Parliament
nor Army; so farre as I can learne, the most eminent in
London were so farre off from having a hand in it, that they
were dissatisfied in their proceeding that were active
in it. And Mr Kiffen himselfe (who [illegible] was then and
some years before the most leading man of that
way in London, nay I think I may say in England) told
me within this weeke, that when he understood the
Armies intention of purging the Parliament,
went to them, & declared his reasons against it.
and afterwards againe declared his reasons against
the taking off the King. Yea I remember (though
I was then no Annabaptist) that a little before he
was so often with the King, and spake so much in
favour of him, as that he did offend those that were for
a bringing him to tryall. So that unless you have better
information at that distance than I can get, that have
been neere that transaction, it will be hard to prove
that so much as any one Annabaptists had any considerable
hand in the Kings death. Whereas it is most evident that
severall Presbyterians that were then of the Parliamt
were active in it. So that I do not know but you

would

with more shew of reason, have charged that fact (be it good or bad) upon the Presbyterians, then on the Annabaptists if you should make the accounting by the number & interest of those that were agents in it. And if by the [illegible] there likewise you charge the K: death, you intend ~~to~~ ~~[illegible] of [illegible] as a chiefe [illegible] of such~~ a party lead-ed & engaged by Lt ffleetwood; its thought you doe him a great deale of wrong, because he was soe farre from leading & engaging a party in that work, as that he left the Parliament whilst they were about it, as dissatisfied; and in the late Parliamt washed his hands of it. These things being much taken notice of by others abroad as Annabaptists, and rendering them to have an ill reflection, and that such as most respect you, wish you had not medled with them, I thought good out of the great respect I unfeignedly beare you, to acquaint you herewith, to make such use of it as in the wisdome ~~[illegible]~~. And as for the late change, I beleeve the Annabaptists have been so little concerned in the acting ~~part~~ of it, as if rightly understood, will amount to no just ground of scruple to others to afford you as generall their communion. Nor doe I think it will take ~~them off the weight~~ those that make of their prosecution of christian ~~[illegible]~~ among differing brethren, whose hearts were inclined to it before. And we are still going on in the same work, of which I acquainted you formerly, but are the more slow in our progresse, because some different apprehensions occasion the larger debates. But the last time we met, we were so farre from receding from the work upon any occasion of the late change, that we resolved upon a more expeditious proceeding then hitherto we have taken up in the like. And I intend to acquaint you further with the issue of this undertaking, as there is occasion. Only I wish the groundlesse jealousies that are harboured against the Annabap. & the too frequent charging of that unworthy fact upon all, in a manner, which ~~I~~ but some only are guilty of, doe not obstruct this work, or at least retard & straiten it in its effect. For alasse we have (the best of us) flesh as well as spirit, and it requires a greater measure & strength of grace then many of us have, to act in the face ~~[illegible]~~ of exasperations, as if there were none. For my owne part I resolve through the help I have or shall receive from God, to be a professed servant to this work of reconciliation of differing sps, whilst I am [illegible] under provocations I meet with to the contrary. And so commending you & all yor honourable engagemts for our Lord Jesus, to his speciall grace & blessing, I remayne

Yor affectionate christian
friend & servant

Will: Allen

(No 141)

To the Reverend and his
worthy good friend,
Mr Richard Baxter,
Minister of the Gospell

In

Kidderminster.

Allen
Lamb letter

Sr, I Received yours, and all the Expressing
Kindnesse in it with a very Great Satisfaction; and Ratify
and Confirm those, you are pleased to Take notice of in mine
to you; as proceeding from a most Sincere mind towards
you, which I Am Assur'd, nothing by the Grace of God can
change, being Truely Founded in Xt, and the Word of his
Testimony, which you Hold: As to your Signification, that you
cannot be Silent without a Sin of omission (wherein I Joyn
with you, that very Saints have Continual Reason to pray, Lord
Forgive our Sins of omission:) I ~~Freely~~ Freely Submitt to your Particular
Sense in that matter; and for by no means on that Account be
Sin to Hinder you in your worke; yet upon the Great Conside
rations of Love, and peace, and Removing offenses Arising fr
Divisions; and that, I Looke upon it, as Every way my obligation
to Say no more; I beseech you to Take upon you rather the
Station of a moderator, then of an Opponent; and that you would
in every Thing State the Fayrest Side, and Leave it to the Judg
ment of others, (though under the Inclination of the Ballance ~~with your own~~
towards your own Judgment) and then the Reader may Choose
as Hee Sees Greatest Evidence: And I Should Take it as a Great
Favor, that when in your preparation you Thinke Any Thing presses Hardest
against mee, you would Let mee Know it, before you make it
Public; that I may offer the utmost I have, to Cleare it;
This is indeed ~~Αληθευον~~ Ἀληθεύειν to pursue Truth in Love: the
is one Thing, that you Seeme to Take for Granted, you have Fu
prooved; which if It be So, I Confesse, It Shakes a cheif pillar
of my Hypothesis; that is, If It be made Appear, that the Sts are
Caught up in the Same Atom of Time, wherein The Dead are
Raised; And They Themselves are Changed; (I Speake onely
Living Remaining Sts, of whom the Apost. Sayes, They sh
I Say, The Apost ~~hath~~ Fixed an ἔπειτα between the
Dead and the Wee ~~Caught up~~. The Living the
Caught

which Except to your Room 1. Cor. 15, 23 24 to so many 100 y. as have passed since Christs Resurrection, and his not yet Comming; There is then a possibility of a 1000 y. betwixt the Changing, and the Beeing Caught up: I say further There is nothing 1. Cor. 15, 52. that doth Enforce the simultaneousness of the Chang, and Beeing Caught up; For It is Sayd, The dead are Raised Incorruptible; but not that the Sts are Changed Incorruptible: But It is Sayd When that Corruptible shall put on Incorruption. Then &c. But there may be all the Sts put on Incorruption a distance betwixt the Sts changed, and their putting on an Absolute Incorruption: ~~For~~ and the Exception 1. Thess. 4.16. Implys such a one; And there is nothing there neither that Contradicts. For that after v. 17 must Contradict the πρῶτον v. 16. It is to be Applyed to the Caught up; It is therefore to be Referred to the meeting or General Rendezvous of All Sts, Raised and Caught up, when Christ Renders up the Kingdom; Besides If the ~~Day~~ General Judgment, as it is Generally Supposed be Held on Earth, why should not Raised, and Changed be Caught up together? ~~which~~ But It is plain, the Apost distinguishes betwixt the one, and the other, and makes the Beeing Caught up peculiar to the Changed Sts; Except then the Sts Living are Caught up to come down Immediately, why are they Caught up? But that cannot be, neither for It is Sayd, So Caught up we are Ever with the Lord; How excellently then doth this Agree with the Sts Remaining Inhabiting the New Earth, according to the Apocalyptic Frame? Nor I desire in your Intended ~~publicat~~ further publication on these Things, You would so Favor me, as a Moderator, as to present this Argument at Full view and Leave it to Judgment: Concerning Dr. Crisp: I am well Assured, I differ not from you, when All is sifted to the Bottom; For Taking in Efficacious persevering Grace on All the Elect; (when Dr Crisp allways discourses so High in Relation to) in Conjunction with Free Justification by Christ and Then it is a Sound and Consolatory Sense of All to be Given [illegible] Apprehension: So Recommending All to the God of Peace [illegible] by All means, I am

Honoured and true Yours in our Lord.

I desire but the same moderating
Favor, you have shown in your
Late Booke; An End of Contro-
versy; And It shall be to mee
with you, Sr, An End of All Strife

(No 142)

This
To his very Esteemed Mr Baxter :
present

Sir

2 yr letter which had no date I received but yesterday I am glad to heare that Mrs S. is in such a condition as I hoped & you write as to the proposition in the true perfect sense I thinke as you doe a distinction would have done better than a negation but I also conceive the whole syllogisme might have been denyed it seeming to mee to have in it more termes than three as you will find if you take it into fur-ther consideration it is strange that men pretending to soe much Logick as Dr G: & S doe should argue so sophistically perhaps they had in their eye victoria rather than veritas, & so laboured to perplexe their respondent. as to your answer to the Bps letter I have had thoughts about it more than once & had written something to you but the friend who was to bring my letter going out of towne at such a time when I could not see him I committed it to Vulcan. I shall now give you my whole mind concerning the businesse. I conceive you have done your selfe wrong by asking advice from too many for tho it bee true that in the multitude of counsellors et yet that saying must certainly bee understood of such as will make it a busi-nesse to enquire, not of such as will throw out quicquid in buc-cam venerit, & tell you what ever lies uppermost which is the course of too many now adaies that would bee thought friends that some will censure you to plead your owne cause need not I conceive bee any stop to your printing, a minister of the gos[pel] need not scruple apologizing for himselfe when traduced for by taking of aspersions from his person his doctrine & worke will bee the more passant you know the practice of St Paul you know the sentence of St August: bona conscientia sufficit nobis bona fama et: but yet ~~let~~ mee desire you well to weigh these ensuing considerations.

1 whether the Bp having so many eies & eares besides his owne it will bee possible for you to print your apology so secretly that hee shall not have notice of its beeing in the presse & so bee in a capacity to strangle it in the birth, or not let it see any other light than that quam prebere solet Veneris maritus.

2 may not the printing of an Apology awaken some of the Bps creatures in the house of Commons to revive the old motion concer-ning the burning of the Holy Commonwealth, or the making Mr Baxter to recant it or else proceeding against him as no friend to Caesars prerogative. if you should be brought before a committee whereof Mercurius Aulicus is Chairman you may easily conceive what your sentence would bee

3 will the printing an Apology satisfie any who are not allready satisfied; unprejudiced men doe allready thinke that you are no Monarchomachus, & that you are not either Papist, or quaker, to ~~deny originall~~ assert that a man can live without sinne they who are prejudiced ~~with~~ say what you will are resolved to thinke that the character given of you is true

4 are you not well aware that ye Bp hath many mercenaries at his command? & will they not tho your Apology should [be] with the greatest modesty & satisfaction fall upon it & pick out some weake ~~[illegible]~~ or misunderstood passage & make you stand in need of another Apology [illegible]

by what I have suggested you will perceive which way for
the present I incline. faine I would have Mr Baxter preach
as long as hee may bee permitted when hee is once silenced &
suspended a preste will bee allmost as easily got as now, & then
hee may cleare himselfe, & defend the grand doubte which hath
beene allready assaulted by two but yet huge weakly if I have
any iudgment. But yet looke on mee as at too great a distance
from you to give the best advice. if therefore you would call
together two or three of your wise faithfull friends who are not
so preingaged but that they can & will impartially & thoroughly consider
betweene mee & you, & they shall advise you out of hand to publish
something for your owne vindication then come forth & the
Lord who looketh the righteous cause prosper what you write
that it may attaine the end you aime at. if Mr H should again
visit you commend my hearty respects to him & tell him that I
have written to Mr Barlow but as yet have received no answer
from him tho I did write with such importunity that hee is
scarse civill in making mee not returne. my service also to
your Landlord & may not say to your Honoured wife.

March 31th
1662

Yrs

(No 143)

ffor the Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
Lodge at Dr Micklethwaits

Mrs Bushell

Lond: 25 Sept 1683

Comming to towne last night from Sussex I find
3 the Inclosed Letter for you from Barbadoes I suppose
there may be in it a bill for mony. for you I wish
rather it had been laid out in Goods for there
would have been mony gott thereby whatever they
had sent you whereas I doubt they pay mony there
for Bills of Exchange 10 or 12 per hundred. if you
would advise wth me and referr them to do for you
as I order them to do for my selfe it may probably bee
sometimes to your advantage. pray my humble
service & hearty respects to Mr Baxter & tell
him I left my Neece Yates well yesterday at
her house in Sussex where ye Day before was baptized
her first Son & heir to this present husband & my sister
Beale wth them. I mention this because he may
have heard possibly of the Dangerous condition
my Neece was supposed to be in, being surprized
by her Labour 3 months before expected. & wth
such Symptoms that appeared very Dangerous &
caused them to send a Messenger Expressly to give
notice to my Sister Beale then at my house upon
wch shee & my wife sett out of Lond: wth the coach
at 7 a clock on the Saturday night wth a Man Midwife
but it pleased God shee was delivered safe & well before
they came thither for wch mercy pray desire Mr
Baxter to joyne wth us in praising the God of mercy

I am
yr Loving friend
Thomas Hunt

If you have a bill you may send it
to me by the penny post in a Letter
and I will gett it accepted for yu
you need not fear it will come safe
to my hands if ye direct it right
to the merchant in Mark Lane

(No 144)

To Mrs Ruth Bushell at the
house of the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter Minister
of the Gospell at his house
In Charterhouse
Yard

1638

Wallop this p'sent munday
~~[illegible]~~

Charissime amice. 4

I the prisoner of mine owne deserts desire wth the dearest of my loue to salute you, I haue receiued yor letter wherein I am glad to heare of yor welfare and reioyce that it hath pleased the lord of glory to call you to be an ambassadour of his truth, an office better befitting the dignity of an angell then the sinfull meaness of a ~~[illegible]~~ man. I beseech the lord who is infinite in mercy and louing kindnes (as we his poore creatures haue dayly experienced) to follow you wth his grace, and enable you to that great worke whereunto he hath called you and I who haue had experience of mans weaknes and finde by mine owne triall that if we doe not make God as it were the workman and sett him before us in all or works, we are not body able to doe nothing as we should but are sure to run into errors,) exhort you if you euer desire to haue comfort in the worke of the lord or euer desire to doe any thing in such a manner as may be well pleasing unto God, sett him continually before your eies doe all you doe as in his presence mistrust yor owne strength and implore the lords aide in euery thinge. I speake not this as though I thought you had not a care thus to doe but viewing mine owne wayes I finde that in times of prosperity when things goe well wth us, we are apt to forgett the lord and sacrifice to or owne netts we doe not walke in the sence of our owne debillity but we think we stand uppon or owne leggs when alas it is not soe; iff if God uphold us not we stumble and fall. keepe in therefore close wth God, make him yor strength lett his command be the ground, his glory and his peoples good the end of not some or you maine, but all yor actions, how sweet a thing were it and how much comfort should Christians haue in their greatest sufferings, if in all things, and at all times there consciences were able sweetly to certify that Gods command sett them uppon what they did and his glory was the end of it, the crossing of their expectation in regard of themselues would be greatly sweetned by this consideration, as for me whom it hath pleased the lord worthyly and in great mercy to chastice I finde noe discomfort in any thinge saue in that wherein I erred from the lords commandments carefull and consionable performance of the dutyes of my calling neuer troubles me, but slacknesse and carelesnes these carry there sting wth them, houres spent in Gods seruice and the society of Gods people bring noe sorrow, but howers unprofitably spent in the sinfull society of worldly men these haue their smart; doeing what God commanded wth all my might and power I be assured you wounds not the conscience, ~~[illegible]~~ but the by things that fancy putts uppon thoughts neuer soe pleasant in the acting those cutt. my friends keepe in wth God and walke comfortably. pray for yor friends who hath neede of prayers the lord hath giuen me a pretious opptunity if I could aprehend it for the humbling of my proud heart for the taking of my deceitfull heart from the world, for the strengthening of my resolution against sinne whose consequents are bitter, for the taking notice of my wandrings and abberations and making now straight stepps unto my paths, for the pulling downe of my desires of earthly applause wch is now turned to scorne and derision, oh that I had derided it before it derided me; but especially it serues to shew me what need I haue of Xt both to couer mine iniquityes and heale mine infirmityes. I beseech you intreat the lord to sanctify it to me that I may receiue good and not hurt by it

If the lord haue worke for me to doe I know he will ~~[illegible]~~ me, if my opportunity be ouerpast and the lord will not imploy me intreat for me that I may be able to beare what he will lay uppon me patiently seeing I haue sinned against him here I am what he will doe wth me I knownot I desire to waite uppon and the lords assiste. this day your father and mother inlaw were wth me and they [illegible] me they thought to sende to you towards the latter end of the next weeke I pray you commend my loue to [illegible] and my [illegible] friends his wife and thinke on him resting confined in paper and prison [illegible]
[illegible] it his owne [illegible]

No 145

To my very loving friend mr
Richard Baxter these present
Dudley

5r'

5

I have read yr treatise in Answer to my last letter. I finde a repetition of much
yt had bin ventilated before: And some large narratives fro yr owne expe-
rience. I have not a spirit of Contradiction; or a Salamander - temper. ffor [illegible]
you may live, and dy in peace, & charity; and turne yr sword into a plow-share.
I begin to value time, and peace; beyond scholasticall dust, & heates. I had rather
write a volume, in order to a mutuall harmonie, & reconciliation amonge protestants;
than to keepe open ye gashes of ye Ch. by any misspent lucubrations of mine: or
sacrifice my owne credit; than ye tranquillity of Zion. Therefore you did not
take a right levell - when you sd - I had a minde to shew my parts: for I study yt
great Evangelicall duty - in keeping under a satyricall genius, wch has bin
vigorous in mee, more than enough. Ignatius in his Epist. ad Eph. says - or Conc
would prove Satans destruction. Jungat igitur aeterna Concordia, quos tam
multis iunxit natura, pluribus Xtus!. Erasmus complaines of divines - yt there
is warre even amongst them - minus cruentum, sed non minus insanum: quod
pugionibus et lanceis res non agitur; stylis tamen veneno tinctis, et dentata
charta se invicem confodiunt; et alter in alterius ~~[illegible]~~ famam, lethalia lin-
guarum [illegible]rant spicula. The Temple was beate downe with axes, & hamers;
but no noise in ye building of ~~th~~ it. If builders doe not agree - wt a Bab
will follow! I sometimes feare, yt it will not redound to yr comfort another day - yt
you have throwne so many brands into ye fire of Contention. If you have
some singular notions concerning ye Constitutions of ye Ch. wherein you live,
had it not bin better, you had kept them to yr selfe; & by those Xtian remedies, of
prayers, & teares, lamented them in secret: rather than have taken so g
paines, to shake her Battlements; I had almost sd, her very pillars. I dread
you, the overflowing of wickednes: may or God set up his standard agst it; yt
they not overwhelme us! I have read yt Card. Perron, ~~the~~ revised his [illegible]
before his death - of his books of poetry, Humanity, History. I wish yt wee did not
onely lay aside or unnecessary Controversies; but with Constantine, burne o
libells one agst another. The ecclesi. Historian affirms - yt before ye persequ
on of Diocletian - not onely other men; but even Bps, brake forth into hat
& reproaches, one agst another. [illegible] but as Comrades [illegible]
books, as may further or passage to Heaven without fighting or way, by civil broiles. let
enemies strive with enemies; but us of ye same Ch. & of ye same nation; strive to
exceed ech other, in love, & kindness. fugiamus cathedra pestilentiaria, [illegible]
ayra, scelestis vocibus conspurcata. Tertul. I hope this perswasive will not
offend you. you may now be at leisure to follow yr practically. I have bi
informd - ye primate of Ireland advis'd you to this. yet if you were as free wth
mee, as my Neighbour Mr Tho. Hall was; who committed to my reading many of
his book's unprinted - as he allso desird mee, to commend his soule to heaven, at
his last - and to preach his funerall sermon; I should have taken ye
liberty to have sifted, & expunged some things - as I did with him. You
say - when I livd neare Sr R. Pye, & Dr Twiss, I was not look'd upon as now; yt
in truth - my sentiments concerning Rebellion, & Schisme, were, & are the very
same. As some look'd upon mee then; so they doe still. I could tell you, who
they are, & why. I never desire to seek ye knowledge of my selfe, [illegible]
extra; But by a conscionable endeavour to do my duty, in my private, & publike
capacity. one of yr espoused opinions, mee thinks, you should abate, upo
yr Reading Sr Wil. Dug. History. I write not this to expostulate, or to
disturbe yr repose. I know dt will compose all or janglings - even yt
ends ye quarrells of Bees —— Haec certamina tanta —— pulveris
exigui iactu, compressa quiescent. Sr! I implore yr prayers, & endeavo
yt wee may goe hand in hand agst or comon enemys; and joyne or
shoulders - to ye demolishinge diabolicall, & Antixtian practises. I shall
Requite you. may yr last days, be yr best days! may you be [illegible]
nied here with Right hand, & left hand Blessings; and at last be Crown
with everlasting! I am Sr! yr Brother, & servant

Jo. Hinckley

hffeild
[illegible] 7th

x

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These

ffor the Reverend Mr Richard Baxter

leave this with Mr Simmons at ye
three golden Cocks at ye west
end of St paul's.

LETTER
fol.198. of Baxter Letters in volume s

(1

Reverend Sr: 6 Wilton 27th. Novr. 99.

I humbly crave Yor. Pardon for thus Presuming. I think I ne'r Saw or Heard the Reverend Mr. Baxter save Once: but my Love to Him is, for His Writings Sake: they do extraordinarily Affect my Heart and reach the Various Circumstances of my Soul from my Youth up, to this Moment: Not Sr: that I do, or can Compare my self wth Him; respecting the Lowest Degree of His Natural Parts and Acquirements: but ye Account He gives of God's Dealing wth His Soul, and ye Differing, One time from Another, of His own Judgment & Disposition, are very much (according to my Differing Circumstance of Life) the self same things that God has wrought in me: which makes me so desirous of Those Books, that in ye Other Paper I humbly Request Yor. Buying for me. The Other Paper & ye Adjoining hereto, is not that I have any thing to be Proud of: but that Sr: You might know somewhat of my Affairs, of Soul & Body: And, as You think meet, I humbly crave, of Your Sage Counsel & Caution. I am Sr: grieved at those Rash and Unjust Prejudices & Accusations that are taken up against Mr. Baxter; Believing His Endeavours have a great Tendency to God's Glory & ye Common Good, and especially of Souls, makes me oft think the Infernal Spirit is ye Grand Instrument of that Ill Treatment that, both Living & Dead, He meets with from a World of Men. He is (about us) much spoke agst: Mr. Crandon (so long since answered) is much recommended agst. Him: wch is a Scurrilous Piece. One of this Town (my opposite Neighbour) A Glazier by Trade; but Deputed (I think) by Mr. Mead, Mr. Chancey &c to Preach; is ready, on occasion (in vindication of Dr. Crisp) to speak agst Mr. Baxter: He lent me a little Piece lately of a Jew, relating his Conversion, in Mr. Humphrey's Meeting-Place, in Rosemary-Lane; which Jew speaks so Reflectingly (I think) of Mr. Baxter in Compare with that Mr. Humphrey that I could not but write my Neighbour a Note of my mind ('tis ye other Leaf.) I think my Neighbour is a truly Good man: but Sr: 'tis my perswasion, the Devil is in the Mouths, as well as at ye Right-hand of Such, sometimes, when they think not. Here's One John Low of Salisbury, a Shoo-mender, but a pretty Noted 7th. Day-man, and a Sufferer for his Millenary Opinion: He passes for a very good man too: will pretend to Outdo Schollars in Dispute; his warmth is not a little agst: Mr. Baxter: I took ye opportunity, once when at my house, to shew him Mr. Baxter's Character of Some Christians, that ya were not so Contentious about things External and not Fundamental; tho' nothing of Controversy I shew'd him, yet his Arrogance was such to say, he could Confute it. He is a Cunning, Cautious man, & usually delivers himself quite otherwise, at other times. Your, Once, Worthy Intimate (Sr:) giving the World to know, what a Man, Mr. Feak (an Independant-Minister) was, in Olaver's Usurpation: His Son, a Dr. of Physick (lives here at Sarum) is very ready to Discover his own Heat, and tells People, he knows enough of Mr. Baxter's Rotten Divinity; accidentally being in His Company once; He was Saying, Mr. Baxter's Arguments for Infants Church-Membership, were Strong & Nervous, but Sr: He undid All in the end; and severely inveyed agst: Him, that He should Say, Rebrobates were

God's Covenant; I am not (Sr:) in ye least a Disputant; but it pleased Go to mind me of those Words — My People perish for lack of knowledg wch made me ask him, whether any of God's People perish, he replie no; and naming to him these Words, he was wholly silent. It was aft this, that I saw this Passage; where (in Confutation of Mr Tombs Narr =ing & Confining God's Covenant of Grace) Mr Baxter makes plain what He asserts, to a shallower Capacity than the Doctr: He is now Confin'd to his Chamber & thinks himself near his End; yet still hi Heat Continues: my Father understanding He had ye Book, call'd Baxterianism Barefac'd, would have me borrow it of Him: The Doctor was telling me 'twas writ by a Private Genteleman, withal saying Clergie-men were so come over to Mr: Baxter, that Lay-m must do ye Work; and likewise Sr: that Book laying open his Error was fit to be perused by those that would be Sound: 'Tis Sr: by what I see, a very Base Piece, Collecting Scraps of Mr: Baxter's Writ =ings; and I wonder men Professing any thing that's Good can so far Imitate the Devil: But while I Condemn Other mens Zeal, I must look to my own. I hope (Reverend Sr) You wi be pleased to ~~[illegible]~~ put a ffavourable Construction on These Papers: I can and do say it as in the Presence of God (so fa as I know my own heart) there's not ye least Selfish Design in them, unless where I intreat Your Buying those Books: if Sr You ever Honour me wth a line or two, I shall account it a great ffavour. To Your Reverend Self, your Other Self (if living) I giv my humble Respects & Service; Yor: Son Samuel, I would not be forgotfull of, with Whom I had some Acquaintance (and should Rejoice to hear of his Doing Well; and Sr: of that Sonn who is for ye Ministry, Who once I saw. Once more humbly cravin your Pardon for thus much Boldness, and earnestly Praying tha God may Prosper You, in Your Most Weighty, and in All Your Affairs & Relations; and Preserve You unto His Heavenly — Kingdom. I Rest

(Reverend Sr:)

(In All Humility)

Yor: to be Commanded,

John Hickes/. Jund

To me, Sr: at Wilton near
Salisbury/ Witts.
Comes safe.

There is Sr: a Passage of Mr: Baxter's Life ('tis ye [illegible] of ye 1st Part, Page 137) that Speaks very much, if not ye Same Tryal my Self is under; I count it therefore a Special Providence, that I am in such manner Noticed thereof./

Why (Good Sr.) do we confine our Love to Parties? Are we not All, the Sonns of Addam? And is there One of us, without a Soul that must enter into Eternal Joy or Torment? If then, 'tis so great an Evidence of our being past from Death to Life, that we Love ye Brethren: sure a Better Spirit would have became this Jew (If he would have had no one to Suspect his Sincerity) than, that, at ye very instant of Relating his Conversion, he should 3 times, in so short a Space, in ye Face of a Congregation (and after to ye rest of ye World) so Reproachfully mention Mr. Baxter's Name. I believ Sr. I have before this, told you how Differing a Change has been made on my Soul: Mr. Baxter's Call to ye Unconverted, early awoke & rous'd me; therein I came to understand what a dangerous state I was in by Nature: tho' indeed after this, my Youthfull Vanities bore ye sway; but notwithstanding having heard of his Book, call'd Directions & Perswasions to a Sound Conversion, I longed to see it, and when I got it, 'twas to me, as if I had found a golden treasure: the Reasoning of it was Plain and Home: fully finding my self spoke to: but yet Sr. as I have told you, I sinned against this, and powerfull Preaching too: so long & so often agst. ye Strivings of God's Spirit with me, that sometimes I thought ye Day of Grace might be past: But by an Extraordinary Providence (not unknown to You) such Light was Darted into my Soul, that I trust, through Him, who brought Life & Immortality to Light) will, in time, wholly Dissipate All Darkness whatever: It was Sr. at ye very instant of this Providence, my Change was so Sensible, that I can truly say in ye very Words of this Jew —

— "I found much Joy and Comfort, as if I lived out of the World: nothing
"but Joy and Rejoicing. — But now Sr. having Recieved thus much from God, I was, in an Instant, quite another man to my Neighbour: [tho' the Narrow Conceptions, that ye language of their Practice, speak Some to have of their Neigbour and Brother, is very distastefull to me; yet] here I mean Some of my Neigbours about me, where I lived, against whom I was too much prejudiced, and would speak against: I found my heart quite chang'd as to them: and sure, I may say, I was sensible of much of their Reconciliation to me: and in a far Larger Extent, I can say, I knew not Any Person to whom I bore Ill-will, but contrary-wise Good-will; I write this, that God only may have ye Praise: having, before this, been much of Another Temper: Loving Others for my Own sake, and Speaking against Others, for not being of my Perswation. 'Tis now, a 3d Book of ye Reverend Mr. Baxter's that I exceedingly prize, & can't speak its Worth: 'tis his Directions to Weak Distempered Christians to Grow up to a Confirmed State of Grace: ye 2d Part Characterising a Sound Confirmed Christian: this Book, depaints me to ye very life; What I was, What I am, and should be, and indeed, God loudly Calls me, in it, to be otherwise than I am. Sr. I think I should be false to God, my own Soul, and Mr. Baxter's Just Praise, in opposition to Anothers Defamation of Him, did I not write these things: but I assure you from my heart, 'tis not for any self-applause, that I compare my self with this Jew, or to Debase Him: He may for ought I know be a very Excelling Christian; but sure (in my thinking at leastwise) at this time, he was very Defective in his Love, or else (to think as well as possibly I can) much out in his Judgement; But every one must make use of his own Eyes: for my part I see such things of Mr. Baxter, in his Practical Writings,

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that I can't but say. No one Speaks (respecting those he Directs himself to
Truly, Suitably, and Sensibly to the Souls of men than He. 'Tis well kno
not only in England, but other Parts of ye World, Satans Kingdom ha
no small Dammage by His Books; and Sr. is it not matter of Lamen
that ye Devil's Designs should prosper in ye hands of those who Profes
Truth, because they can't be of his mind & opinion in matters Contro
=sal; wherein Himself owns, " Those Disputants would be too hard fo
" him, that had ye Better Cause: (since Truth would overcome: and Ligh
" appear through narrow crannies) and of These (He saies) He shoul
" gladly be overcome. — and protests — " That to his knowledge, h
" never manag'd a Dispute, in which He trusted not to ye Goodness o
" his Cause, more than to Wit, or Words, or Humane Advantage.
And another time, when He was in ye Extremity of Pain (and that so Ex
=site, as to appear in ye sudden & great changes of His Countenance) ra
Himself up from his Couch, whereon He had laid Himself and said —
" Whatever the World thinks of me, I can truly say that I have s
" God with Uprightness of heart: and that I never Spake any th
" that I took not to be Truth, and at that Time to be my Duty.
But His treatment was ye same (to be Censured) with His Lord an
Master before Him; by Some to be Esteemed a Good Man: by Oth
a Deciever of ye People —

Well, Sr. the Other World setts All to Rights:

There's Sweet Harmony, while Here, we have such Discor

P.S.

There are (Sr.) likewise, Other Books of the Reverend Mr. Baxters, Viz
— His Directions to get & keep Peace of Conscience. — The Saints Everlasting
Rest. — The Life of Faith. — The Poor Man's Family-Book, wit
Others of His, that I have Read; as also in the History of his own Life, and o
God's Dealing with His Soul; in All These, there's that, that Speaks my hear
& Soul, that reaches my Conscience, & touches me to ye very Quick, but tha
never had any Tendency to my Despair: but contrarywise what God
has made Usefull (not to me only: but) to Many Others to keep them f
Despairing to Eternity. /. To Mr. Hollis These

Thus (Reverend Sr.) as I was prompted I could not but write t
my Well-meaning Neighbour. I think Sr. I once read a Paper Print
by Mr. Parkhurst, that relates ye Reverend Dr. Manton's Character of Mr. B
Writings: wch Papr. also relates some of ye effects of his Call to ye Unconverted
amonge ye Indians, of a Prince yt dyed with it in his hand weeping, of 8 Brot
(I think) Converted by it: I am much out, if I ne'r saw such a Papr. I was de
to have acquainted him with this, but dare not till better satisfied: and that I
might be favoured with this, I humbly put among ye Number of my
Other Requests.

Sr:

To Mr: Wansbourough. These

One, sensible that God Lov'd him before he knew his Right hand from
7 his Left. yea, that has Sustain'd him from ye Womb: yea, that This God took
him out of his Mothers Bowels; counts himself, therefore, under ye strongest
Bonds continually to Live & Speak His Praise: and tho' unknown, having
had a good Character of You & a Near Friend giving me to understand
what Sort of Conviction you are under; makes me to give you, somewhat mor
perticularly, an Account of God's dealings towards my Self.

In my Infancy my Father thought, I had some Share in God's Covenant
of Grace; and I doubt not of His Sincere Dedication of me to Him, by
Baptism. In my Young Years, I had an Inclination to Good things, and
still had, till I came to be considerably Sensible of my Lost & Undone
State by Nature: but notwithstanding I sinned against great Light:
I knew God must be my only Portion and Happyness: but I was still posses
of ye Spirit of ye World: and tho' I Served God in a Sort, yet my Pleasures
more prevalently. 'Twas for Some Years I thus Halted between Two, bein
unstable in all my ways: As to matter of Practice, I may say I was a
perfect wave, driven to & fro, and tossed sometimes to God, but oftener
bending to ye Creature: And likewise as to my Opinion, I was unsteady
and unfix'd; my Father changing his, I was half perswaded, He was
in ye right, that Adult Believers only, must be Baptized; and in my poor
way, I'de plead so with others; but I stopt here, having before this been
caution'd by an Awakening Author, agst taking a Change in one's Opinion
and Outward Profession only, for an Inward, Saving Change: to be
throughout with God, and of a Holy Conversation I knew I must be, or be
Miserable for Ever. but notwithstanding my Light was Great and my
Convictions Many, Corruption still prevail'd: Times without Number
did I sin against God's Spirit, Striving with me; 'twas under these
Convictions, and against them, that I was a Loytering Slothfull Servan
and afterwards as Ill a Master: my Trade (considerably incouraging at
first) was a Price put into ye hands of a Fool; by minding my Pleasures
more, in about 5 Years space it came to nothing: And now was I
under melancholy Circumstances, both of Soul & Body: I had sinned agst
so much Conviction, that sometimes I thought ye Day of Grace might be
past: and my Trade was so Lost, that I was wholly out of Love with it, and
offered every Penny I was worth in ye world (counting it in Money, Goods,
and Good Debts 150lib) to obtain some Place or other tho' of 40lib p An. I
applyed myself to a Gentleman, a Parliamt. man, to whom I was a very
Stranger, and to whom no Person living recommended me; He was a
Person of that Probity as to tell me, "Bribery was the Bane of ye Nation
"Places being Uncertain; my Money might be my more sure friend
but when He saw, I was in earnest to part with it, rather than keep to my
Trade, without One Farthing Gratuity, helpt me to ye Place I am now
in of the Excise, where I have 50lib p An. punctually Pd. 'Tis indeed an
Employ, with many, not very Reputable, but ye most Necessary
Business that is, unless those Concern'd, Act, as in ye Sight of God, is
Sinfull (Prov: 21.4.) And I see not but mine is as Lawfull, and Laudable an
Employ, as any whatever, where there's a just & true Performance of ye

(if Sr: you please over)

Trust

[illegible] upon us: and such is my Likeing to it, having Experienc'd so
much of God's Presence with me, ere since my being in it, that (be it God's
will) 'tis my great Desire to End my Dayes in it. But Sr: what I
would chiefly tell you is, from my First getting into ye Employ, as befor
you have it; This was a very Remarkable Providence, and it was at this
very Instant I met with a Wonderfull, but very Sensible Change
otherwise, there was that Light and Joy Darted into my Soul, that I
trust will Never Depart thence: what I find and feel within me
is beyond expression, and may Exceed another's Belief: but to mak
my Boast in God, for His Glory only, and for ye Honour of my Re
I desire to speak it, That ever since this Extraordinary Providence
The Forethought how 'twill be with me to Eternity is a Spring o
Continual Joy to my Soul. —— Here it is Sr: that I fully Fall
with a Jew, who a little while since in ye face of a Congregation
London gave an account of his Conversion: and after his Admission
among them, and to ye Lord's Table, He saies, "He found much Joy and
"Comfort, as if He lived out of the World: nothing but Joy & Rejoicin
He further saies, —— "I see that Jesus Christ, as He is God is my Fath
"but as Man, He is my Elder Brother. It hath pleased God to Discover
"something to me of the Glory of that Covenant made with Abra
"=ham Gen. 17. I am assured 'tis a Covenant of Grace, Ratified and
"Confirmed in ye Blood of Jesus, and doth belong to me and my See
"in their Generations: so that I am perswaded and assured that m
"Children have as just a Right to Baptism, as the Seed of Abra
"had of old to Circumcision; in as much as it is an External Sign o
"the Washing away of Sin by the Blood of Jesus Christ. God hath m
"Himself over to me in absolute Covenant made to Abraham, and to
"Seed as a Part of me.

Sr: Word for Word here, is my very Heart, and ye Self-same thi
wrought in me likewise; and I have wrote All this, the Searcher o
hearts knows, in ye Sincerity of my heart; and for your Sake, whom
I would hope is Convinced of far Greater Matters, than to be Bapt
again: [if once you have been already.] Sr: God being our Own
and Benefactor from ye Womb, we can't be too Early Dedicated to
and betimes Taught what Obligations we are under to Serve Him
such Instruction is of absolute necessity, respecting God's Command,
our Depravity; for, as soon as we can goe on our Leggs, we are Rea
to goe from God; and as we Grow up, we are still Apt to forget Him
Love ye World, and seek our Happyness from it: [I am Sr: (you see) som
=what an Instance of this.] but now, if by the Teachings & Instructi
of our Parents, or of Ministers, or jointly by them Both, or more Im
=mediately by ye Spirit of God Himself, we are made Sensible what
Transgressors we have been, against God, and Strayers from His Way
Such Conviction as this, will be Part of our Thanks & Praise to Eter
if it issue in a True & Through-Conversion; which is a Turning from
every Evil way; from ye Creature to God; Choosing His Wayes, makin
Him our only and whole Happyness and Portion; This is to be an In
Christian, a New-Creature: in Compare with which (I presume I wrest
Scripture to say) Baptism in Infancy or Adult Years is Nothing: 'Ti
so much that our Bodies are Wash'd, more or less, as that our Souls

LETTERS
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Interested in ye All-cleansing Blood of Christ; 'tis this that does purge & cleanse us
from Dead works, to Serve ye Living God. —— Say You, We are to slight
None of God's Ordinances; but have respect to All His Precepts: and 'tis plain
Baptism is a Ordinance of God; and as plain is ye Order of it, that Teaching &
Believing must go before it. The Command is, Teach all Nations, Baptizing
them. He that Believeth, and is Baptized &c. And Examples likewise, As many
as Believed, were Baptized and Added unto ye Church &c. —— True, To slight
any-One of God's Ordinances is a Sin that has its Aggravation; and on the
other hand, too lay to great a stress on It, in like manner, highly displeases
Him: in this Case God accounts His own Appointments, vain Oblations:
As to ye Order of this Ordinance, 'tis to be lamented that our Practice is
not more Orderly; that before we Rush upon things, we do not weigh &
consider Times & Circumstances: [If we shut our Eyes against Scripture
-Reason, and go against matter of Fact, no wonder if we fall into Error.]
Both Scripture-Precepts, and Presidents, of Teaching, Blieving and then
Baptizing; Direct and Point to, Christ's Visible Church throughout ye
Nations of ye World that was to be Gathered and was Gathering: And All
Nations being profest Heathens or Jews, they must First be Taught
what Christ and Christianity meant, before they could Profess their Faith
in Him, and become Christians; upon which Profession &ca: ——

To Mr. Wansborough These — Here Sr. I incert ye Continuation of Mr. Pool

To ye Revd. Mr. Sylvester These

on Mat. 28.19 And lend this man (ready to be Rebaptized) a Book Yor.
Worthy Self, or Other Self gave me in my Apprentice-ship: (for
which I humbly Return Ye Thanks) 'Tis the Catechism made
Practical; where much is Sd. in a little. (to this Point perticularly.)

By much of ye above-written to Your Reverend and Knowing Self, I
wish You do not think me guilty of Affectation; an Evil I would by
all means avoid: I can truly say 'tis my Zeal against a Separating —
Censuring Spirit, that prompts me to this; and desiring to be put in the
Plainest Way, wherein I might be, tho' ye Meanest Instrument to —
prevent such Evil. I do Sr. heartily close with ye Reverend Mr. Baxter.
"That to be over-Zealous for Controverted less weighty Truths (on one Side
or ye other) is a Delusion of ye Devil: and to lay out ye Hundredth or Thousandth
part of our Time in such Study or Talk, I shall never be able to justifie. I
desire Sr. to speak it to God's Glory only; that tho' I have been a very Idle Person
God has since given me an Extraordinary Sense, how Precious Time is: that
it is with great reluctance that at any time I read or Discource Controversal
matters; but Sr. by these of ye Anabaptist Perswasion I have been set on
my self: and in These Parts, they are a very Busy People in Spreading their
Books, and Eager after Proselites: and so Contend for their Opinion, that the
Great things of God are sadly Neglected: this Sr. I speak for ye sake of Some
well-meaning People, who are in dayly danger of becoming their Prey;
and by what I see they lay much of their Salvation upon their Rebaptism.

I lately Sr. saw a Book, Intituled, An Argumentative & Practical Discourse
of Infant Baptism; By Mr. Burkit of Milden, in Suffolk; Printed (9½) for
Mr. Parkhurst. — If Sr. I may obtain so great a favour I humbly request You
to use Your Interest with Mr. Parkhurst, to get as many as You can of These Books
(or any Other that Yor. Worthy Self knows more short and Plain on this Subject) for
Esqr. Cook's History of ye 4 last Reigns; which is in my Mastr. Dry's hands. As my
(if Sr. You please over)

Memory

Memory serves. You did S^{r}: Your self Publish a pretty while since a
or Two from those Words ÷ shall Ever be with the Lord! —— I have had a
desire to this for some time. There are likewise 4 Books of M^{r}. Ba
I long to have. Viz^{t}. —— His Treatise of Knowledge & Love compa
in two Parts. (1. Of False Pretended Knowledge. 2. of True Saving K
=ledge and Love.) 2^{d}. Agst. Hasty Judging &c^{a}. —— His Paraphra
on y^{e} Psalms of David &c. —— His Dying Thoughts. —— His
=ral Sermon, published by Himself. —— A Friend sending me
Reverend M^{r}. How's Treatises of Delighting in God, and That of a G
Man's being the Temple of God: this Last I knew not to be in Two
and recieving the Books when in a Multiplicity of Business, 'twas a
while after that I was sensible of having but ye First Part; and the
as the fore-front to ye Temple it self: which makes me much desire
Other (2^{d}) Part likewise: and therefore Request Your Buying this w
the Other 5. Reverend S^{r}: If yor. Leasure will permit I humbly pre
upon Your Good-Will for ye Doing this, and Crave Your Pardon for
Presumption, and shall Ever count my self Extraordinarily Oblig
to You: as I am to my Mast^{r}.: whose many Favours already to me g
me to hope, He will be pleased to make Some Apologie for These Pap
and Reimburse You the Money You Lay out.

To
The Reverend
M^{r}. Sylvester
Humbly
These

(N° 147)

8

Linc Inne the 28th of Dec 1630

Sir

Since I was wth you I have been in the Country (brought my Boyes from thence to bee brought here in towne) I was not yesterday able through the indisposition I had (being behind hand in my business) to come to you nor can I this day therefore I send you this accompt that this morning (before I went out of towne) I was to have waited upon my Lord as he said but have not found him within I afterwards this morning went to Mr Attorneys from whose man I understood that on Monday night last my Lord had been wth Mr (him) and [illegible] £10 as much as was demaunded I yesternight (severall times before sent to Sir Samuell (Office) but yesternight my Clerke spoke wth Sir Samuell (Office) who saith that there is noe ffee due unto the Receiver as I [illegible] the 100 marks nor any other upon yr discharge (for more certainty) I went to Sir Samuell (Office) this morning but could not meete wth him I purpose (God willing) to see you some time tomorrow but what time of the day I cannot yet tell I have in the [illegible] I have bin inquired (lookinge for a [illegible] for you but I have not yet met wth any I shall this day looke further I pray Sir part not wth yr money to the Receiver till hee justifye his demaunde by noe meanes I am in great hast

Sir yor oblig'd affectionat
Servant
Ri: Beresford

[illegible]

(No 148)

ffor the Reverend
Mr Baxter
these.
with my service

Dear Brother 9

You know how oft my fingers have bin burnt in ye fire (of conciliatory attempts) And so
ing experience forbiddeth me to do any thing as an act of Hope, it remaineth yt I
do it only as a Duty or act of obedience to God or Man: ffrom my superiors I
have no comand or Call; & therfore it can be no obedience to ym: If I discern
any Call from God (in ye invitation or further Hopes of successe) I shall obey it.
Either it is ye same Papers wch we gave in last, wch are desired, or new ones to
ye like purpose. The same I canot give, without ~~leave to~~ going to Acton, to search
for ym among my confused scripts; ~~wch if I do without ye leave of his Maty, I~~
~~must expect to go to prison; And I doubt whether if I stay so long in London as~~
~~that businesse requireth, without leave, it will not be an offence~~. If either his
Maty, or any of my superiors or others by his will, shall require it, I will at any
time either looke for these Papers, or concur to the drawing up the healing termes,
wch you mention. Or if any else desire it, upon reasons wch may give us hope
of successe, & yt it will not be displeasing to ye King. But without any
Call, to put papers into mens hands, to be but matter of obloquy behind
our backs, with ye adversaries of Concord, wn we canot speake for our selves,
is not a thing wch prudence will allow, to one yt when he had a Call, did ever
attempt such works in vaine. If you remember, there were some little
Alterations made in our Papers, ye last day. And ye Additions offered at
my Ld Manch:s were cast by & not accepted; And so much as was thought
passable was (they say) drawn up into an Act, wch if it be called for (you
know where) (& be not cast away) will be ye fullest notice of ye businesse,
as being ye finall perfective part. But if you have ye last-agreed Copies
by you, you know what to do wth ym, better yn I can advise you, as know-
ing to whose hands they are like to come, & wt use is like to be made
of ym, better yn at this distance I can conjecture. If there be any
more reasons of my coming to London about it, than by yor Letter I
understand, I pray let me heare again from you! (You may send every
day at 2 or 3 a clock by a Barnet coach neere Hickes Hall.) For my
daily & nightly sicknes & paines, wth ye coldnes of ye season, for-
bid me to come without some considerable cause. I only put you in
mind, yt if you give in any thing of yt nature, every word must be
accurately tryed, because there are so many to chew it after us, & so
much strife may lie upon a word. I rest

Yor ready servant Ri: Baxter.

Feb. 17

To my Reverend & worthy friend
Dr Manton at his house in Coven Garden

(No 149)

Reverend & much
honoured S^r:

Glad I am the Lord hath given you such favour in the eyes of our King that you are so neere unto him I wish his majestie the same yor selfe doe, [illegible] upon a spirituall & eternall blessing by yor being neere him. what yor labours with the rest of our honoured & godly Divines have beene towards the healing of the breaches & keeping of snares from the consciences of men, I perceive by his majesties Declaration, I doe not thinke things are there in all points as you would, but as you can: I beleeve you have found difficult worke to get so farre, & it is mercy that yor King (all things considered) is so moderate as hee is. what the Parliam^t will doe or a Synod (which I desire) I cannot tell but by & by, now after the Parl: ffor formes of prayer I perceive they are absolutely concluded upon how farre to bee imposed I know not. now S^r in that point I am trou-bled (though let me tell you it troubles me that such greate shall stick when I have [illegible] that I cannot get out: o S^r it is an affliction) I perceive fformes of prayer bee what they will, will not downe in our parts, our private Christians many of them being men of excellent gifts in prayer to my knowledge, they will abhorre us, loath us of [illegible] & I am of m^r Warring (yor deare friend) minde, who shall quite undoe our ministry if wee shall yeeld to any thing which men now putt upon us, if wee cannot cleare it clearely from the Word, which wee tell our people is our Rule. a little pamphlet I putt out in defence of my Ordination, was [illegible] grounded, & I told to bee [illegible] now are but particular men, & as to that point I feare none of my adversaries in answering unless the Bible bee denied to bee our sole & perfect rule. the other things were such thoughts as ran in my minde. I intreate you S^r to satisfie my scrupulous minde about formes of prayer, I looke on you as a man willing to tender any one in these [illegible] as now I am: though my [illegible] gift in prayer is not comparable to others yet I [illegible] praying for the King in his affliction I thought I was much enlarged & that in publike to my great danger, loyall to him I have beene when hee was low, as I could declare. since his coming, my Augmentation which was about halfe my maintenance is gone. 7 children to provide for & now my ministery is like to goe, & my familie low already might suffer with. now S^r if you know any other arguments against these formes I pray give answere. I am whole [illegible] wholly against them when imposed on qualified men. yet because I see holy men farre above mee have begun for them, I am troubled againe, & if I could satisfie to use them & not oppose the talent the Lord lent mee in any ordinance [illegible] fearing my owne ignorance: S^r you will doe a very great peice of service if you can convincingly satisfy it from our Rule, that those whom God hath qualified, yet may use imposed fformes of prayer, though thereby

their owne gifts bee totally excluded in any Ordinance, I meane
Bapt: L: Sup. &c. I see Unity & Uniformity are made the onely
grounds: for Unity I know well how our Rule calls for it, & if such
Uniformity bee soe absolutely necessary, I thinke wee had bin ty'd by
such a forme of prayer, then [illegible] throughout the Apostles with much
of wisdome, who could have used such a Meanes to this end, &
that in the Catholick church, but yet none did so.

Many tempted consciences are waiting for some satisfying
[illegible] there may help us, & many thankes will bee returned for
the [illegible] where wee see so little of the power of God &
whose Divinity is so [illegible] out of [illegible] & Sic volo, wee regard them
not.

For the frame of government in his Maj: Declar. I have but this
to say to it. for his Designe to advance the power of godlinesse: [illegible]
[illegible] by [illegible] what a Ministry have wee, I see [illegible]
[illegible] I know who will outvote, are [illegible]
[illegible] to advance the power of god
[illegible] in which is mentioned
[illegible] though I cannot judge such things: yet if other men will take my power away from
[illegible] Divine, yet if other men will by their power purge my Conscience, from ignorant &
[illegible] so they will not force mee to owne their power
as being of Divine Authority, I will not oppose them. & would nothing
for some Episcopacy I
[illegible] such as Bishop, if I could.

I will not trouble you any further, supposing you have much business
[illegible] a man who look [illegible] to the Rule, yet
[illegible] I have about the [illegible]
[illegible] perplexing [illegible] I have [illegible] you [illegible] help from you.
I [illegible] arguments, [illegible] godly men thinke not so
[illegible] a little [illegible] that I see [illegible] every thing to
[illegible] in the things of God in the church; who thinks all honour
to them in the things of God [illegible] there; I cannot finde it, if it bee our Rule.

I have heard something, as if you were in [illegible]
not knowing what to doe, his Maj: proffering you preferment,
I dare confidently say the Preferment is not the thing that moves
you if you doe accept it, but the opportunity of doing good in the
Church: I wish that [illegible] from Court.
[illegible] of that [illegible] pamphlet, wch [illegible] to you to
[illegible] satisfaction in [illegible] with my due respects
[illegible] Sr yours in christian
service
Gi: Firmin.

Shalford: 14th
Novemb: 1660

I have not yet read over your booke
concerning church government, ~~[illegible]~~ but
only cast my eye upon ~~[illegible]~~ that conter-
-ning Episcopacy. I intend to view it more
especially. Some other things in it I have
read since & thanke you for your [illegible]
indeed I am quite [illegible] for your kindly.

(No 150)

These

To the reverend & very
much honoured Mr Richard
Baxter minister of
the Gospell in Kedder
-minster
Worcestershire.

I pray enquire at Mr
Calamies, where hee
lodgeth now in
London.

Sir

I have thus long deferred writing to you
meerly to avoid the disturbing of better im-
ploymts, I am much after the old sort tho
now I am willing to beleeve yt much of my
dulln: & deadn: proceeds from a bodily indisposition
yt canot yet be removed; because I h: formerly
bin in t same maner tho I canot remember
yt it troubled me so much then. I thanke you
for yr chiding I wish it would mend me & also
for yr bookes wch I h: read wth much delight
& satisfaction, one point in yr lesser abt tears
for sin I h: long intended to write to you abt, in for-
mer times wn I had not ts dullnes on me I h:
continued weeping for sin hours together till I
h: found it has disturbed my head wth aking &
so offended my eyes yt I h: n: recovered it of 2
or 3 daies & I had a great minde to know whe-
ther I might lawfully strive to refraine weeping
& restraine tears wn they came soe freely for
sin only.

I h: ~~lately~~ read mr Whites power of godlines
& am much pleased wth it he speakes much of
Ejaculations & I wd feigne know whether I might
shorten secret duties wth an intent to be frequent
betweene dut: in Ejacul: for such th: as I wd h:
bin longer in petitioning abt, but I wd not do
this but ~~but~~ wn either paine sickn: or sleepyn:
& excessive dullnesse ceazeth on me, for I find
it my constant temper to pray best at t begin:
for perhaps on qtr of an houre & after weari-
nes & distract: & dullnes comes & tn small
comfort in t duty though I goe on & resolve
by gods grace to continue prayer still though
I shd never h: comfort in t duty agn.

I much desire also a clearer understanding of yt
t script: wch wd helpe well in all duties but I
find t misplacing of t cap & bookes a gt hinderance
& rep: wn I wondered at many th: yt seemed
to be contradictory & did never know but yt it
ws placed in order till Dr Ahid informed me

her-wife in a sermon preached at West: I suppose tr is noe helpe
ts but yet I thinke it wr a good in some yt print to make a table yt
ight be printed at t ends & begin: of bibles to show t right order of
bookes & cap: as things wr done yt any might read t scriptures in yt
rder & I thinke understand ym better, [redacted]

t report of yr pray: in a forme in yt pulpit came to mr Woodbr: by one yt sd he was of yt towne & had heard it so oft yt he on mr W: desire sd over a very complete prayer to him wch he sd was yrs & mr W: gave him money fr his paines & he had a gt desire to know t truth of it wch occasioned me to write abt it, I h: also bin asked by divers whether u doe n: read all yr sermons I think tis not but could n: give an exact account because my writing hindered me fr observing yt the t report was so & yt u have told some so yr selfe but I doe n: beleeve yu could preach so lively if you did. I tell you I am oft troubled still abt privat conferen wth minrs yt it shd be of such ill report yt now its counted a scandall not only among yt prophane but civell & many yt doubtles are godly wch h: not such pressing necessity to make knowne yr condition to minrs as sum h: I so censure all, I may speake in this case fr tho I could tell my minde to on or 2 godly min: agt yet through a naturall bashf: could not speake t same th: to ym together & I suppose more may be of my temp & doubtles many of gods peo: may h: such greeviances yt wr either bef: or after conversion or at least such temptn: after yt is n: fit to be spoken to a minr in t presence of others wt must be done in such a case shall we h: lesse liberty fr soul yn body, some h: told me yt neede go to minrs scrupt: is able to satisfy any doubt or scruple I will trouble you no longer now but rest wth service & a desire of continuance of yr prayers

Dec: 27: 58

I doubt my postscript will be too large; wn my Co: S. was wth you I sent to know abt sider & had sent fr some but fr 2 or 3 th: 1: the wayes grew very ill, & 2 wee thought t charge wd be very gt in sending a cart or two so far & 3 I knew n: if I shd do so wthout first sending to yu whether any wd be ready at Worcester wn they came, so yt now I doubt there is noe way to h: any this yeare but if you & I live one more in peace phaps some way may be contrived. also my Co: Simon wn wth u was very desirous to h: spoken wth her owne busines to h: seene if yu could h: done her any courtesy abt it but she did not, though if

if you can doe any [illegible] to a Widow & fa-
therles in ye matter y^{t} maide (to w^{m} I desire
to be remembred) can tell you the whole
story. fr ye melilot water could I write you
ye certificats of a cure y^{t} I saw done by it only
as ye meanes y^{u} w^{d} beleeve it, I earnestly
desire to know how you h: had y^{r} health this
cold winter. I am satisfied of ye safety of o^{r} le-
tres passage I have n: writ to y^{u} since I rec:
y^{r} last by my Co: S: but now this man of y^{e}
towne went so neere u upon his owne busines
I could not choose but write by him & h: bin
as short as I could y^{t} so I might get a few
lines backe by him.
we h: had a g^{t} losse ab^{t} 2 moneths since of o^{r}
godly min^{r} of Wirksw: m^{r} Topham, through mercy
the place is well supplyed, but he w^{s} a man of
a meeke sp^{t} so loving so pious so ready to do
good & forward to make up differences y^{t} he has
not left such another in o^{r} county I might fill
all y^{s} paper wth his commendations I could not
but mention y^{s} greefe to u its a sad th: to see
a godly min^{r} dye & be at his buriall ye wch I never
knew before n^{r} desire to see ye like ag^{n} he is
much lament: & soe w^{s} by all ye min^{rs} of o^{r} Chs
in a day of hum: at o^{r} house after in seeking to god
fr y^{s} y^{t} has ye place, it w^{s} ye saddest day of humil:
y^{t} ever I w^{s} at a Bochim indeed

These psent to mr Richard
Baxter at
Kederminster
Worcestershire

No 151

les^{r}

2

My wif tells me you expect my opinion about Mr Charnock: I am very glad for Mr Esdelis sake that he is like to goe thither; As for St James I have not till this day agreed with some of the people for my owne continuance with them, if God enable me, & find that things are yet so low & unsettled, & withall, the expectants so many, & all upon faire pretensions, for the afterwards, if any should yet be setled, that I dare not motion the fixing of any one for the present, lest the inconveniences (foreseene) should prove ~~to~~ inconsistent with our ends (ye peoples good); ffor strivings & discontents (if not division) will hardly be avoided: And therefore I am constrained at present to procure a supply by various unfixed persons. About the Clarke I presume my wife hath or will satisfie you.

Yor Servt

Ri: Baxter

July 6.

×

(No 152)

Ffor my Reverend friend
Mr Fitzherbert
these

Deare & Worthy Sr

Whatsoever proceedeth from yor pressing & affectionate penn having bin shewed ye way by your printed labours findeth a quicke & ready passage to my heart & more inward affections where wth united force & strength they importune & sollicite all ye powers & faculties of my soule to exercise their severall operacons about more noble, spirituall, & infinitely more delightfull obiects then hitherto they have done, or at least more frequently & familiarly. I know certainly yt yt Axiome hath its truth Intellectus est quod intelligit, for although ye soule is not yt wch it understandeth, yet yt it is very much assimilated to ye nature of wt it converseth wth, mine owne experience as it verifyeth it to me, so in this fleshly carnall converse, it giveth me too too sad instance: So yt I am powerfully convinced, if ever I desire to have my nature made conformable to ye divine nature & to become holy, pure, & spirituall. this heavenly life will be my ready, if not my onely way. I know Sr by experience yt it is not as easily done as said, & yt ye Kingdome of heaven must both doe violence to me & suffer violence from me: before ye worke be done. but methinkes I doubt not, but he yt hath found out meanes to produce light so cleare in mine understanding, will make it effectuall to begett heate & life in mine Affections & powers. & he yt hath freely begunn, will not loose his earnest: especially if I have ye assistance of your prayers, to whom I am ready to thinke yt god will deny nothing: It affecteth me not a little yt you should deale so familiarly wth one so farr inferiour to you, when I see it too frequent & common for Men of eminent parts to keepe their distance wch I know is warrantable, but I feare likewise in ye excess. Sr since I have so free leave from you yea & encouragement likewise, particularly to addresse my selfe to yu for your instructions, I entreate yu Sr yt yu would give me, in ye study of Divinity: some more notable generall Cautions, wch I doubt not but by yor long experience yu needs must have gained; if I knew them before it will doe me no hurt, na I know it will rit them more fully home to know them againe a second time from your selfe. My next request is to know your iudgment whither yu approve of Common place bookes, & referring of all reading to severall head & whither yu thinke it doth not impaire & weaken ye Memory (wch I desire to have a speciall care of.) I must confesse I have altogether accustomed my selfe to wrighting hitherto:

Sr I find yt ye naturall knowledge of a Deity. clearely demonstrated (as likewise ye verity of Scripture as they are ye Foundations of Religion to ye better & deeper these are Layd ye more solid is ye superstructure like to be, for I thinke yt there is some degree of Atheisme in ye most & best Christians. & yt ye more these seeds of Atheisme are extirpated, all after=knowledge will be of greater fo & efficacy I desire yu againe yt if yu know any more excellency in one booke then, in another on this subiect, besides Morney, & Dr charleton of a Deity yt y would be pleased to intimate to me, & though I can rest sufficiently in tho Arguments yt are extant in your Bookes, for ye divinity of S being more va & fully prosecuted then I ever yet saw any yet if yu know of any eminent booke, this way yt yu would vouchsafe to communicate to me: But I remember since I writt these last words forgoing I doe putt yu to double labour, for ~~for~~ there are directions in yor notes, & therefore I shall willingly content my selfe whither yu say any thing or nothing. Once more I shall presume to trouble yu; yt sinc I find yor iudgment in yt Disputable, vtrum voluntas necessario sequatur vltimum dictamen rationis practicæ, to the contrary to yt wch is ordinarily received, & yt Mr Hereboord in his Colleg. Ethic. doth as yet, so convincingly demonstrat to me, yt yu would be pleased yt if yu can in few words lay downe ye grounds of your opinion, or re

referre me to a booke where I may read it determined
for I looke upon ye Question of an ordinary Question to
be of as much concernment as any. I shall most seriously
ponder & consider whatsoever yu shall say unto me, & yor correction
where yu shall thinke fitt, I shall willingly entertaine as yor instruc-
tions. Concerning ye businesse of my Sister wth wch I troubled yu
in my last Letter, I should never have taken it in hand, un-
lesse I had very probable & greate hopes of seeing it effected ~~it~~, wch I
could never expect (wthout a Miracle wch I durst not presume to look
for) had I bin to have gained my Fathers approbation & consent.
but I ground upon this, yt since my Father hath bin ready
to breake up house=keeping. ~~this h~~ any time this halfe yeere
being in debt above ~~be~~ at least very neere as much as his pos-
sessions are worth, & not able to pay ye use wth his revenue:
so yt he is like to have my Sister wth yt Money wch he
cannot keepe from her, being left her by my owne Mother
& so shee is like to shift for her selfe, wch opportunity
I endeavoured timely to improve, yt wt evill prejudices shee
hath contracted either by evill custome or Education might
be stocked up before they run to deep: To yt end & purpose
(by ye assistance of god) I have endeavoured to prepare & dispose
her by my Letters & all other obligations yt I could contrive,
for such a condition; & have wonne her heart even to a strong
desire of ye place as shee heartily intimateth to me in her
Letter: Shee is of Age about 22 or 23: but not so reli-
gious I feare as to dwell in London, shee is yet unmarried
& (I hope by ye providence of god will so continue yet a while,
(ye for all yt I perceive shee is like to doe) unlesse I could
hope yt shee might meete wt such a one yt might prove
a guide, not a snare unto her. I shall (as it is my duty)
waite upon god by prayer in ye use of such means as he shall
direct me to, leaving ye issue to his Providence humbly desiring
yor prayers to this purpose: I have perceived ye hand of god in
this designe all along ~~[illegible]~~ hitherto, so yt I may well say, Thus
farre god hath helped; & why not as well Deus providebit. I see
nothing to discourage me, but all incouragements even to, &
beyond mine expectations: Wee shall owe our selves unto yu
for your care & assistance. And for mine owne share

I haue greate cause to be instant at ye throwne of grace toge
wth others yt he would (as I perceiue hee hath hitherto done even t
Miracle) continue you still a burning & shining light to his chur
to be instrumentall for their good, & mine owne in particuler
& to prolong yt hapines to you (if it be a hapines, to deferr yor ha
=nes, yt it may at last come wth the greater degree & proportio
I shall trouble you no more at this time, but shall rest.

Yours to Command for all holy
purposes Will: Duncumb

Dated at Kings
Coll: Octob: 29 1652

(No 153)

Having heard much of your riches and how little felicitie they
been to you and yours, and now having ye happ to see you, and hea
your own complaint, I do commiserate your condition. you see yt a m
life and comfort consisteth not in ye abundance. It doth but m
your children a prey to such as are ye greatest lovers of riches
that is if Christ be to be believed to ye worst of men. And
is so heavy a curse yt accompanyeth a worldly mind, yt usually
do not only sell and lose all their hopes of heaven for this deceitfull
Earthly drosse, but they pierce themselves through with many sorr
and do but multiply cares and troubles to themselves, and God sel
dome giveth such a heart to do any great good with what they
possesse and to prepare for a comfortable account. I besee
you therefore accept ye counsell which I am giving you, whi
if you believe ye Gospell you may know is of God. Make
advantage of that which hath befallen your children:
quickly yt all your wealth shall not be a prey to covetous
men and fewell for your own torment, described by St James
Chap. 5. 1 &c. Do you not know that you must die and h
short and uncertaine is your time. And have you any
then of salvation but by Christ? And can you be saved by him
if you will not be ruled by him? obey him then who command
you Math. 6. 33. seeke first ye kingdom of God and his righteo
Math. 6. 19. 20. 21. lay not up for your selfe a treasure on
earth where rust and moath corrupt and thieves br
through and steale, but lay up for your selfe a treasure in
heaven &c. Luk. 16. 9. Make your selves friends of ye Mammon
of unrighteousnesse that when you faile they may receive yo
into ye everlasting habitations: Be not deceived, God is not moc
whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reape: He yt
soweth sparingly shall reape sparingly. Gal. 6. Math. 25. Ch
tells you that men shall be judged to joy or punishment
as they have either well used their talents by doing
or hid them. Come on then Mr Bennett: Thanke God
his warning and presently secure a portion for your selfe
Believe ye everlasting Glory which is hard at hand,
all that preferre it before this world and truly seeke it
ye miserie that worldlie men are neare, when they shall h
as Luk. 12. 19. 20. Thou fool this night shall thy soul be r
of thee, and then whose are all these things: So is ev
with Christ, who gathereth riches to himselfe and is not
come then and yet defeate the Devill and all the

that would make a prey of you and yours: Leave enough for your wife
and children, but give somewhat, yea a due proportion to your
selfe. Trust God for your reward and presently settle a conside-
rable part on charitable uses. I will venture to name you some.

1. There are abundance of poore streets in London where ye
children are bred like Heathens and never taught to read;
settle upon a douzen such streets but ten pound a yeare
to each, to hire a poore honest man or woman to teach
the children of ye poore to read freely.

2. There are almost whole Countries in Wales in ye same
case. Mr Gouge hath begd mony to settle about fourscore
such Schooles there only to teach children to read English:
But ye Benefactours are many dead, and ye work is like ere
long to die. Ten pound a Schoole will do it plentifully. Con-
sult with Mr Gouge and liberally help in it. It is your
own reall gain that I invite you to.

3. There are many thousand poore distressed families in
London, since the fire. If you will settle any land to help
them, trust it into ye hands of some of ye Citie Companies
for that use.

4. There are abundance of Impropriations where insuffici-
ent maintenance occasioneth insufficient ministers:
I need not tell you what to do for ye supply. All flesh is
as grasse: Our dayes are as a dreame, our life as a bubble:
How quickly shall our bodies lye rotting to dust in a
darksome grave, and our souls go to a righteous Judge
to receive a finall irreversible doome. O what a change
is it that death will shortly make! while you have
time to do good to all men, especially to ye houshold of
faith Gal. 6. Come to London, and take counsill of some
conscionable Lawyer, and presently without delay settle
and secure a competent part of yor estate for ye fur-
thering of your own salvation. Though it merit no-
thing by way of gift or purchase from God, yet
with such sacrifice he is well pleased. He gave it you
& he will shortly say give an account of thy stew-
ardship, thou shalt be no longer steward. None of them
can rob you of a treasure thus laid up in Heaven.
I have given you good Counsell; if God give you a heart
to take it, you may yet save your riches and be happy
you with it a book written about 22 years ago

LETTERS

and partly dedicated to one Mr Foley who was wonderfully
in his estate as you have bin, and besides a constant life of
charitie, he hath settled 500 a yeare on a Hospitall to breed
up poore boyes in reading and writing, and then with money to sett them apprentices.

God give you a heart to be rich for your selfe in Good works, and not to your misery and to ye lusts of others.

Accept this from

Your faithfull Monitor

Ri. Baxter.

July 26. 1681.

For Mr Bennet

(No 154)

Much Reverend & excellent Sir,

5 This Letter is ye product of Ingenuity alon & has no other Impulse, or exciting-Cause. You Writings I have long read (& now am immerst ye reading of that incomparably-useful excellent Volume, your Christian Directory) & I can truly say, That I learne (& have learn't) more b You, Sr, than by or from any man (or men) in ye World. For this I thank & blesse God, & would fain testifie my Thankfulnesse to You, to whom, I am sure, it wil not be unpleasing (al ye contrary) to receive (tho' not Glory or Praise, yet) Information, yt by your (unparallel'd, inimitable, scarce-expressible) Pains & Labour, you do good in ye World.

I do here therfore, Sir, make my most solemne heartyest Acknowledgments to You, professing to have a most dear esteem for your Person and Life, wishing (~~with joy~~) yt you may Live & Write yet many years.

While too many (his moribus vivitur) thro Malice, Faction or Interest (by one of wch ill Principles* I myself was once acted, as appears in a printed Pamphlet of 20. years standing) decry You & your Writings, wch yet they (mostly) see not, read not, know not, nor would see, &c. I am (now) among Those, & they too no smal number (as partly I know, & partly do rationally believe) who greatly esteem, love & venerate you; & shal be still ready likewise (on occasion) to vindicate you.

Your Answers to Long & Cheyney, wch impugne your Plea for Peace (as also your Replyes to others) I have very lately (& very greedily) read, & do say, They must have more strength, [if strength wil do it] (wch, I

* n undis- nes spirit Faction, perhaps s crimi- l & dis- enuous s visible many o- ers.

doubt, nor Dr. Hook wil appear to me to have) that
give satisfactions to your Pretensions.

Wch Pretensions I wish to God our Governours
would consider. No man has better principles of
Loyalty than you, Sr (as appears in ye 2d Part of
your Plea for Peace, & in your Christian Politi
& no man's Writings (~~of a Dissentient~~) are more
ling & unitive (not to add, no man's whatsoever, so
Upon these so many accounts, Sr, you have my He
& Hand & al my (poor) Powers ready to serve You
being,

(incomparable Sir,)

Your most affectionate Ser-
vant in ye Ld Jesus,

John Barton,
Rector of Pisford, 3 miles
& Northampton.

To spare your (precious) time, I shal be satisfied wth ye Hopes
That this sory Lre comes to your hands, without expectin
an Answer therto; ye very reading wherof hath diverted
too much.

Yet, if it shal please you to write unto me, please to direct your Lett
to be left at Mr Lord's a Butcher in Northampto

Jan: 7. — 81.

(No 155)

(91)

To the much Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
this presente

Deliver this to Mr
B . . . . Simmons Stationer at the three Golden Locks at ye west End
of St Pauls; to be sent
as above is directed (to
mr Baxter at ye place
of his present Residence
post pd Jan. 7th – 81

Sr

Yrs kind Letter informes me of that high esteem wherewith you valued my father, & instructs me of my ingagement to you for that honourable remembrance of him & also for your loving salutation of myself. I perceive there was a sweet harmony between both your spirits, as being touched by the same gracious impressions of Gods holy Spirit. For I have heard my Father both mention you as a miracle of industry in the research, & of ~~the~~ felicity in ye delivery of sound & profitable divinity; & also professe a great satisfaction wth solid comfort received from your writings, some whereof he recomended in his sicknesse to some religious visitants as great helps to stay & settle minds on Christ, & by particular ~~order~~ hath injoyned me to present certain copies of yor excellent book (The Saints Rest) to divers his nearest friends for ye remembrance of him. To what a fervor of Love had this friendship, (if time had favoured) ~~[illegible]~~ growen up, that was but late contracted, & managed at a distance by correspondence of letters? We therefore that knew & injoyed him Longer, ought indeed to be more displeased at our own negligence for not improving a light wch we knew must be extinguished here ~~[illegible]~~ to ye utmost advantage, then to be troubled at Gods dispensation in receiving him to himself in his own time. As to yor inquiry concerning his work, briefly he had resolved to recollect his loose & scattered notes on Rom. 3. 28. but he could hardly find his own writings or recover ye notes of sermons taken by others. yet he had begun the task. In ye mean time he thought it necessary to look a little into ye new fancies, wherewth ye truth of that point hath been of late disfigured or violated. And ye multitude of capricious conceits almost overwhelmed him, & that it grew almost an endles labour but to consider the variety of questions newly started. This & other emerging occasions took him up so far, that he had not written above 2 sheets in this undertaking: so yt the exact publication of his discourses of yt subject is not to be expected. The positive grounds of his opinion ~~are~~ have been delivered to many so often in pulpit, & by discourse or pen, that I hope many good christians that have received satisfaction those ways are edified & apt to edify others thereby. But Sr I know that your howrs are pretious, & therefore having indevoured to gratify your request (tho ~~[illegible]~~ that I am not so happy as to bring you so good tidings as we wish we might have done) I will not give you any further trouble then ye intreating of your prayers to God for ye direction of & keeping him in his truth & Love who remaines

Sr

Yrs very affectionate friend
& fellowlabourer in ye Lord
Charles Gataker

Redrith Sept. 29.
1654.

For ye Reverend my worthy Friend
Mr Rich: Baxter preacher
of ye Word at Kidder minster
This

No 156

Reverend Sir

I have [illegible] the enclosed from my neighbour Mr Baxter though [illegible]
might come [illegible] to [illegible] about this time hath desired me to [illegible]
[illegible] before it I doe not know, but I shall not be [illegible] of
been ready to goe to Somersetshire [illegible] I see what they will doe about the
uniformity. If his affaires require any hast & you shall be pleased to [illegible]
him I will take faithfull care to have it sent. It is pitty methinks to [illegible]
the reports of men (with most due courtesy) doth but prove a trouble to these that
have them. I am conscious of this in my selfe towards you who have bin so [illegible]
[illegible] bold & presuming on your goodnes of late. I doe therefore humbly render
my thankes to you & crave your pardon that my distresse drave me to it. I [illegible]
blesse God I find my minde much at ease from most of those darke impressions that
haunted it before I put my booke out, & I doe feele methinks the one thing remaining
wanting to mee, if I may say it yet, & that is one or two healing words from your
kind hand to that purpose ~~&~~ St John speakes. If any man see his brother sin a sinne
not unto death hee shall aske, & hee shall give him life. I judge I did amisse
doing what I did before my spirit was satisfied ~~[illegible]~~ in it. [illegible] & [illegible]
now I have confessed the fault with the circumstances, repented it, & cast it off openly, & [illegible]
you as a faithfull minister of Christ vouchsafe mee one bare line or two that may give
mee life according to the sense of that text. I know my owne spirit, & of what course
make this will be to it as a father will expect. The Lord I am persuaded is sat
right in what I have done but a sparkling word of yours or two will set it more ~~[illegible]~~ kindly
up. I beseech you let not this offend, the commands of Christ are not grievous. My
desire is ~~this~~ that you will but read what you find on the other side (being what I have ~~[illegible]~~
mentioned formerly to you & you seemed to mee to crave, rather than speake ~~[illegible]~~ by)
& then ~~[illegible]~~ write mee but a positive line to it, & save the same that never
else may bee conscious of so much ~~my~~ infirmity. I expect not halfe a [illegible] of paper
from you but onely as it were ~~the~~ a word of life Christ. What from you I shall take as from
the minister of God. You may bee pleased to leave the line or two for mee
morrow or next day at Mr Williams shop bookseller at the signe of the Bible ~~[illegible]~~ just over
against your gate. And if you shall thinke fit to enclose any ~~letter~~ for [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ in
Fairclough also I shall call there on Friday morning to know. This is like to be the very last time
I endeavour on Saturday to send it to him. Ingenuity prompts mee
else I hope I shall never put you to it on this matter. Humbly engaged
to take this way.

I am Your most
Sir: John Humfrey

Uppon Sunday at St Albans where I was there was a certaine person [illegible] continuing to interrupt him
in an open [illegible] unadvisedly & a lieutenant ~~[illegible]~~ shot one of
the hearers dead for nothing but onely desiring him to bee quiet. Uppon which
the coroner sitting at night they brought in the murder to bee
chance medley, ~~&~~ put the innocent minister in the condition & acquitted
~~the~~ the fellow that murdered the man. If things goe so high, it will
bring much dread on many hearts.

Turne over.

[illegible] I was distressed upon my determining about the doing or not doing th[e] [illegible] while my temper was agt it, & my conscience not cleare especially many gre[at] of some expressions on the ministers part which stumbled me, & yet notwithstanding and as it were in despite of those scruples I thought with my selfe if I must say them, I will say them, this doe seeme to me a going agt the spirit striving with me that I should not have done this thing. I did indeed when I came to it change those expressions (or at least for the most part, unless my own care may me faile) but that I could goe at adventure before I had resolutely determined to change them, it was ~~all~~ all one as to the sinne of the will, as if I had not changed them at all. Againe I was about a month before touched in my consci[ence] for reading some part of common prayer. I thought little of the matter of scandall before but when I had reflected upon it ~~lately~~, The argument that by my doing a thing indifferent, others whose consciences are not yet sufficiently instructed may doe the same, & so be lead to wound their soules, did drive me disquieted that ~~[illegible] tasting the word of god, & [illegible] thinges,~~ [illegible] I thought with my selfe if I were to doe the same againe I would not doe it. this argument being more strong agt Reordination & yet when the temptation came that I should yeild ~~[illegible]~~ againe & not use all this consideration to resist it, with seeming ~~[illegible]~~ me a manifest conviction of Gods word & mind I did not know then how to answere only by my talking with a neighbour comming thither ~~[illegible]~~ it seemed now to be cleare upon me at the time; This hath often very fearefully made me thinke, that hereine I sinned agt the highest illumination (that ~~I could~~ according to my weaker I could have) of the things of God, which I left, whereas I should have stood it agst ~~[illegible]~~ to resist me agt the temptation. That I thought little of scandall before I was at ~~my~~ first conforming in common prayer touched & then ~~[illegible]~~ felt such conviction this seemes a tasting the word of God, & then the terrour I felt ~~[illegible]~~ upon it looked like the powers of the world to come, & after this yet to fall againe, transforming ~~[illegible]~~ after in being reordained it hath so wounded my soule formerly in this & the like ruminations, that I doe see it good even yet for Jesus Christs sake who bare more for you, to beare this burden for me so farre as to say only affirmatively, as may not yield me suspition that you doe ~~[illegible]~~ yourselfe distrust ~~in the case all~~, that you are perswaded & believe assuredly for without ~~[illegible]~~ doubt that this is not that sinning willfully after the knowledge of the truth, sinning unto death, seeing so as is impossible to be renewed by repentance, or such sinning agt the holy ghost as is unpardonable, but that you dare pr[onounce] for me & pronounce absolution to me upon my repentance for the same./

These words here are the sense of my soule for a long
while before my booke ~~came out~~ was writ, & now I put the
same, to prevent any trouble againe in this kinde
through Gods grace./

(No 157)

For the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter
These.

8

Sr

Although there ~~hath~~ hath not bin that [illegible] acquaintance betweene yo(r)selfe and me [illegible] generall knowledge and acquaintance that [illegible] you when you lived at Couentree [illegible] me to write a word or two unto you ~~[illegible]~~ about a [illegible] wherein you and I are both concerned ~~the~~ The business [illegible] about ye end of December last Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Tombes [illegible] Antipaedobaptisme came first to my hands (as appeares by ye title of his booke he doth [illegible] me in ye number of his Antagonists and hath drawne me into opposition although I never had a mind to meddle with him. My humble request to you is that you will be pleased to certifie me in a word or two whether you doe intend to rejoyne againe [illegible] and further to amplifie ye force of yor argument grounded uppon Rom: 11 and 1 Cor 7 14. If it be yor purpose to rejoyne ~~againe~~ I shall be glad to enjoy your labour and to spare my owne paines in discovering his fallacious dealing with these Scriptures. I have you see for already to ~~leave~~ Act 2 38 39 and to vindicate that convertibilitie betweene ye word of promise ~~and~~ and comand which as he thinks he hath set fullie confuted. I would not speake ~~for~~ that ye world is so full of books ~~[illegible]~~ of ye nature already but I ~~[illegible]~~ know not [illegible] ye present necessitie of ye church and how [illegible] young men should be prepared to give ye [illegible] a punctuall answer. But if it be soe yt [illegible] list [illegible] health of bodie and yor engagement to other studies doe take you off from meddling in ye present controversie I shall be glad to communicate to you what I have done and to desire your advise. And [illegible]

×

st to accept it I doe intend to give you a visit some
time this sommer. and if I can prevaile to get my cousin
Nortonn to come along wth me. And for ye assurance
that these few lines doe come fro your old friend
you may remember yt the last time you saw me it was
you gave me a visit at my house in Coventree neere ye
Drapers lane. at wch time you spake something of the
concerning the covenant and the writings of Cameron and
Dr Davenant wch as formerly soe at that time I did
honour and esteeme verie much. If you please to returne
an answer you may send it by the bearer to Mr Halls
house minister of Bromsgrave where ye messenger
will take it up at his returne out of Herefordshire
and I will safely ~~[illegible]~~ bring it to me. you may dire
ye letter to Fennie Drayton in Leicestershire
I am minister. thus commending you to ye Lords
protection I rest

Yor assured friend and
fellow labourer in the work of ye
ministrie.

Drayton: Aprile: 25 52

Nathaniell Stephens

(No 158)

ects in volume show

My Reverend & most worthy brother

I doe very humbly thanke you for the letter I received of yours at large in answer to mine, especially that you should pick it out of so many, to doe mee that favour. I will not so ill requite you as to trouble you with a reply. The way you goe is hard to bee opposed, & to bee passed. I have told you, the Tenders, doubting & the Formalls, lying, are the two things stick with mee.

Those that goe in the middle opinion about the universall redemption of Christ, as Davenant, doe hold there is a such actuall remission & salvation belonging unto all, in their way, to wit, upon condition of their believing. Now methinks that remission (he speakes of) is appropriated in Scripture with distinction of priviledge to those that are in the church, in opposition to others that are not. To wit. While a man believes this to bee true that Xt hath died for all upon condition, and sets himselfe to the meanes of getting this condition (that is hath a dogmaticall faith & subjects himselfe to the ordinances to this end that he may get saving) he may bee said according to scripture to bee in Xt, redeemed, sanctified — in opposition to the heathen whome (though they are under the line of Redeemed too for all that, conditionally, ~~equally~~ we) whome the apostle reckons to bee without god & without Xt in the world, in respect whereunto.

And yet further I cannot methinks but see, supposing the Gospell preached & saying thus, to two persons, Thou must believe these things of Xt, & accept of him, if ever thou beest saved, & if thou dost not thou shalt bee damned, that the person who of the two, does dogmatically assent to this, must needs bee more in Covenant thereby, in some sense as the other who believes this not, cannot bee. When God said to Adam, In that day thou eatest thereof thou shalt dye, wch is reckoned by all the covenant of works, there was nothing but his assent thereto, to put him under that part thereof.

I will say no more to you here a glance is enough; And you have seen mee already in your booke, you seeke no self glory nor in this [illegible] light, [illegible]

I told you in my letter, that I did hugely like your free judgment thereon counting it a quick dispatch of the notion, & no slighting of the man. And yet you have these words in your letter. If you thought I spoke slightingly ad Sept 12. — it was not of the man — the consequence I cannot helpe — this pleaseth me not Dear brother as if I were such a one, as should say expressly in my letter (looke if it be not so) that I approve you hugely in this ~~thing~~ passage, & yet take exceptions at it. No, I must confesse, these words wherein you tax me of a double defect of ingenuity did touch me a little. because methinks my spirit loves openness & plaine dealing (that is I count ingenuity) & I would not willingly ~~be~~ remaine guilty therein for any thing, howsoever more faulty I should be else (yet was it my Misfortune to faile therein as in other things, whereof I have given, & you [illegible]) but as for my thing besides, doe not you thinke, I was moved or touched rather with thankfullness that you were so free with me as you are, considering how I needed favour from you so well.

I pray thinke whether as to a mans being in covenant, the notions of Divines, are not too narrow confining it to the one halfe thereof. And why is not this one part of the covenant. If thou beleivest not, impenitent, walkest not sincerely thou shalt be damned, as well as if thou doest these, thou shalt be saved. And as to this halfe at least of the covenant whereof, whether a dogmaticall faith is not the thing, & the very only thing, that puts a man in covenant, so, as when he was an infidell he was not before; so this threatning halfe is all expressed in Adams covenant, yet the other was included; so under the promissory halfe in the gospell, this is alike to be regarded. Was Adam in covenant in respect to the threats before he was fallen, & how say you a man cannot be in covenant in reference to the promise, before he keeps the condition? My Reasoning doth touch often on this string, but I must acknowledge I find not yet any resolution.

Most Dear Sir pardon me for this broken matter. I have herewithall sent you that sermon I preached at your church when I was with you. The occasion whereof at first, & of its comming to the presse, I may passe; that is with the Lords, & I hope through his mercy for good. As the price was accidentally offered in your treasury, I beseech you to accept of it, as a token of my very ~~great~~ true & kind affections to you, considering that it is ~~truly~~ even as great a peice of bounty or liberality, to accept of a little, as to give much, which you are used to doe with that abundance to the world. The Lord encrease that store to you, & the Lord relieve my want. and Oh Sir! have me in remembrance with you at the throne of grace, that I may be sincerely his, as I am.

Most affectionately yours in all due respects & honour

John. Humfrey.

Reverend Sir, 120

I presume by that ingenuity & candor, & those principles of piety which I apprehend in you by what I find in yor writings that it will not bee offensive to you that I though a meere stranger & wholly unknowne to you doe take the boldnes to interrupt yor more serious studies with theise ~~three~~ lines, which I am moved to doe partly from that good likement I tooke to some peices of yours (for I have not yet seene them all) specially yor Directions, in which I find such shewings of truth breaking forth more clearly as I cannot but bee glad of, & more especially that you begin & found yor directions to peace with God on such principles of ye Gracious nature of God, & X^t^, & the extent of his ransome as are too much hidden & withholden from ye generality of ye people. And truly Sir I was much pleased when I found in one of yor bookes, I thinke ye Apology at ye close of yor Aphorismes, that you intended to put out a Treatise about Generall Redemption the comming out of which I willingly & desirously listened for) but reading lately in ye Confession of yor Fayth, that you had (as you say for peace sake) resolved to lay those papers aside, I was somewhat troubled, & cannot but thinke it from ye wily working of Sathan by some y^t^ feare hath abused as hee sometime did Peter to dissuade that so you might not hurt him & his kingdome with the shewing forth that truth by you, for hee is very 223 sensible y^t^ nothing pulls men more from him then the grace of God in the crosse of Christ discerned by them [illegible] appearance of y^t^ saves & teaches to deny ungodlines, which it is professedly to ruin the certainly

they shall [illegible] the way of God, & the great obliga-
tions to love & come to God that yᵉ Generall Redemption
puts upon them suitable to 2 Cor. 5. 14. 15. Tit. 2. 11. 12.
& 3. 4. 5. Psal. 9. 10. & 36. 7. 8. But Sir why I pray
should you for peace sake waive the publishing yoʳ thoughts
on this point. Is it a truth or not. if it be a truth
why should the publishing it disturb yᵉ Churches peace
sure none will be disturbed by it but them yᵗ love
not truth, or take ~~truth~~ it to be no truth, the former
we should not so much seeke to please as to conceale
truth for feare of disturbing them, the latter being
convinced it is a truth will cease to be displeased yᵗ it is
publisht. or is it because you judge it an unnecessary
truth, yᵗ I cannot thinke you doe because you put it
amongst the first fundamentall principles of comfort
& peace with God, yoʳ owne Directions to make much
of yᵉ encouragements given by Generall Grace re-
present you as one looking upon it as a truth very
needfull to be knowne. nay Sir without this one
passage of laying aside these papers for peace sake
render yoʳ Directions the more invalid especially
as to what you there assert about Generall grace
& make people thinke there is no great truth or
weight in that seeing you easily lay aside yoʳ thoughts
of further opening it. Nay to be yet plainer
with ~~you~~ you, Is it not a notable symptome yᵗ
this is a very usefull truth, our maine point that
Paul was commissionated to preach too. 1 Tim. 2. 4. 5. 6.
7.

[illegible] John [illegible]

7 that yt Devill maketh it so offensive, & stires up so much dissension against it. for wherfore else should any truth disturb ye churches peace but by Sathans instigations, who but hee & people kept in ignorance of ye truth at least by him will bee disturbed at truth, surely it a notable argument that there is a great & rich magazine of precious incouragement to piety layd up or contained in ye bowells of this truth yt ye peeping of it abroad is so opposed & proves so disturbing to peace, If it bee an error indeed then pitty any should maintaine it, pitty but you retract what you frequently say about it, but yt I believe you judge it not to bee. Good, Sir, lett mee intreat you to take the matter better into yor thoughts & seriously examine if yt of Peter, Master favour thy selfe, the speaking out this truth will bee too offensive to ye world & to thy Brethren have not taken too much hold upon you, & whether you preferr not a name with yor Brethren before the glory of Gods truth & grace herein, & love of quiett & not to bee reputed too bad doe not make you shrinke in. ffor my part I thinke ye cleering up yt truth would bring much glory to God, peace to his churches, & good to all men yt wilfully put not away theyr owne good when brought unto them, & therefore I desire you would resume yor papers againe & goe on wth yt worke, together therewith well considering whither ye scriptures speake so to personall Election to faith & perseverance therin to salvation as you seeme also to conceive, namely so as to necessitate ye beleiving & salvation of such & such individuall persons as are saved so as yt they might not possibly have miscarryed, that point I could bee glad to

Norffolke
Lin. Aug. 13.
1655.

see more throughly discussed. & the Affirmative or Negative clearly demonstrated from ye Scriptures. but I pray Sir pardon my boldnes & rudenes, it I thinke from my desire of the prosperous spreading of ye truth. & yet that I thus write, I must say no more at present but with my prayers for you yt god would direct & blesse you I gladly subscribe my selfe, Sir, yor loving friend for ye truths sake yt [illegible] John Horne postscript.

I have I confesse my selfe put out an Answer to Dr Owens booke against yt point of Generall Redemption; but I am so sensible of my weaknesse that I expect it might bee much better done by you & men of yr abillities, besides that I therein doe not so much lay downe what is therein to bee beleived as demonstrate yt what mr Owen hath asserted there against is not to bee beleived.

No 160

Sr I make bould to right to you becase I cannot so well
speake too you desiren your prayers for the prayers of the faith
full are availabell with god I feare my state is desperat
& damnabell & I cannot thinke but verie plaine from
my former experience for sum late yeares yt god was pleased
two worke kindly a pon mee but of late for this twelve month
by my rebelion a gainst plaine con viction & folowen on in
sinn with a hard hart, I have blinded the words by my profes
shon & keeping up a formall profeshon of duti of late I
have found no life in prayer hit hath not a fected my hart
at all I have prayed becase hit is cummanded and hath
bine prest a pon mee & being [illegible] remembrance of my
dutye but I have ben fainge two force my self to hit
when I have not a proched befor god with a sence of my need
of pardon for I have confest what I have not ben
my [illegible] too affected with nor had anny resolution too forsake
my sinnes but goed on in a profeshion but if the lord should
call mee too judgment I should bee damed for hipocrisi
for such shall have the hottest place in hell
time was I could a got a side & studied of the goodnes &
mercies of god two my soule till hit hath mad mee burst out
with teares & be loath my self in my former corse of living
& resolve never to live so againe & could then wish
that I could so live whiles I was a pon the yearth
& I have had menshon of the Joyes of heaven but then I
tast of them & my hart did long to know mor & which
did set mee mor to the worke with mor resolutions &
abhore sinne mor & too see the vilnes of hit mor in my
self & others & did speake of gods goodnes with mor delight
to others & prest hit on my family but now my hart
is so hard and vaine thoughts live in mee & ummend
~~my hart~~, that the word of god is wearisom two mee
becase I have no delight in this lifes & my family for the most
part wors in thayer then formerly & all through my life
& practis, the people of god ware wont to bee my delight
to bee with them & discors with them but now for sham
& becase professhon is in credet & sumthing with in
mee doth tell mee hit is the right waie that thay are
in & there fore cannot & dare not forsake thayer cum
pany yeat the lord knoweth I have no delight in them not
with standing the powerfull preachen of of the word my
hart is still hard & duti is painfull two mee I can
not tell how two hould out in duti oh when I have thought
hit so sweat to get a side be twen god and my owne soule
to onbowell my selfe hath bene the sweatest worke in
the world and found as hit ware see god in his mercis in
Jesus Crist, but now I goe in privat & cannot lift
[illegible] my hart to god but hit is going after vanity
I think two my self thise prayers is a bominabell too
god & so get of my knees a gaine and the divell will
be shure at that time to have sum thing
two put in to my mind

loke over the leafe

then when I ham in the warlde again hit neuer troubeles mee
I ham as cheerfull as if I had as much peace of conshons
as the best christian but hit is a sered conshons what shall
I doe S^{r} this is my mesere I haue liued under the
powerfull preachen of the word tell hit is growne rust
tamarsy I counte a gon a long with you when you
did discouer sattans temtations & by experience a said
this is true yet for all this liued under theme & cannot regit
them the lad I haue [illegible] mersey of mee soule for
my estate is damnaboll I cannot chuse but cumplain
bee case that formerly I haue had sure swetnes in the
butis cummanded of you you S^{r} pray you be not
unmindfull of mee pray for mee that the great fisison
of soules may heale mee of thes great a boundon sinnes
praid pashon & wackelines hadnes of had which are
the a boundon sines in mee unthankfullnes for marsies we
found yet I know all that cumplain are not saued
for Judas did see nor thos that forsake many sines
for Herod did see nor all that doe mani things nor all
all that cum to thayer minester to in quire which
wait thay shall take to be saued for the yong man
in the gospell did see & was not far from the kingdom
of heauen yet for all may cum short if a goe noe
forther S^{r} pray for mee whoe ham a member
of the church which you are ouer searsed and resolue
to continue whiles I liue &

May 2^{d} [illegible]

Henry Pearsall

226

For Mr Richard Baxter
Minester at Kiddermi
nster ddd

161

Theise

For the Reverend my honoured
freind Mr Baxter minister
of the gospell att
Kederminster

Worcestershire

many particulars at a los, and in the dark, good sr let either of us receive a line from you, and
through divine assistance your councell which shall be followed, the Lord make your labours at home and
abroade more successfull, in converting and confirming souls, this is the desire of her that is

august ye 22

sr
your faithfull friend
Mary Rogers

v.

Reuerend sr

I must euer acknoledg my receiuings from you whoe haue been a great freind ~~to~~ my in the best things, and in inferiour worldly maters you haue been faithfull to me and much ingaged me to you, when it was my hapines to liue vnder your ministry, the incoms of grace conuayed by you haue refreshed my poore soule, soe that though vpon the reuiew of my high inioyments with you and my walking with the Lord I am ashamed of my vnprofitablenes of my dulnes and deadnes vnder such powerfull meanes, yet must I confess to the glory of his greate name, that I neuer inioyed soe much of the presens of his grace before my lot was cast in your towne, o how often haue you resolued my doubts, and quieted my troubled spirit, many a time haue I been coming to you in the biternes of my soule to poure out my heart to you, and the good prouidence of my gracious God has preuented me by puting a seasenable word into your mouth (in the publick congregation) wherewith I haue been suported, sr I can neuer requight this to you but the Lord (whose glory you soe emenently promote) I hope will repaye it a thousand fold into your bosam, I know his work is wages and it is your delight to be imployed in his seruice, yet he has told vs for our incouregement our Labour shall not be in vaine but imortall glory shall be the portion of all that fear him, truly I haue greate cause to be thankfull to you for the intrest I haue had in your prayers, in the alterations of my conditions, hauing good ground to beleiue my husband fears the Lord, and will help me heauen ward, heare are many good people whoe doe acknoledg themselues much bound to the Lord and you for your books, espechally your rest, which I canot enough acknoledg my behouldingnes to you for, it is now a greate comfort to me, you studied it in paines, but it will be a ioyfull day when you will meete all those (with the rest of your christiane freinds) that by that booke haue been wrought vpon, the more I conuers with it the more I still see of mercy in the puting of it forth, sr I haue very greate need of the continuations of your supplications for me, which I humbly beg, and most espechally that when euer the intrest of Iesus christ and my carnall intrest come to clach, his intrest may be prefered by mee, if in any thing which you knows of my husband, may aduans the glory of God, in publick afairs which he or I am ignorant of, (as alas we are many perticulars at a los, and in the dark) good sr let either of vs receiue a line from you, and

Worthy Sr

It having pleased ye Lord (about 18 weekes since) by a sudden
providence to bring me into a serious consideration of my spiritu
estate how it fared with me in reference to Eternity I found by
degrees yt I was in a dangerous lost condition both by reason of
the guilt of originall sin & ye innumerable number of my
actuall sinns (having lived very wickedly & profanely from
my childhood) whereupon I being prick'd at ye heart with some
sence thereof was ready to aske of every one what I should
do to be saved & having acquaintance with one yt is of those
which are called Quakers I was much inclinable to their way
& had almost beene carried away with ye leaven of their doctrin
had not the Lord beene pleased by ye sheet agt ye Quakers
principally & also by another booke to lett me see their Errour
& many dangerous opinions: After I had through ye goodness
of God escaped their net I had many precious books to read
tending Heavenward which sett before my eyes more &
more ye depth of my Misery & ye infinitenesse of Gods Mercy
Herein I found indeed a good providence of God in bringing
to my hand many excellent bookes for my instruction
amongst which were ye Call to ye unconverted: making
light of christ: Worcestershire Catechism &c. from which
I have received abundance of benefitt blessed be ye Lord
for it. About 7 weekes (as I conceive) after my first
Conviction it pleased ye Lord to show me some manifesta
tions of his love by the powerfull operations of his blesse
Spirit whereby I was further convinced & enlightned to
see my great need of Christ & ye necessity of being a new
creature by regeneration & by being formed in Christ
till when I was ignorant of ye insufficiency of my owne
performances & altogether in ye darke as concerning any
measure of true saving knowledge about faith repentance
Justification by Grace Mortification of sin &c. But prayse
be my God who hath shown such Mercy to a most vile
wicked abominable creature as in some measure to shed
abroad his love into my heart by his holy spirit causing me
to tast & see how good & gracious he is to unworthy
soules through the exceeding Riches of his free Grace
in Jesus Christ my loving saviour. Sr After my giving
Glory to God I cannot expresse how thankefull I would be
unto you whom I verily believe the Lord hath & doth
make instrumentall for ye Conversion of many soules
as also of their preservation from Errour in both wch
Works I do acknowledge you have beene the greatest

part of a father unto me.

Sr. that the Lord would long increase yor dayes & of all other the like faithfull & painfull labourers in his harvest & yt you may dayly see the fruit of your labours to the joy of your soules

Sr It hath beene no small discouragemt unto me to see the different opinions & disunion of many professors & some godly experienced Christians which hath given me many occasions of doubting & sometimes feares of being deluded haveing that text in my mind yt the Spirit of Christ should guide the Elect into all truth which I see not fullfilled

I have a great desire to joyne in fellowship with some true Church of Christ wherein I may find all his ordinances purely administred in a true Gospell way according to ye institution of Christ: I have observed more of Christ exalting selfe abaseing love & union in a gathered Church whereof mr Greene (who preacheth in forenoons at Georges in Southwarke) then in any other Church yt as yet I know of here but I am afraid to close with any till I have had ye advice of some Godly experienced Christian

Sr I humbly beseech you for ye Lord Jesus Christs sake yt you will please to take ye paines of writing 3 or 4 lines & lett me have your Advice & if you are acquainted with ye order of any Church here in London (as I beleive you are) yt you would wish me to such a one where there is such purity as aforesaid: I am somewhat unsatisfied as touching Infant baptisme because I cannot find in ye Gospell any one plaine precept or example to warrant it as many of both for baptizing believers.

Sr I would I could make it appear how much I thinke my selfe obliged unto you but although I cannot yet I am confident God will reward you for all. I beseech you to let me have ye benefitt of your daily prayers that the Lord who hath begun a good worke would performe it untill ye day of Jesus Christ & yt I may walke worthy of his love & live holily unto him doing all things to his glory which is ye earnest fervent prayer of

Sr
your poore unworthy Servant
Francis Youell.

London this 19th
of July
1659

LETTERS
fol.230. of Baxter Letters in volume show

Sr I am Apprentice to a Stationer living on Snow Hill. if you shall please to write a few words I desire that ye lett may be directed thus

ffor ffrancis Youell these
Leave this with Robert Youell living wth an Ironmonger at the Black Swan in Cannon Street neer London Stone

ffor his much Honoured
ffriend Mr Richard
Baxter Teacher of
ye Church of Christ
in Kedderminster
These
in Worcestershire
post pd

(No 163)

[illegible] in a Stationer [illegible]
[illegible] a few words [illegible] expect [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible] thus

For Francis Powell Esqr
Leave this with Robert Powell living w[illegible] Ironmonger [illegible] Stone
at Black Swan in Cannon Street neere Lon[illegible]

LETTERS
fol.231. of Baxter Letters in volume sho

the great mercy that God hath shewed you, must be improved to an habituated love & gratitude. Give up yourselfe without reserve to the God that hath convinced you of his sufficiency & amiablenesse. And in the matter of Church comunion, looke as much at unity as at purity, or at least be sure you never forgett them. You must not enter into Christs Schoole with a conceit yt you are capable at first of perceiving the reason of every truth: & therefore though you can see in ye case of Infant Baptisme no satisfactory evidence, yet remember how much you ought to value the judgment of the Church throughout the world in all ages & stay a while till you grow to such a ripenesse as may make you capable of a cleare judgment. My confidence that in my Booke for Infant Baptisme I have said more then you can say against it, is as great as yours can be on yd other side. And I & all the Church are as likely to be in the right, as you & a few of yesterday. If you are afraid or troubled because of the diversity of judgments, you should be afraid to joine yourselfe with the Anabaptists, who are an inconsiderable party of a few yeares continuance. If you joine with them, you must goe such a way to heaven (in the points in difference) as the universall Ch: of Christ did not goe for 1300 or 1400 yeares. As for your great desire after church purity, it must be guided by prudence & a tender care of generall charity & concord. If there be not tares with the wheat & hypocrites & those that are weake in the faith admitted, it is not in Christs order. We must be more tender least we should shut out the weakest that hath any thing of Christ, than least we intromit an hypocrite or unworthy person. There will be bad with good in this world. Division & schisme is a dangerous sin: though it seeme at first to promote truth & holinesse, it ruineth both at last. If the pastor & church of your parish have a comunion of tolerable persons, & force you to no sin, joine with them (the sins of the unworthy comunicants are none of yours, if you do your duty against them). If not then joine with some Godly pastor that governeth his Ch: in a scripture way, by officers, in concord with the other Churches, & not in a way of separation & division (a heinous sin) If you will goe to Mr Tho. Doolittle, Mr Poole, Mr Crosse, Mr Ash, or any Godly able minister that you have at hand he may give you better satisfaction & advice than at this distance I can doe. But first advise with the minister of your owne parish, if he be a Godly able man. God is not a God of confusion but of order, as in all the Churches. Young Christians must consult with God, what Churches to joine with, & not only with their owne desires, & must looke more at the order & benefit of the whole body, than at their personall advantage. The Lord resolve you, & save you from the many temptations, that your weaknes, & flesh, & these distracted times will lay before you. I rest

your true friend

Ri: Baxter.

July the 25. 1659

ffor ffrancis yonge these
Leave this with Robert yonge
living with an Ironmonger
at the Blacke Swan in Canon
Streete neere London stone
to be delivered as
abovesaid

LETTERS
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Dear friends

The remembrance of the yeares of mercy wch God vouchsafed me among you, is pleasant to me. yea it is the pleasantest part of all my life in the review. I do wth pleasure think of Dudly, where I first preached occasionally because of the great Congregations of a willing poor people that used there to crowd for instruction: and I do wth pleasure remember the Liberty wch I had at Bridgnorth by means of the great Priviledges of yt place in times of Prelaticall violence: I do wth much thankfulness remember the safety quietness & mercyes of many sorts wch I and some of you enjoyed at Coventry while the nation round about was in warrs, and the mercifull preservations ~~of those~~ wch we had in those unpleasing times: But the thought of my comforts among you is sweeter to me then all, because my successes were no where so great. It comforteth me to think from wt a state of riotous prophaneness & Ignorance yor Town is changed & how comonly now the fear of God prevaileth, & how few if any there be now yt opposite it; & yt you can reproach the prayerless & contemners of godliness wth the charge of singularity as such were wont to do the godly. It comforteth me to remember how many upright souls are allready departed in peace & safely arrived at the desired rest, having fought a good fight & finished their course & now enjoy the Crown of Righteousness. It comforteth me to remember how willingly you received the word of truth; how diligently the ablest of you were my helpers: how peaceably you all lived without any schism or any separated meeting or any erroneous sect (unless two or three selfish & three or four drunkards might be called sectaryes) & how all the attempts of Anabaptists Quakers &c never to my knowledg prevailed to the perverting of any among you, though we gave them leave publikely to dispute for their cause. It refresheth me to think how by yor Concord and freedome from heresy & schism living in Love & Unity, yor instance confuteth those yt would now perswade the Ignorant, that there was nothing but schism & confusion in those times; & how much yor leading example did to further piety & agreement in the townes & country round about; especially your common submission to catechizing & personall conference & instruction, when allmost all the town came willingly to my House, & the Parish received Mr Sergeant to theirs; and yt in all things you were specially exemplary in humility & none of you ever invaded the ministery or went beyond the dutyes of yor place. ~~Also~~ also how willingly many hundreds of you submitted to Church discipline, & in wt comfortable order we did live. But it yet more comforteth me to remember wt society I there had wth humble, loving peaceable, painfull, faithfull ministers of Christ: how lovingly & comfortably we mett & conversed together: how readily through the country they consented first to or Association & Concord for the exercise of so much discipline as the Episcopall Presbyterians & Independents were agreed in: and afterwards all to join in personall conference wth & catechizing or instructing of all their people yt consented. How free those ministers were from all Heresy schism contention & difference wth one another, never engaging themselves to any faction or dividing party but holding communion wth all true Xtians on the termes of primitive simplicity purity & Love. And it comforteth me to hear of the patience & fidelity of those of them yt yet survive, & also of yor own constancy & yt piety among you doth rather increase yn decay. // These being much of my comfort you cannot think yt I forgett you, as I am confident I am not forgotten by you in yor prayers, the benefitt of wch I am perswaded I have largely bin partaker of. I parted not from you willingly, nor without necessity. I offered the Lord Chancellor Hide, when he offered me a Bishoprick to accept thankfully of leave to preach to you for nothing, under yor late Ignorant Vicar as his Curate. but Bp Morley would not consent I had yet staid among you, had not you & I bin satisfyed yt you were like to be ruin'd for my sake, had I not departed. And God yt sent me knew why he did it, which since by twenty yeares comfortable experience though among some accusations & persecutions I have found was for my own & others good. // And I many yeares forbore so much as to write any letter to you because of the jealousy of malice here, wch would have reported yt I did it to disaffect you to the Prelates or to the Governmt & order of the Church

as they intercepted & sent up hither to the Rulers a Letter written to my own mother in Law with you wch the Lord Chancellor returned me with shame when he saw the contents. // And now after many years wearisome (but tolerable) pains & languishing, finding by the increase of my disease & natures decay, and disability through age, to resist as formerly, yt my time here is like to be but short; I have oft been thinking wt last counsell to shew my Love & thankfulness to you, & its like to bid you all farewell. But I have forborn because I have in so many Volumes allready said all yt I need to say to you: I cannot expect nor wish that you should read all or half of ym: but some especially I would comend to you as followeth. // 1 ffor the converting of yor sinfull servants or neighbors I would have you read to ym or gett ym to read the Call to the unconverted, the Directions for sound Conversion or the Now or never. //
2o ffor comforting fearfull souls read the Right method for peace of Conscience. //
3o The treatise of selfe denyall may help you in the work of mortification //
4o The directions for weak Christians tell you wherein growth & strength consisteth & wch is the desireable state. // 5o Universall directions in all yor doubts & dutyes are laid down in my Christian Directory. // 6o The practise of a heavenly conversation is laid down in the Saints Rest & the Divine life & the Comforting & full exercise of faith in the Life of faith. // 7o All objections against God & the Souls Immortality & the truth of the Scriptures are confuted in the Reasons of the Christian Religion & the unreasonablenes of Infidelity & the life of faith & the More Reasons // 8o Against Popery the full & easy satisfaction, & the certainty of Christianity, the Key for Catholikes & others help you. // 9o A small book called Catholick Unity is usefull to those yt are scandalized at Divisions, to convince ym yt ungodlines is the great Divider. // 10o The only termes of Concord will direct yor endeavors for universall peace. // 11o The Believers last work & other funerall sermons may help you to prepare for death. // And to ym yt can read but little the poor mans family book may serve alone. //
As to any particular Counsell to yor selves I long agoe gave you yt wch I thought best in the epistle before the Saints Rest. I will now only adde or rather repeat these few things following. //

I Let all yor Religion & all yor lives be nothing else but a preparation for death & the life that followeth it. One of the Devills last deceits is, to sett up a Religion yt shall destroy true Religion, & serve his ends by pretending to serve God. Mark wt kind of Religion it is wch will most embolden & comfort you when you think of entring into another world: I suppose yor experience in this will be the same with mine. And if it be so, you will find, yt yor great busyness is to seek a sure resolved beleif of the souls Immortality the life to come, the truth of Christianity & the sacred Scriptures; & yn to live in the exercise of yt faith, in studying & rejoicing in the infinite Goodnes of God who is Love, the glorious work of Redemption, the person office Love Life, Death Resurrection, Ascention Glory Intercession & Judgmt of Christ & all his Communicated Grace & Glory; to live in the Love of God & man, in the delightfull comunion of Saints, doing good to all according to or power, getting familiar & delightfull thoughts of the Heavenly state where we hope to be & patiently bearing the Cross overcoming Temptations, laboring in or callings wth a Heavenly mind, subduing the flesh & the great Idoll Self-will & giving up or wills entirely to the will of God: bringing up or wills to his, & not by sin & self exaltation, striving to bring his will to ors. In a word studying to Know & Doe his Comanding will & to submitt to his Disposing will & to Rejoice & wholly Rest in his Fatherly Loving & Rewarding will. // This is the Religion wch prepareth for a comfortable death but contending about or severall by-opinions, formes, or partyes, & a barren speculative dogmaticall Religion doth but divert men & deceive ym & a dying man hath little comfort in it. Disputing is like warr: lawfull, defensively in cases of necessity, but a very sad & troublesome & dangerous work.

II Place not the first & chief part of yor Religion in abstaining from Positive sin but in the foresaid exercise of Faith Hope & Love. sloath is or suffering the Heart to forgett & neglect God yt leaveth it open to the vanityes of the world & fleshly pleasure. He yt will avoid doing evill must be taken up wth doing good. God & Christ & Heaven & or Hearts & the honest daily labors of or callings must keep us from idlenes & leisure to sin. Good men first lament their sins of Omission & of Comission next. //

III Above all other Positive sins be most watchfull agt Selfishnes, sensuality & the Love of the World. 1o Selfishnes is the root & summe of all positive sin; when men are so much to & for ymselves yt they make too great a difference between their own interest & their neighbors; as if other mens good or hurt were a small matter to ym in comparison of their own. We have a speciall charge of or selves indeed, but a good mans esteem & Love should be 1st most to God

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2° next to the Heavenly Society 3° next to the wellfare of multitudes, especially
the Church & world & his country 4° next to himself especially his soule &
5° next to his neighbor as Himselfe according to the severall degrees of
meere amiablenes. Alas how much doth selfesteeme selfe love & selfseeking
prevail even wth Religious persons as if their neighbors & their country were
little to ym, if they prosper & have their will themselves. // 2° And fleshly
sensuality is a neer, a continuall & a most dangerous enemy, ever to be
watcht agt by him yt would be safe: before you are aware else the snare may
take you; specially in pleasing the Appetite wth drink & meat, & yeilding to
lustfull inclinations. If on pretence of yor trading you use the Alehouses or
Taverns, or on pretence of lawfull comfortable delight, you use unprofit=
=able pleasing of yor appetites especially wth strong drinks, you will dangerous=
=ly become the slaves of the flesh & quench the life & comforts of the Spirit.
Too many carnall professors have the throat & Heart of Dives though they
want his Purse. And if you shun not private opportunityes & neerness to any
person yt is a temptation to yor Lust & quench not the first sparks of
inordinate Love & fleshly desires, oh wt a disease are you falling into, & wt danger
& misery are you preparing for yorselves wch perhaps may follow you to the
grave at least. // 3° And alas how many are bewitched with the Love of this
present world, as eagerly minding the prosperity of the flesh as if they were to
live here for ever. Follow yor callings diligently. Let not necessity only but
conscience make you labor. Its a considerable part of yor obedience to God.
Idleness is the Nurse of many deadly sins, & the soil of troublesome & melan=
choly musings: but having food & raiment be therewith content: depend on
God for his allowance of yor daily bread; & know yt wt he gives you more
he doth but trust you with as his stewards for others (though for yor children
first). Live as dying men, & go about the Dying; it will teach you how much
to esteem the world. Neither Poverty nor Riches is the safest state.

XV Do not only continue but increase yor Love & Concord wth all yt professe the name
of Xt, according to their various capacityes. Though many of the town and
Parish to avoid Church Discipline, or least they should displease dissenting friends
did refuse to communicate wth us while I was with you, yet no good reason why
you should refuse communion wth ym when they are willing of it, though they differ
in some circumstances yea or arrive not to the degree of professed piety, yt is
desireable, while they do neither by word or deed impenitently refuse obedience
to Christ, or depart from any part of their baptismall covenant. I am glad
to hear yt you lovingly joyne together in the publike congregation. I am
censured by some for hearing in & communicating wth my Parish church. Remember
yt I privately (at James ~~[illegible]~~ Bouchiers house being denyed leave in Publike)
preacht my farewell sermon to you on Davids words [bring back the ark
of God into the citty &c] & foreseeing yor temptation perswaded you not to for=
sake the publike assembly for the Liturgyes or peoples faults; but yet not to own
an intolerable minister. God hath now given you an able & a pious man. Take
him & Mr Baldwin & Mr Serjeant conjunct for yor teachers & guides. All three
lovingly agreeing & never needlessly withdrawing from each other will do
more yn one. Separate from no Christian further yn he separateth from Xt
or forceth sin on you. I know no reason why even a stranger of another
Church may not as occasionally communicate in such a Parish church as oft as
the Law now requireth, without taking any account of its discipline, as I might
do in a forreign land. Even they yt usually communicate in a well disciplin'd church
may occasionally communicate with an undisciplin'd church, to show yt yet they deny
it not to be a church: much more where the church is but one & the discipline
is or may be tolerable. If the minister exclude all the scandalous & all yt are
not ready to be confirmd as to the degree of knowledge (wch the Liturgy alloweth
him to do) there will be so much order as will allow yor communion. And the Sacra=
mentall administration is the best part of all the Liturgy, & very well fitted to
the ordinance. // Sin must not be committed on pretence of Concord. but its a
dangerous thing to refuse communion as unlawfull wth any church upon reasons wch would
equally prove it sinfull, to communicate wth allmost any church on earth except the english
nonconformists. Allmost all churches on earth have a worse Liturgy yn ours: Armenians
Abassynes Syrians Greeks Lutherans &c & more unworthy members (alas even the
Holland French &c) young Christians are like young fruit green & sour; but
the old & experienced grow sweet & mellow lovers of unity Love & Peace, except
those yt by prejudice have contracted yt siding dividing zeal agt wch I preached
very many sermons to you on the 3d Ch. of James, wch I intreat you in yor repetitions
to review. Far be it from me to perswade you to yt hypocriticall temper wch
is indifferent in Religion & will do any thing to avoid suffering: but the neerer
you are to Heaven, the more you must be for Holiness & Love & Concord, even
for the wisdome from above wch is first pure yn peaceable gentle &c.
The Lord Guide Sanctify & Preserve you. Still pray for (while here in the body)
yor obliged frend & servt Ri: Baxter

A Letter to Kiderminster

My deare friend

I am bold to write unto you, upon the score of my former but
little acquaintance; (wch I now heartyly repent me was not more)
and to give you my hearty thankes (wch I pray accept though it
6 late) for ye greate care, & paines you have, through ye strength of
ye lord taken in his vineyard; manifested in ye cleare comfortable
& seasonable vindication of the Ordinance of Infant Baptisme, at
ye greate dispute wth Mr Tombes; & since for satisfaction of stagger-
ing Christians, you have been pleased to put in print the view of the
Word; wch my owne perticular experience, & the knowledge I
have of many others (faithfull Christians) bids me give you
assurance, it hath plentifully strengthened, & refreshed, as with
wine, in theire fainting, & almost overthrowne Condition. Oh
yor Meditations of Saints Rest, O how full of sweetenes! how full
of heavenly Comforts in ye greate worke of Gods owne Spirit
by you, doe those enjoy to whome or deare God hath given any m
rest in himselfe by faith in Jesus, & but the least smack of
those Joyes to be found in ye Rest. ffor these & all others yor
restlesse labours of love (some more whereof, I onely heare,
are exposed to publique view) the Lord (whoe assuredly re-
wards the faithfull) reward you a thousand fould into yor
bosome, & give you abundance of strength, & length of daies
yt you mought goe resolutely through ye greate worke & service
wch the wise God hath cutt out for you; that the word of truth
might by yor mouth, shine more cleardly in these darke, &
dolefull daies, when Error & Schisme are growne to such a
monstrous maturity, yt it hath in many things (I wish we have
not cause to say, in most perticulars) overclouded truth it selfe
& soe made light seeme darkenes, & darkenes light. ffor
my selfe, this I assure you (yt you mought not want soe much of
the Comfort of yor indeavours, wch I beseech ye Lord may be more &
more unto you). yt this new way of dispensing ye Ordinance
had soe prevailed wth me, having it soe frequently beat into
my eares, & soe vehemently prest, as the Custome is, that there wan-
ted nothing (I was soe firmely setled upon this precipice as I
thought) but plunging to make me a Compleate proselite,
my Judgmt. my spirit was soe farre misguided
untill your booke came providentially to my hand. I blesse
for ever be my God, yt hath soe opportunely prevented my fall
& by yor meanes snatched me out of this fire, wch hath burnt
up soe many soules wth the flames of Ignorant Zeale,
whome my heart cannot but pittie & pray for, & have
yet abundant hopes, yt the Lord will in his mercy restore
& reduce ~~[illegible]~~ many of them to his owne way & truth againe

My deare friend (for soe you are indeede unto me, & precious in
+ the Lord) if these come to your hands, I beseech you, yt you would
vouchsafe a few lines unto me, yt I might be assured of yor
health, & strength: & yt I might (though at soe greate a distance

write to him

recieve from Spirituall Consolations & refreshments from your
hand; & I shall not fayle hereafter to give you an acct how
the Gospell of or Lord Jesus doth thrive & prevaile in this
barren Country. The choycest blessings of the ever blessed
God be ever wth & upon you, wch shalbe earnestly begd for
by Deare Sr.

Yor most affect. servt

Wexford Augt. 10th.
1653

Abel Warren

Capt Cambie formr Lieut. to Major Swallowe, an honest and
faithfull Christian, lives in this towne wth his family
and Comands a Company of foote in the Governor Coll. Sadlers
Regimt. He desires me to salute you in his name: he meanes
to write shortly unto you: if you please to write unto me
direct yor letters unto him & he can send them unto me.
I would beg of you to use your uttmost endeavors to send
over an able Minister, wch wilbe a service of exceeding
consequence to ye Church of Christ in these parts, & would
give a very greate stop to the growth of Errour. The peo-
ple perish for want of knowledge: direct him unto
me to Kilkenny where I live & I will take care for
him & he shalbe sure of a 100 yearly allowance at
least. I pray comend me to my Uncle Warren at Wi-
verly, & his family & desire him to present my father
wth my humble duty.

Yrs A.W.

Reverend and deare Brother 7

This is ye first houre yt I could borrow from my urgent designes to answere
yors about Predetermination. And 1o we are agreed of ye weight of ye con-
troversye, & so I hope shall proceed ye more cautelously. As to yor generall
~~Argument~~ Answere to my first Argument, while you give no proofe of yor
opinion, it is enough for me to reply yt I am of ye contrary mind: you so con-
fident yt I thinke it a boldnes of a dangerous nature for any man to say yt if
God predetermine not all actions sinfull & naturall, his knowledge is fallible, his
will dependant, his providence limited, his Comisos uncertaine. When you have
proved those or any of those, you shall have a fuller reply. || 2o To yor pti-
cular answers. Ad 1m. I goe upon these grounds, 1o yt ye maner of Gods
influxe upon second causes & workinge with them is past ye reach of mortall
men. 2o But if I must presume (wch yet I will not) to determine ye controver-
sye or incline to either partye, Durandus his way is far the more probable. 3o
And ye way of Predetermination (in all naturall & evill actions) is certainly false. ||
Ad 2m. To yor 1st Qu. [Whether there be not some entitative circumstances in
specie actus?] I answere 1o Those yt take evill to be privative, must needs answere
you yt ye specifyinge forme of evill actions is a privation, & not entitative. (And for
any circumstances in specie actus, yt are not ye forme or do not specifye we
have nothinge to do wth ym.) 2o If modus entis be not ens, yn ye specificke
forme in Question is no beinge, but a mode. 3o Dr Twisse (wth whom I suppose
you to concurre in ye maine) saith yt ye morall specification of actions is onely
no specificn. 4o ~~These~~ media inter Ens et nihil wch Burgersdicius, Heerbord
& others talke of are such as I finde a third yt learned men yet know
not wt they are: but in generall yt they are neither entia nor nihil,
nor media p participationem extremorum, but media p negationem utriusq;
extremi: such as modus entis, Relatio, Ens rationis, denominatio extrinseca
et Privatio (& how many more who knowes (to wch yet many will not enu-
merate all these). Till mans reason be more able to discerne wt these
are, we will not lay or Christianity on ye decision. To yor 2d Qu. [Whe-
ther all yt is entitative, is not from God?] I answere 1o All creatures are
from God as ye Creator, & all substances & prop beings, are caused by him as
ye totall & imediate cause. 2o All privations, extrinsicke denominations,
entia rationis, Modes &c are not from him as ye imediate totall Physically-
efficient cause: Privations have but deficient causes: God is not such a
cause of ye sins of men. It is enough yt God is ye cause & conserver of ye
power by wch ye sinfull act is done. And while ye power acteth wch is of
him, ye act as an act is of him: but ~~bee~~ bec. ye power is a power selfdetermi-
ninge to this object or yt, so every determination of it to this rather yn to yt,
is not of him any further yn as ye cause of a selfdetermininge power.
God is able to make a stone yt shall fall if it be in ye aire, wthout any
physicall predetermination, while he continueth its naturall gravity
&c. And God is able to make a will yt can choose or refuse wthout
predetermination, while he continueth its naturall inclination to Good &c
Call ye forme of sin wt you will, somethinge or nothinge, it is such a some-
thinge if somethinge, or such a nothinge if nothinge, or such a medium if
between both as God is not ye Author of. And I hope you observe yt its plain-
ly it to prove God ye Author of sin yt yor Questions tend. For to aske [whether
yt which is entitative in specie actus be not of God] wn you presuppose it
to be ye species itselfe, or specificke forme wch is entitative, is but in other
words to aske [Whether ye specificke forme of ye act be not of God] yt is
[whether sin be not of God?] The Affirmative you know all xtians do detest.
3o But you say [Genus is but a notion, & canot be ye terminus of divine action, but
as God most distinctly knowes every most speciall & individuall circumstance
in an action so he workes most distinctly]. Reply 1o Tho: Genus be but a
notion yet ye genericall nature of ye Action existent in ye individuall act, wch is

morally specifyed, is more yn a notion: yea all yt wch is comonly called ye substance of ye act, is in ye genericall nature. 2o By this you contradict ye doctrine of Protestants, who use ye similitudes of a haltinge horse, a stinkinge dunghill &c in this case. Say they, as ye Rider causeth ye motion, but not ye haltinge in specie; & as ye Sun causeth ye evaporation, but not ye stinke; so God causeth ye action, but not ye sin: Now you will tell ym yt ye Rider causeth nothinge if he cause not ye haltinge in specie: for genus is but a notion: & so of God. 3o By this meanes you deny the causality of universall causes: For ye Sun doth not specifye plants or animalls, go it must be no cause; for ye genus is but a notion. 4o By this meanes you either deny all action, or deny God to be ye Author of it. For ye Morall species are Good & Evill. Either Action in genere is ye same wth these or not. If it be yn either wth one only or wth both. If wth one only, yn ye other is no action: If wth both, yn Good & Evill are ye same, beinge both ye same wth action. And there may be actions wch are neither good nor evill: & go Good & Evill is not ye same wth action. But if action in genere be but a notion, yn Bonitas & malitia should be all ye entity of or acts: & Bonitas & malitia are not acts. And if ye Act & Evill be ye same, yn or Divines yt say God is ye Author of ye Act, must also say yt he is ye Author of ye Evill: But if they are not the same, yn action in genere is more yn a notion, & so can be ye terminus of Divine action. // And as to ye rest of yor sentence I say, it followes not that God distinctly worketh all yt he distinctly knoweth: though he distinctly know all sin in its formall nature in specie, & yt as in each individuall ~~act~~ sinfull act; yet doth he not worke all or any sin in its formall nature. //

To yor instance of Adam (& you could not have brought a fitter) I answere to yor generall Qun. yt Gods givinge & upholdinge Adams freewill & concurringe wth it as a universall cause, & givinge it yt inclination wch it had to good, & disposinge of objects & permittinge ye tempter, was all yt God did without any predetermination by physicall premotion to ye act in specie mali, or to eate rather of this tree yn of yt. To yor first followinge Qun [whether God be not ye cause why Adam turned his face towards ye South, not towards ye North?] I answere 1o ye motion in generall no doubt God caused. 2o But yt he looked rather to ye South yn North was a thinge sinfull or not: If sinfull, God caused it not (in specie compatively) If it was not sinfull, its nothinge to or Qun. Neither you nor I can tell whether God caused it or not, any further yn by causinge ye freewill & powers aforesaid. To yor 2d Question [whether God did not move Adams legs so many steps—] I answere 1o He moved him by his sustentation of & concurse wth ye locomotive facultye and freewill yt ruled it: go he was ye cause yt he moved: but yt he moved hic et nunc, this way rather yn another, God caused not if it was a sin: if it were not, it is uncertaine & nothinge to or case. 3o. The same answere I give to yor 3d Qun [of Adams liftinge up his hand, pluckinge eatinge]. All these were determined in specie to this fruit by his will: The Qun yn is who it was yt determined his will to choose or will ye eatinge of ye forbidden fruit: & here I say God did not determine it, but Adams will determined itselfe. Deny this, & you in one word say yt God unresistably caused ye first sin, & consequently all ye sin & misery of ye world, & determined ye will yt before was indifferent to ye Evill wch God himselfe had forbidden & threatned wth damnation // Ad 3m. Under yor 3d you first tell us of distinct motions, & concurrence, as betweene speech & howlinge &c.] Answ. These are not morall but naturall specifications. Its no sin either to speake or to howle: God as ye Author & preserver of Nature is ye cause why my eyes do see rather yn heare, & my eares heare rather yn see & my tongue speake rather yn smell. These depend not on freewill: And if you will denominations extrinseca diversifye Gods concurrence to these, I shall no more deny it yn if you diversifye it in ye production of leaves & flowers & fruits from ye same tree, or of various fruits from various trees. But all this is nothinge to ye Qun in hand. // 2o you say [It seemes yn God determined not Shimei to curse David] Answ. It seemes by this sayinge yt you thinke he did: But yts too

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plaine dealinge for Christians ordinarily to owne. I thinke you will have few seconds.
I am sure against ye accusations of Jesuites & Arminians & Divines comonly ex-
cerate & detest it. God willingly pmitted Shimei to curse David, wch was but a
lettinge loose his owne corruptions & leavinge him to himselfe. And he willingly
pmitted this pty to execute his threatnings of castigation on David, & ptly in
justice for ye sin of Shimei. But yt God did by physicall efficient Promotion
determine Shimei's will & tongue to curse David, rather yn to other words or
desires, I will not beleive because I am a Christian. // 3o You aske
[3 did God concurre to those speciall words The Messiah is not come, be-
fore Christ wn they were true, & doth he not concurre to ye same words
spoken by a Jew now wn they are false. This will be strange to make God
concurre specially for one time & not to concurre specially for another to ye
very same words]. Ans. Horresco referens—! Is it strange to you,
even to you, yt God doth any more cause or concurre to a Truth yn to a
Lye? to his Prayses, yn unto Blasphemy? Do you thinke yt it is ye samenes
of ye words yt will prove ye same Causality of God? If I say to God
[Thou only art wise, & Great & Good ye Creator & Redeemer wm we wor-
ship & glorifye for ever] & another man say ye same words to ye Devill, is
it strange to you, if God concurre not equally to both? I professe I am rea-
dy to tremble to read & write these things. 2o But remember yt its physicall
promotion & predetermination yt we are speakinge of, & no other concurse.
You desire me [not to mistake yor words, as sometime I do, knowinge how
you take speciall concurse here] Ans. I never willfully mistake you.
You told me at first yt we are agreed about ye state of ye Question;
& yt was of immediate physicall efficient predetermination: & I find not
where you have any where since given me any other sence of yor words [spe-
ciall concurse]. If you will tell me by ye next yt I have mistaken you through-
out, I shall be glad to heare it: for I had rather be guilty of mistaking you
wn its impossible for me better to understand you, yn you should be guilty of [illegible]]
But if you plead now for a concurse wch is not predetermininge, but determininge
in coequality wth or wills, 1o yt such as will as ill consist wth yor Principles
as my Assertions: you will not sure make ye first cause to be but a coordinate
cause in equality wth ye second; or a ptiall cause. 2o yet will I not yeild or be-
leive yt God causeth sin [or sinfull acts in specie morali] no not by a ptiall or co-
ordinate causality. 3o But if I did, yts nothinge to or Qu, wch is of Predetermina-
tion, or principall causality & yt of all acts. // But now you come to defend yor an-
swere to my Argumt. Yor first answere ad 1m was by assigninge certaine differ-
ences betweene concurse to a Lye & concurse wth Prophets or Apostles to
speake truth. But againe I must remember you yt ye Qun is not to be
changed from Predetermination to Concurse. Concurse may be but by an
universall causality yt determineth not to this morall species of action. It
must be Predetermination yt you must speake of, or you forsake ye Question:
& at least condetermination ad speciem actus, or you say nothinge yt is [illegible] to it.
Yor first difference is, yt [one is secret, ye other manifest] And there you
feigne me to mistake yor meaninge, as speakinge of predetermination simply
wn you spoke of it as to this or yt act, & as speakinge of it as after or act, wn you
spoke of it as before &c. But wt caused you to imagine me thus to mistake you
is past my reach to know. But either I now mistake you, or else you quite mistake
yt Argumt you are answeringe: or else you would not give it as yor sence, yt [It
excuseth no sinner & is no guide of his actions &c bec it is unknowne before wch way
God predetermineth ym]. You seeme to imagine yt you were answeringe ye 2d
or 3d Argumts; for here we meddle not wth mans excusablenes (though as to yt yor
answere is as nothinge). My argumt was yt if God can predetermine Judas & Peter
& Paul to speake a lye in specie (yt is those false words rather yn true ones) yn he
can so predetermine Peter & Paul to lye wn they Preach or write ye Gospell for ought
we know. If he can do it at one time he can at another: yea yn God can lye wch
ye Apostle saith he cannot do: for as Gods speakinge truth here, is but his determininge

morally specified: is more

ye mind & tongue of ye creature to speake it, so if he determined their minds & tong
to a lye, it would be his lye: Now whether this predetermination be knowne only a
or before ye act is all one to my Argumt. If after every lye yt is told, we know yt
Gods predetermination was ye first efficient specifying causation of it, yn aft
ye Gospell is preached or written by an Apostle you are left uncertaine, whethe
God did not determine yn to lye: for he yt can do it at one time, can do it simply, &
at another time for ought we know. So yt in inferency there is no difference, or no
as I shewed you, but wt makes agt you. You adde [where God acts morally he
declares his mind as in his word, & openly determines us as to ye our part] Repl
By [morall actinge] you meane yn Gods declaringe to us his mind by his word
but a little adverteny (without wch this kind of labor is lost) might have shewd
you yt you spoke not to ye matter in hand. It is [Gods determininge ye mind tongue
& pen of ye Prophet or Apostle yt speaks this word] wch I spoke to you of: & not his
regular determininge you or me by yt word spoken. I know yt wt is written is
written: wn ye word is declared it is manifest (& so wn a false word is spoken, ye
word is manifest): but ye truth of ye word will never be manifest to mortall men
till he know, yt God determined not ye mind, pen or tongue of ye speaker to lye: & yt
will never be till we know yt God is verax, or canot lye or determine men to lye
& yt in his name. // Yor 2d difference was, yt [one is comon & ye other speciall]
Yor answere to my reply here is a meere shufflinge up ye businesse, & leavinge it as
you found it. By [comon actio] you tell me wt predetermination you meane, &
it is not ye same yt we agree on in ye statinge of ye Qu. [It is (you say) a prede-
termininge ye creature munere causæ primæ to whatever it shall do, good or bad, as far
as ye line of entity stretcheth] And before you tell us of entity in ye species of evill
actions. Now I say yt here you shew no difference betweene Gods causinge Truth
& lyes, yt can prove to us yt ye Gospell is true. ffor wt is ye difference? yt's now the
Question yt you have to answere! And you say only [In bonis there is over & beside
this a speciale auxilium, as you know]. And is this a shewinge me ye difference to
tell me yt I know it allready! yn I answere you, 1o I do know it, but its only on
supposition yt I know yor doctrine to be untrue, yt I can say so: for 2o you
leave no roome for any speciale auxilium, different from predetermination.
The speciale hath nothinge to do wn ye generale hath done all: yea you deny ye
generale auxilium as to ye modus causandi, & so make all to be speciall. When
God munere causæ primæ hath predetermined by physicall efficient promotion the
will & members to every act in specie good & bad, I pray you tell us wt ye spe-
ciale auxilium hath to do more? If it be not to determine me to good (wch you say
is done allready) I know not wt it is to do. It is one reason yt hath long made me
distast yor way, bec it seemeth flat Pelagianisme, makinge Grace to be nothinge
but nature, & denyinge all Gods speciall Grace, feigninge him to do no more in good
yn in meere naturall & in evill. // Yor next difference was yt [one is by Physicall
action ye other by morall]. Here I discussed yor sence & answered yor words in wt
sence soever you take yn, wch answere you leave good for ought I find. And you
now say yt by morall you meane wt is comonly meant: (as if only one of ye senses
mentioned were comon) yt is [comandinge, perswadinge &c] But 1o I told you yt all
ye Gospell Narratives, Prophesyes, Articles of faith, are matter of Revelation wch is not
comandinge or perswadinge to duty: & 2o if you take not in Revelation into yor morall
acts, you leave ye Scripture Revelations as false. 2o As I told you yor morall act is ei-
ther yt of God to ye Prophett or Apostle, or yt of ye Prophett or Apostle to us: The
latter is it yt is questioned bec of ye questionablenes of ye former. I canot know
yt ye Apostle speaks true, if I know not yt God revealed truth to him. Gods reveal-
ation to ye first speaker is by way of Inspiration. Inspiration doth but predetermine
ye mind to those pticular conceptions: it can do no more. If you will call this Inspiration
[a comandinge or perswadinge] you may use wt termes you please, but yt proves no
difference. To inspire is as much a physicall act as to predetermine, & is indeed pre-
determininge by physicall promotion. // You instance in Abraham & in the Jews kill-
inge Christ; & say [God determines ye Jewes to kill Christ physically, but Abraham to kill
his son morally] Ans. 1o though God foredetermined Decretively & pmitted actually yt ye
Jewes should kill Christ (& yt much he did not by an inocent people, but by those yt had contracted

a habitt of malignity) yet ye Power he physically by promotion movere causa prima
predetermined their murderers hands to kill him, I will not beleeve till you have proved it. 2o And
for Abrahams case, either Gods Comanding him to kill his Son was by voice or by Inspi=
ration: If by voice, it is nothing to yor purpose: ffor still ye Question is, whether yt
created voice spake by morall or physicall promotion. As if it were an Angell: or
whoever, till we come to ye first recipient. Illuminating, Inspiring, or some incompre
hensible Internall Revealing from God must be ye first action. All words are
created beings: And it must be a physicall influx from God predetermining ye re-
cipient yt must cause ye (e.g. Angelicall) intellection & expression. If God can pre=
determine man to a lye, Abraham could have no assurance, but yt he did predeter=
mine ye Angell to lye: But if ye comand was by inspiration, yn he was as uncertaine
as to himselfe, whether ye Inspiration (wch was a physicall predetermination) did not
promove him to a lye, unless Gods veracity be better maintained. 3o Or if Abraham
or any Prophett had wth ye Inspiration an irresistible impress yt this revelation is
true, & were sure yt this impress were infallible; ye world were never ye neerer
knowing this: for we can have but their word for it, wch we feele it not orselves.
miracles will but prove it to be of God. // Here you bring part of my Argumt
into an objection [If Gods nature will suffer him to be ye specifying cause of evill,
it will suffer him to make such a Law &c] And you utterly deny it, (wch I had before
proved it from ye parity if not identity of ye causation). But ye Qu. is first, whether
he may not predetermine physically ye mind & tongue of Peter, Paul &c to speake
falsly in saying [This is Gods Revelation & Law] wn it is not so. But ye thing yt all
this while I waite for is [some difference betweene Predetermination of all
actions & predetermination of ye mind & tongue of ye Prophett or Apostle, wch
is sufficient to prove yt God canot cause a lye by ye latter way, wn he can do it
by ye former] And this you fumble about, but leave utterly undone. The as-
signed Reasons of yor denyall one would thinke should containe this: wch runs
thus [yt God is ye physicall specifying cause of this or yt act of generation, v.g.
of Judahs act of generation, wth Thamar rather yn another, is to me out of
doubt: And surely to say yt any of Christs Ancestors were indetermined by God,
will be harsh & yet God could not comand yt act]. Ans. 1o yor reason is, but
a begging ye Qu., for wth you it is past doubt. This is not a showing any
such difference betweene predetermination ordinary & by inspiration, as may
prove one true wn ye other is falshood. 2o You should have told me yor reason
why God could not by determining ye voice of a Prophet to falshood, have
comanded it, yt is, cause ye Prophett to say [God sent me to comand thee this
act,] If he could determine to ye act itselfe, & can determine to every lye yts
spoken! 3o That God determined Juda to yt act wth Thamar rather yn another
yt is, yt he is ye principall cause of sin, I will sooner abhorre yn beleive without any
proofe. yor reason's frivolous [yt Christs ancestors should be undetermined]
for God could foreknow Juda's sin, & decree ye issue & specifye ye child begotten
in sin, without any causall specifying of his sin itselfe, by predetermination. //
Yor next instance is of murder, you say [yt God is ye physicall specifying cause
of Peters killing John, is to you out of doubt: for God should be ye physicall
specifying cause, if Peter had killed him casually; & yt act as an act is purely the
same, though Peter did it malo animo; yet I hope you will not say posita hac lege, God
might comand it.] Ans. 1o All killing is not murder. I suppose you go to speake
of murder, or it were impertinent. And 2o yor [Physically] referres either to ye word
[cause] or to [specifying.] yt God is ye physicall cause of ye meere physicall species
of ye act, must be taken as impertinent to or case, till you have told us wt yt phy
sicall species is wch you meane. But yt he is ye physicall cause of ye morall
specification, is ye thing (de malo) denyed. Suppose ye Law against murder made,
& Peter yt is forbidden to murder, deliberating whether he shall murder John; it
is not God yt determineth his will to do it. God giveth his hand strength to execute
ye comand of his will, & his will power to choose or refuse without predetermination
& concurreth as an universall cause to his action; but determineth him not to the
forbidden act rather yn to ye forbearance, or then to another: yt you doubt not, is no proofe.

yor reason is to weake to support such a confidence as leaves no doubtinge. If Peter had
killed him casually, he had killed him involuntarily, but voluntarily doinge ye act yt killd him.
And here 1o whether God de facto determined his will by physicall promotion to ye kill=
inge act, is to man uncertaine: he might do it de jure; & he might forbeare.
yt he determineth it not to knowne murder is certaine. 2o But It followeth not yt God may be
ye chiefe Author of a wicked act, because he may be ye chiefe author of ye same act
wn it is good or harmlesse (as I said before of words). 3o Peters doinge it malo animo
containeth first an evill habit or disposition, wch can no more be without Gods caus=
inge yn an act, havinge as much entity in it: & yn it containeth ye act of ye will its=
wch is a choosinge to do wt God forbad. Now if God predetermine this act, he predeter=
mineth Peter to do it malo animo: If he do not, yn evill acts of ye will are not in
specie predetermined, by Gods promotion.|| 4o you againe mention [comandinge] instead
of predetermininge or inspiringe ye mind of a Prophett to say [this God comandeth]. ||
5o yet wn you have proved yt God thus predetermineth ye will & hand to murder, I
will yeild to you, (though you say I will not) yt he may also by a created voice comand
ye same acts: But if he comand it, indeed it canot be called sin or murder bec. there
is no comand broken. If he can by promotion determine ye will to hate God, specifically,
he can comand men to hate him. We waite till you show a reason of one yt will
not hold for ye other. But yet ye case of [Comandinge] is not ye case yt my Argument
propounded, wch is of Revelations to be beleived & not of Comands to be obeyed.||
Yor next pretended difference was yt [ye physicall act was ad materiale] And you
now adde yt whereas I say [if you make predetermination ye chiefe specifyinge
cause it must be ad formale] you utterly deny this. Reply. This leaves me little
to say. If ye forme specifye, yn ye specifyinge cause is ye cause of ye forme.
but ye forme doth specifye. go — If you deny yt wch makes me a man to make
me rationall: wch is, as much as to deny yt I am wt I am, or yt two & two is
foure. To yor reason of denyall delivered interrogatively, I answere, you put
an impertinent Question: Swift motion & haltinge are not specifically ye same.
you are not so ye specifyinge cause of haltinge, bec. you are ye specifyinge cause
of swiftnes. But if by causinge swiftnes, you by accident cause haltinge, you are yn
by accident ye cause of yt formall motion, wch you call haltinge. Certainly so
far as you cause ye species you cause ye forme of haltinge. 2o with a horse
yt is moved by instinct, & objects without free will, you yt have freewill, may be
ye morall, yt is ye Reputative cause of his haltinge in some cases, though in
sensu physico, you cause it but by accident: But ye causinge by Accident, is
but occasioninge, & imply no determininge cause of ye species at all. Hold to this
similitude & we are agreed. You know yor horse to be lame, but made him not
so: you know he will halt wn you spurre him: & yet have reason to spurre
him though he will halt: he would not halt if you spurred him not; but yet yor
spurringe him causeth but motion in generall, & not ye mode of claudication: this
you do but occasion: you are not ye determininge cause for you do ye same to
a sound horse yt halteth not. you move (but by subordinate excitation, & yt is
less yn God doth) but he specifyeth ye motion to be haltinge. So I yeild it to be in
ye case of sin, betweene God & ye sinner.|| Yor next words are [God was ye speci=
fyinge cause of ye Babylonians punishinge ye Jewes; but not ad formale] Ans. wt
forme talke you of? of Punishmt or of sin? If of Punishment I deny yor latter
clause: God was ye specifyinge cause of ye Punishmt. If you meane it of ye sin, yt
you play wth a mutation of ye subject. No doubt but God may specifye a punishmt
& not specifye a sin: But if he had specifyed ye Babylonians sin, he had caused ye form
of it.|| Ad 2m. All this while you have but stragled at a distance from
my Argumt (wch I had rather you had answered accordinge to ye strict lawes of a
respondent) but now you seeme to come up to it, & put ye Question [what God doth
more to a true Prophett yn to a false?] & you answere [God assures ye Prophett
of ye truth of wt he inspires him]. Repl. But or Qun was [what doth God more
to assure ye Prophett or us yt his revelation is true, yn he doth to a false Prophett]
And you answere yt [he assures him]. I aske ye cause & you answere me ye
ye effect. But wt doth he to assure him? Either it is more yn predetermininge his mind
or it is not. If it be more, tell us wt more it is if you can, (yn by inspiration physically

to predetermine his conceptions, yt This or That is true). If it be no more yn
1o how knows ye Prophett yt it deserveth ye name of Assurance, wch God doth
ye same (to every lyar as to ye tongue &) to every deceived pson, as to ye mind.
you must leave all Prophetts yet to a feelinge yt makes no use of Reason:
q.d. [This I feele is true, though I know God determineth mens minds to
falshood]. But how can yt be wch truth is a Modus, not to be felt immedi=
ately of itselfe, but understood by ye light of evidence. And he yt hath evidence
hath reason. 2o But suppose ye Prophett know by feelinge, how shall we know yt
have none of his feelinge? All yt he can do wth us, ad fidem faciendam, is but
to prove yt he had his inspiration from God; & so yt God is ye Author of his concepti=
ons & words. And so Predeterminants make him to be of every deceit & lye. ergo
this proofe would not serve them. Yor drum in ye mans eare is fitter to drowne
reason, yn to helpe out yor cause. If yt drum be no more yn another hath, it will
prove no difference. I have proved yt Predetermination doth ye same as inspiration,
& yt inspiration is but a predetermination. Alsoe yt drum is ye object of sense,
we talke of Intellection: And how shall ye man make knowne to others yt he heares
ye drum. || 2o But yet you come nearer ye matter & tell us yt [God doth beare
witness to ye Prophesy, yt he approves by such τεκμήρια as he hath appointed]
This is very ptinent if you will make it good; but wt are those τεκμήρια? The
only one yt I find you instance in is [ye event] [wn ye thinge comes to pass] as in
ye case of Micaiah & ye false Prophetts. Repl. And is this all? wt yt is become of
ye Christian faith? Were none to believe ye promise ~~[illegible]~~ yt Christ should be
incarnate, till they see it come to pass? Was not Ahab to believe Micaiah till his
prophesye came to pass? why yn it was too late? If he was to believe yt it would
come to pass, yn ye cominge to pass, could not be ye τεκμήριον & motive for faith.
I must know or believe yt ye prophett is not deceived, nor a deceiver, before
I believe his prophesye, & not after it is fulfilled only? Shall not men believe
ye Resurrection, Judgment, Heaven & Hell till they come to pass? It will be yn too
late. And wt this to ye beliefe of history (as yt God created ye world in six days
yt Adam sinned &c): or of meere Articles of faith (as of ye Trinity, Christs pson, offices &c)
|| you adde yt [it is not enough to know yt ye words are from God, for so are all &c]
Repl. It is enough to know yt these words in speciall have God for ye determininge specify=
inge cause, though it be not enough to know yt he gave man a will & tongue, & concurred
as a universall cause. || You adde [here is ye difference. Micaiahs words were from God
solely: he was only Gods instrument (as all ye prophetts were in ye case): but ye words
of ye false prophetts were ye devises of their owne braines; & as God determined ym to ym
so they determined ymselves to ym, by a distinct & ꝑticular causality of their owne where
ye sin lay.] Repl. Now you have shewed us ye strength of yor answere: ye rest was
but yor approaches: & this is a givinge up ye cause. For 1o here can be no differ=
ence at all. With true & false prophetts ye soule is passive in its reception of
ye Divine influx (if it fall upon ye facultyes, & not immediately upon ye acts, of wch
yor party have great disputes). And in ye acts of Intellection & volition ye soule is
certainly active in both. And ergo ye true prophetts as well as ye false are selfe=
determiners or are so determined of God, as yt thereby they determine ymselves.
For else God should not worke on man as man, but as a bruite: & else ye acts of ye
soule should be none of its acts, neither elicite nor imperate: whereas ye soule is capa=
ble of no other, but ye elicite & imperate acts: And sure it is yt will itselfe yt doth
elicere actus proprios, & imperare those of other facultyes. It is ye true pro=
phett himselfe yt conceiveth & understandeth ye revealed truth: false prophetts may
have satanicall illusions without any more action of their owne braine in
devisinge them, yn true prophetts have in devisinge truths. But however pre=
determination, importeth a humane facultye predetermined to act, ergo ye act pre=
determined is ye act of mans facultyes: Else it were no predetermination, nor
were ye act mans act, but only Gods. And you maintane this predetermination ne=
cessary to all acts: And if so, yn to ye elicite & imperate acts (volitions, conceptions
& expressions) of true prophetts, as well as false. So yt you canot feigne ym to be acted
without predetermination, & so without a coagency in selfe determination, without
contradictinge all philosophers of yor owne side, & without denyinge man to
be man, & denyinge predetermination itselfe. This difference ergo is certainly no difference. ||

But you contradict yorself & ergo need no confutation: why call you them [Micaiahs words]
if they were from God solely & not from himself? Really do you thinke that it was not
Micaiahs tongue that spoke them? & his intellect that understood them? & his will that closed
with them & commanded his tongue to speake them? 3o If such a thinge as a prophetts
~~speakinge~~ actinge without himself or selfe determination were possible, yet how
prove you de facto that it was so? & is so with all true prophetts? & that is not so with
false prophetts? yor word of a matter that you never felt, is no proofe to be
trusted to, when all or Christianity lyeth upon that Question. 4o And if it were true
that false prophetts are acted as men that act themselves in Concurse, & that true prophetts are
acted as stones or bruites (that understood not & will not) how can other men know
which of these wayes any prophett is acted? Till we know the hearts of all men
we should be never the nearer for this, to know whether any Apostle spoke true.
5o And if this were true de facto, that God determineth one prophett to action
& that the action of another is solely Gods, yet how shall ~~we~~ any man know that one of these
is any truer then the other. If God can predetermine men as men to all the lyes that
ever were spoken, then why may he not determine Balaams asse to a lye (whose
action was such as I conceive you describe the true prophetts to be) or any crea-
ture that can so be determined. If it prove not the words true in one case, because they
are Gods, then neither will it prove them true in the other: For God is where he pre-
determineth supposed by you to be the first totall immediate cause, & that the whole
effect is his: And he can be no more where he is the sole cause. You must ergo use
another medium for the animatinge of yor faith: And with that, why, all or faith is
laid by you (if I can understand you) on this foundation [whatsoever God solely
revealeth without any self determination of the prophett to whom he revealeth
it, is to be believed: But such is all that is written by Matthew, Marke, Luke, John, Paul
Peter, James & Jude: ergo ——] Grantinge withall, that [whatever God revealeth as a totall
efficient, physicall, predeterminginge cause, yet if under him the persons facultyes, de-
termine themselves it is not to be believed fide divina, but may be false]. A dread-
full case if these things were so! who would not forsake the Christian faith
yea all Divine faith, that were practically of this mind. The Christian world
hath hitherto knowne no formall object of Divine faith, but the Divine veracity:
or the veracity of God revealinge the materiall object. And they have argued only
thus for their faith [whatsoever God revealeth is true: but this God revealeth: ergo
it is true.] If now you will limitt the major proposition, thus [whatsoever God
saith or revealeth solely without mans selfdetermination or action is true] you
give away all; 1stly because such a revelation is inconsistent with humane na-
ture, & ergo there is none such; & 2ly because if there were, it canot be knowne:
& 3ly because if it were knowne, the truth of it could not be knowne, when the divine ver-
acity itselfe is overthrowne. But still I say you have not given us a syllable
of proofe, that 1o God doth any more by Inspiration of prophetts, then you feigne him
to do by predetermination to every man, Lyars & all. 2o or if he did more, that its such
a [more] as will prove one certaine & credible when the other is not. //
Ad 6m You adde that [It followes not that because God may sometimes determine to a lye
ergo he is not to be beleived when he speakes the truth] yor reason [because extra casu
judicii God will not do it]. Repl. 1o You adde here yorself. that [it is as much against
Gods veracity to determine to one lye as to a thousand]: & when the veracity which
is the formall object is denyed, faith can be no faith. You must then have some other
formall object, & then faith will be another thinge. And indeed there is no other but this
[God that canot lye hath spoken &c]. 2o If in a case of judgmt God can determine
Peter, Paul & the rest to lye, then the world will be left at a losse, whether they as well
as Mahomet were not judicially so determined. Gods judgmts are unsearchable, & it
is not possible for us to know, of every act or word, whether it be from him in
judgment or not. 3o If he can do it in a case of judgmt, then may he in other
cases. For if it be not against his nature, he may have ends or uses for it that you
know not of, & that he is not to give you an account of. 4o You maintaine that he
predetermined Adam to his first sinfull act in specie: and that could not be in judgmt:
for judgmt supposeth a fault, which Adam had not before his first fault. And if out
of the case of justice or judgmt, God can cause other sins, then may he alsoe cause this
of lyinge. // Yor instance of miracles I answere thus. Miracles when they are such
as make up a testimony (that God owneth the words or persons) are never annexed to a falshood.

But wch they are no testimony but mute to us (as to any attestation; if ever such were) there they are not capable of truth or falshood, credit or discredit. True miracles were never wrought to attest a lye: And those yt are but like true miracles, are ever controlled by a more potent testimony, wch Sathan would endanger ye faith by ym. // Ad 7m. Yor last answere is, yt [my Argumt is as strong agt my owne way &c] Repl. 1o I have made it plaine I thinke, yt in yor way there is no certainty of ye Christianity left, nor of any Divine faith, & consequently no roome for Religion. If you would perswade me yt there is no other foundation yt is surer yn yors, wt is this but to argue me out of my Christianity if you could? Did I find my owne grounds false, I would looke for better, & not seeke to prove all others as bad. 2o But blessed be God we are secure from these assaults. You have no shew of a proofe for wt you say. Yor reason is [If God can & doth procure ut decipiatur pseudopropheta, scilicet proponendo objecta, subtrahendo dona, ꝑmittendo malitiam &c] Repl. God doth not cause any mans sin or any false prophets lyes: such procuremt wee deny. Objects are fitted to draw men to God: If he see ym so wickedly disposed, as to abuse these objects, he is not so to destroy ye world that they may have no tempting objects: ye summe is but this, he ꝑmitteth false prophetts by their abuse of objects & temptations of Sathan, to be deceived & to deceive & this in just judgmt agt ym & others. Now you aske [1o how can I be secured yt God hath not proceeded thus far wth him yt I take to be a true prophett? 2o yt if God hath done thus, he is not deceived?] To wch I answere you may know yt God hath not ꝑmitted ye prophetts to lye or be deceived by all ye evidences of his owne interest in their word. What ever yt it is of God & yt he is ye Author of it, doth prove ye divine Authority. If it were not of God inspiring & revealing (& is predetermining the mind & tongue to it) he would never have sett on it ye Image & superscription of his blessed attributes, nor attested it by his divine operations, in miracles & sanctificatn, & made it so effectuall, & added all those other evidences, yt you know of & I need not here recite. Whosoever proves it to be of God doth prove it to be true: for I know yt God canot lye bec I know yt he is God; yt is infinite in wisedome & goodnes & power; & so nothing so unlike him can come from him, & be owned by him as his act. Where God ꝑmitteth man to lye or sin, he leaves him to himselfe, & yn he acteth as a depraved man. We may say of men or Devills as Christ saith Joh. 8. 44 [wn he speaketh a lye he speaketh of his owne]: but not of God; a lye is not his owne, wch yet it must be, if he were ye totall immediate principall cause. Whatever so proveth ye words of a Prophett or Apostle to be Gods owne (as all ye evidences of Christianity do) yt proveth ym to be certainly true: ffor it is impossible for God to lye, bec he canot cease to be God, & so to be wise & good & holy & just & true. He yt proveth they are Gods words, doth prove ym true. And he yt proveth yt God is ye physicall efficient, immediate, principall totall cause of ym, doth prove yt man was not only (de specie) ꝑmitted to speake ym, but yt he is a more subordinate cause in revealing ym, & yt they are principally ye words of God. // Thus I have shewed ye emptines of ye answere wch you tooke to be so full, & ye unanswerablenes of this Argumt agt yor way, wch certainly concludeth ye uncertainty of Christianity & of all Divine faith. And so I beseech you impartially review yor grounds. //

You come now to my 2d Argumt & find yorself by my answers lesse satisfyed, yea much confirmed &c: when as my Argum was rather granted by you yn confuted. I find not yt you deny either major or minor; but seeme to grant God to be ye cause of sin according to yor way, wch you thinke justifyable by pleading him to be not culpable, bec he is not under Law. Yor answere is if I understood it, but a charging ye same upon ye Doctrine of Concurse, & an Argumt of yor owne to prove man culpable notwithstanding predetermination. And do you thinke this regular disputing to let goe yor opponents Argumt & fall on arguing yorself & yt on another cause? If I say not a word to yor Argumt I am satisfyed yt yor Doctrine is false, bec it makes God ye cause of sin, which xtians execrate. If you grant this, wt had I more to do? // Yet did I answere yor diverting Argumt, & by passages, much of wch answers you make no reply to. What you did meddle wth I shall vindicate. But were I to dispute wth you I would not follow you in this ramblings

way, but keepe closer to strict Argumentation or say nothinge.] || I granted you yt concurse
& pmission would make God culpable, if he were under a Law forbiddinge ym. Even as any
indifferent action would be sinfull, if it were forbidden to a subject: So kill every
flye or frog or worme yt I can kill would be my duty if a Soveraigne comand it.
But say you [I pray Sir may not I say in like maner yt God is under no Law for-
biddinge predetermination physicall?] Ans: And wt of yt? will it follow negatively yt [he
is not culpable for causinge sin, bec he is under no Law] bec ye Affirmative holdeth; yt he
were culpable for an indifferent action, if he were under a Law yt did forbid it? If
I were no subject, yet were I culpable if I would lye & breake my covent: If I were
no subject I were not culpable for sufferinge a flye or a worme to live by me, or
for not payinge tribute &c. It were ill arguinge now if you would say [He yt is no
subject is not culpable for not payinge tribute] go he yt is no subject is not culpable
for covenant breakinge & pjury] This is yor arguinge if you are intelligible. 2o But I dis-
tinguished of culpability, & yeilded to you yt as it signifyeth Reatus, or sinfullnes, it would
not be in God if he should be ye cheife cause of all sin (for who should oblige him to punish?)
But as it signifyeth vituperability, so God would be culpable if he were ye cause of sin:
yea he would not be God bec not pfectly good. And thus I confessed yt God is under no
Law forbiddinge predetermination, nor lyinge. And yet God canot lye. He would not
be a sinner, but he would cease to be God, if these horrid suppositions were true. ||
You intimate as if you made God ye physicall cause of sin, but so far as ye sub-
stantia actus goes: But ye specificn to this object rather ym yt, is not ye substantia
actus: yet this specificn you make God ye cheife cause of; bec you suppose it to be
entitative. The Genericall nature hath all ye substantiam actus in it & ye specificn
is at highest, modall or respective. wch drawes this assertion of Gods specifyinge
causation, & wt are agreed. Next you pass to my answere to yor Argum[t], wch
you wonder yt I am satisfyed in, & see ye power of my prejudice therein, & are much
confirmed by ym: but second thoughts may shake all thy confidence. I must confess
to you yt I am prejudiced, & prejudice doth much wth me agt yor way. Had I no
prejudginge I had no Religion, but should be a meere white paper. I have prejudged
yt God is God & so good & canot lye, nor be ye cause of sin, & yt ye Gospell is true.
& meetinge yor opinion wth this prejudice, I must confess I meet it as an enemy, tho:
it hath got house roome wth a freind. You easily grant ye differences yt I assigned
betweene laudable & culpable actions, & call ym circumstantiall (& say [it] sufficeth you
yt in both of ym there is a predetermination]. But those are but words wch must be
better considered. Yor argumt was yt Good workes are laudable notwthstandinge pre-
determination. so sin is culpable notwthstandinge predetermination.] Here 1o I distin-
guish of predetermination (& applyed it before) 2o I distinguish of [culpable] wch
signifyeth either [vituperable] or [punishable]. wn you oppose it to [laudable] you
seeme to meane but [vituperable]. Here I shall first give you ye matter of my answer
in severall propositions, & yn apply it to yor Argumt in forme. 1o I grant yt evill actions would
be vituperable, though God (supposed per impossibile) to be ye cause of ym. 2o yet this
must be understood only of those yt are so mutably evill as to remaine such though God
cause ym. 3o It is but a derived culpability yt man would have on this supposition; God
would be ye principall, vituperable cause, if ye ~~[illegible]~~ ye principall cause: & ye dis-
honor would be most to him. 4o It is an impossibility yt is supposed, ye termes beinge con-
tradictory: For God to be ye principall, totall cause of ye Law & act, & not of the
sin is a contradiction; & to be ye cause of ye sin, & to be God even ye most Holy Good &c is
a contradiction; & for yt to be sin wch is so agreeable to Gods nature, & is by him as ye prin-
cipall specifyinge cause, is a contradiction. 5o Though upon these impossibilityes you
suppose man vituperable, yet in justice he is not condemnable for ye sin wch God unresisti-
bly moved him to by predetermination: Though I deny not but God as Dominus absolu-
tus may destroy ye inocent (were he not by his ordinate will & relation & promise, as
it were engaged to ye contrary): yet yt would be no act of Justice but of Dominion.
6o Good actions are laudible so much ye more, bec God is ye cheife cause. 7o Man is
laudable but dependently, & ye cheife praise is due to God. 8o Good workes are not meri-
torious of ymselves, nor we rewardable, but by ye bounty & ordinate will of God. But sin
of itselfe positis naturalibus, is condemnable & deserveth evill to ye sinner. 9o There
is nothinge in ye nature of God or man, wch is agt ye free comunication of good, & givinge
rewards beyond desert, or uppon such improp merits, yt ye reward shall be as a free guift.

But there is yt in ye nature of God & man, yt is agt such undeserved inflictinge of evill to
a rationall creature under governmt. Or at least there is yt in ye promisse of God that
sheweth yt he will not do it. || 10° If all were granted yt on supposition (ye impossible)
of Divine predetermination, man is still culpable & condemnable yet God is made so
much ye more vitupable, yt makes his creature a sinner & condemnable. & so he is ye more
denyed to be God. So much for ye materialls of my answere (besides ye distinction of pre=
determination mentioned before) || Now to yor Argumt. 1° The Conclusion if grant=
ed is nothinge to ye Qun in hand. I was provinge yt predetermination makes God ye prin=
cipall cause of sin: & you argue yt [it makes not man inculpable] wch if I yeild
you more yn you desire & say yt [it makes man culpable] is not this more for
me yn for you? ffor to make him culpable is to make him sinfull: wch if you
grant yt God doth by predetermination, you grant ye odious consequence wch
I shewed doth follow from yor doctrine. Suppose yor Argumt were in these (I thinke
equipollent) termes [Good workes are laudible though God be ye cheife cause of ym;
ergo evill workes are vitupable or culpable, though God be ye cheife cause of ym]: how
would you answere this yorself: This supposeth God to be ye cheife cause of evill, & not
disproveth it. 2° To ye consequence I answere, it supposeth yt wch is not to be
supposed, yt God thus predetermineth to evill workes, as if you should suppose God not
to be God. 3° If by [culpable] be meant [vitupable] as my horse is for haltinge
wch I have lam'd him purposely I grant ye consequence. But if by [culpable]
you meane guilty or obliged to punishmt I deny ye consequence, unless you will
joyne another supposition like ye former, viz yt God is not just in his punishings. My
Reasons (for brevity) you may gather from ye foregoinge positions. || Gods interest
would take away all evill from ye action. If he be ye totall specifyinge cause ye act
is wholly good: for he produceth nothinge but wt is like himselfe. To be done by God, & yet
to be sin, is as truly a contradiction, as to be comanded by God & yet to be sin. || In a
word ye very subject of yor Qun is by me denyed as a Chimera, yea a flat contradiction
Sin caused by God, is a contradiction; for it is no sin but good, wch is caused by him, as ye totall
specifyinge cause. To be caused by his foredescribed predetermination, is in ye fullest manner
to be caused by him. When ye Scripture hath said yt [God canot lye] it is not fitt to dispute
[whether wn God doth lye ye instrumt be not culpable.] Murderers & Lyars may pretend
to be acted therein by God; but yr workes will certainly disprove ym. Joh. 8. 44. ye are of
yor ffather ye Devill, & ye lusts of yor ffather you will do: he was a murderer from the
beginninge, & abode not in ye truth bec there is no truth in him: wn he speaketh a lye he speak=
eth of his owne: for he is a Lyar & ye ffather of it.] were it not a horrid thinge to say all
this of God, & give him ye same Caracter: how much more to say worse by him, & make
him much more ye cause of murder & lyinge yn ye Devill. ffor Sathan doth but tempt,
wch leaves man to his power of resistinge. but a physicall, efficient, specifyinge prede=
termination doth totally effect ye thinge & leave man no more possibility of resistinge
or not sinninge, yn of conqueringe God. Names are one thinge & definitions another. Sin caused
by Gods predetermination, & sin caused by mans free will wthout it, are equivocall; ye name
[sin] is one; but ye thinge will not be found ye same, in a true full definition: So [Punishmt]
inflicted for such a sin caused by Gods predetermination, would be equivocally call'd
punishmt, & not admitt ye same full definition, wth punishmt properly so called: And yet ye
more you hold to yor Conclusion, yt [such predetermined actions may be truly sinfull and
damnable], ye more am I satisfyed of ye truth of my Conclusion, even as resultinge from
this ground of yors, yt [ergo God doth not so predetermine men to evill acts] bec I am
sure he is not ye cause of sin. || ffirst speake out to ye Question whether you make
God ye cause of sin, or whether it be not ye consequent of yor doctrine, & yn we shall
be ye readyer to dispute, whether man be guilty: yea I shall yeild yt he is guilty, wn you
have proved yt God hath made him guilty (wch is impossible). || In yor answere to ye Argu=
ment wch you formed, yt you deny ye consequence (yt ye blame of sin & damnation is princi=
pally on God ye predeterminer). Yor first reason is [bec yt God determines ye creature, se=
cundum creaturæ naturam, et propriam determinationem.] wch I deny to have any shew of
Reason, & you do but call it a reason & yts no proofe. If it might prove ye second cause cul=
pable, it doth nothinge to vindicate ye first from beinge as you say he is ye principall totall
cause & so vitupable. wt is it yt you call naturam creaturæ: you meane not yt man is ye
first or principall determiner I am sure! you meane not yt he hath a power to act
contrary to ye predetermination of God, any more yn to live wthout him.

if it should be argued by so insipient a thinge. but you must prove yt as well as affirme it
well! but to yor answere to my former words: wch is yt I must meane yt Xt had an indiffer=
ency of power to good & evill (wch is blasphemy) or else place his liberty in Spontaneity
And is this all? why, sure you know yt yor owne side comonly give a tertium betweene
indifferency & spontaneity: As I told you, Dr Twisse argueth yt a Beast hath spontaneity
but not Liberty. One halfe of ye Schoolmen thinke yt a man hath not liberty ad finem ultimum
or bonum simpliciter, or ad id quod omnimodam habet rationem modi (sub apprehensi)
But I am sure yt Liberty is essentiall to ye will, & yt libera voluntas is not a tautology:
& yts enough if I could not define ye tertium. Its like you have seene Franciscus Macedo
agt Sr White, maintaineth (though but ludicrously) a freedome yt is neither spontaneity
nor indifferency. But not to contend wth you for a word, I thinke yt Dr Twiss & other
Protestants yt assert a tertium meane as bad & ye same wth you: for wn there is but
added yt [dictamen or conduct of ye intellect] they yn call it liberum arbitrium, &
not spontaneity only; so yt it is wth ym but lubentia secundum rationem: & so ye difference
is only in ye intellect. but this is novell amonge Xtians; & this is not ye tertium yt I shall
give. And go plainly I distinguish of Power, Liberty & Indifferencye, into Naturall &
morall. The faculty itselfe is essentially a naturall power of choosinge or not choos=
inge or refusinge, willinge or nillinge. This naturall power beinge in itselfe considered
Indetermined, & beinge a selfedetermininge principle, is so far naturally indifferent;
& yt Indifferencye & selfedetermininge ability is its freedome: wch is no more yn to
say yt ye naturall faculty is naturally undetermined, & is a power of selfedetermininge.
So yt naturall indifferencye or Libertye is in every man as man; & go is in ye unregen=
erate & in Xt & Angells. (whether this extend ad finem or bonum simpliciter it is now
no time to dispute) But as voluntas est quaedam natura, so hath it its inclination to good,
& its dependance (such as it is) on ye Intellect, & is capable of separable habits & dispo=
tions, right or wronge; ye one beinge its pfections, ye other its corruptions. When all habits
both of Intellect, will & ye whole man are pfect both in degree & kind (as in such
as are not only innocent but confirmed) ye will is so infallibly byassed & disposed to
good yt it canot sin. Not for want of a Naturall power, indifferencye or Libertye
to any act (for it is ye pfection of Nature yt ye faculty can choose or refuse &c), but
bec this Naturall power is pfected by right dispositions &c it will stray or choose
amiss: & its more prop to say it will not, yn it canot; for to choose amiss as amiss is not
an act of power but of morall impotency or pravity: The naturall power as such
is exercised only in ye act as a naturall act. but ye naturall power as rightly guided and
disposed, is exercised in Right Action) Malum quâ malum, ye will canot choose. Malum
quod, a pfect will, will not choose: This will not is an absolute Canot (though called
morall) where ye will is pfect. To apply it: Jesus Xt bec he was a pfect man had
a naturall faculty of choosinge or refusinge, willinge or nillinge, wch was naturally
undetermined, & had power to determine itselfe. And go yt he never sinned or willed
amiss, was not bec of any naturall impotencye, or Predetermination in his faculty; as
if there were ye same reason of Xts not willinge sin, as is of a beasts not refusinge
his provender or pasture, wch he is naturally determined to, & desireth but spontane=
ously & not freely; nor as if Xt forbore any act as a dead man forbeareth it. To have
this naturall faculty, power & freedome, was Xts naturall pfection: But Xt never sinned
nor could possibly sin, bec this naturall power was pfectly habituated, inclined & guided.
Bec he had naturall freewill, he had a naturall power to one act as well as another:
but bec he had morall freewill, yt is pfectly Holy Inclinations, go he possibly could not
yt is would not will amiss. || But now where naturall freewill is not in pfection
morally free (or good) there (as ye understandinge may be at a loss & erre so) ye will
may easily be pverted. Yea where there is no sin, as in ye Angells not confirmed
(before their fall) & in Adam in innocency, ye naturall power & indifferencye
remaineth wth a lower unconfirmed measure of Morall Power or holy inclinati=
ons, & beinge amonge various objects & temptations, is left still undetermined & in possi=
bility & danger of sinninge. So yt there are pfect confirmed habits yt leave it impossible
for ye pson to sin (Thos Xt & ye confirmed Angells & Saints have): And there are habits
some sinfully, some innocently impfect yt have not yt effect || So yt you see now yt I place
not Xts Libertye in a spontaneity, but his naturall Liberty in his faculty of selfdetermination
without any naturall Necessitation; & his morall Liberty, in ye absolute pfection of his holy
Inclinations. || But at last you come indeed to my Argumt, brought in as an objection
[But this is worst of all, yt God determines a sinner ad liberè peccandum, & yt punisheth
To this you would have said somethinge I conjecture if you could, & yet I perceive you were

loth to confess yt you could say nothinge. And 3o instead of an answere you say yt [God acts & ye
creature acts & each retaines their distinct causality; & ye creature acts freely to please itselfe not
attendinge or regardinge Gods predetermination.] Repl. And was it not naturally premoved so to do
as much as naturall agents are moved to act naturally? When you had an hundred such things
of ye creatures act, you say no more of it but yt you suppose yt God predetermineth it to it by
promotion. Doth ye creature act? It must needs do so, as ye Sun must shine wn God causeth
it: Doth it act libere? It must needs do so, wn it is made do so by a naturall predetermina
Doth it please itselfe? Why, yt's ye act yt you say God doth predetermine it to. Doth it not re-
gard Gods determination? Why, if yt be no duty, ye omission is no sin: but whether it be or
not it was as impossible for it to do otherwise (to know or regard ye divine predetermination) as for
a stone to leap above ye Sun. And if ye sinner did regard ye divine predetermination, & see &
dread ye hand yt carried him unavoidably to sin, it would neither keepe him from sin, nor as you
say make him ye more excusable. || But you say all in ye next words [Adde to this, Tu
quis es qui respondeas Deo.] But yet a man may answere his Brother: & God saith not all yt
you or I say. I may answere men yt plead agt God, though I may not reply to God. Had you
sett yt sentence at ye head, yea taken up wth it alone, you might have seene reason to have
spared both yor owne disputes & mine, & made shorter wth it, if it be rightly applyed, & not have
brought it in so late. Arminius concession wch you mention, is nothinge agt me, who grant ye
same (though whether he do I question, wn I read Dr Twiss so frequently charginge him to
hold, yt God decreed yt Christ should be putt to death, but not yt ye Jewes or any one should do it). ||
my 3d Argument you pass by: And so I have done wth ye vindication of my owne. ||
Now to yor Argumt (not ye strongest for its it yt came in once by before, from ye entity of ye act in
specie requiringe a first cause &c.] 1° I deny yor minor & owne ye consequence of ye major. To yor
proofe of ye minor I deny yor minor againe: The event is not uncertaine. To yor next reason, I
deny yt ye cause is uncertaine, though undetermined [illegible], if by uncertaine you meane such a cause
as will not infallibly produce ye effect: the effect is certainly future, though contingent. That the
Jewes should have otherwise determined their wills was possible, sed non futurum. All things possible
are not future. You suppose me to have no reasonable answere but yt [its certaine to God, though
future to us, for it is present wth God &c.] But you quite mistake. I have an answere wch fully
satisfyeth me; & yt is; yt How future contingents are knowne by God, is so utterly unknowne by you &
me & every mortall, yt I thinke it a high peice of arrogancye to dispute it, unles it be to confute
ye arrogancye yt pretends to know it. Do I need to write a line to you to prove, yt God can know
future things by wayes unknowne to mortall men? He were not God else, if he had no way of
knowinge but wt such a sott & worme & mole as I can understand. If he be no more above me he
should be allmost equall wth me. Neither Nature nor Scripture hath revealed ye way of Gods intel-
lection or intuition. When you know his essence, & ye nature of his knowledge in itselfe, you will be some-
wt ye better prepared to understand ye way of his knowinge future contingents. In ye meane time I
take it to be a far greater sin yn ye Bethshemites or Uzzas or Uzziahs, to dispute (unles as afore
excepted). And if any man argue [man canot know future contingents, but in a necessary cause, ergo God
canot] I should not only deny ye consequence, but sooner take it for blasphemy yn beleive it. || But
though this satisfye me & I dare looke a dispute no further (in a point where you & I are more Igno-
rant, yn we are, wt is in ye center of ye Earth) yet dare I follow you to evince ye comon Ignorance.
And ergo though I am far from assertinge ye way of knowinge future contingents as compræsentiall in
eternity; yet I shall undertake to make good, yt you canot disprove it, by all ye helpes yt Dr Twisse &
all men else have given you. || 1° you say [though there be no prius et posterius, yet in eternity there
is an inexpressible eminentia, by vertue of wch it doth not simul but successive coexistere wth ye
severall parts of time —] Repl. We know not wt eternity is; but speakinge of it as those speake
yt are accounted Orthodoxe, I deny yt it hath any divisibility, & consequently any succession in its coexistence
wth ye parts of time. It coexisteth wth all ~~[illegible]~~ time at once, yt is in nunc ~~[illegible]~~ eternitatis.
You'le say yt time coexists wth eternity, yn it doth exist, but future time & past do not exist: ergo
&c. They do exist in Eternity: Obj. That wch is future existeth not. ~~[illegible]~~ Ans. There is no future in
eternity: nor no past, nor no present in ye sence: Nunc temporis, & nunc eternitatis are meere equi-
voca. The lines may be united in ye Center yt are far from one another in ye circumference.
Futures are as much coexistent wth Eternity as præterita. Now either præterita nobis do
coexist wth eternity, or else God must know ym only as præterita; but ye latter will not be
granted by ym yt say still there is no præterition in eternity. Past present & to come are words
yt in eternity have no significacion: though God yt is Eternity eminently knowes ye successions of time.
Obj. But say you, yt mundus fuit ab eterno is a pretty fancye. Ans. fuit contradicteth ye
nature of eternity. Ab eterno falsly supposeth a time past (for wt else doth [ab] signifye?)
wn there is no [ab] or præteritum in eternity. We only say yt mundus est in eterno. So say I
of yor [finis mundi fuit coeternus &c.] [fuit] intimates a false supposition in eternity, as if there
were past present & future. || But 2° you say [though eternity have no prius or posterius
in itselfe yet in relation to temporall things it hath, so yt its true to say, Deus erit &c.] Repl.
Denominatione extrinseca, mortalls may name eternity to be divisible & successive from ye respect
yt transient time hath to it. But as incapacious mortalls yt are measured by time, must speake

if it should be arguit by so insipient a thinge: but you must prove yt as well as affirme it.
well! but to yor answere to my former words: wch is yt I must meane yt Xt had an indiffer-
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but not Liberty. And halfe ye Schoolmen thinke yt a man hath not liberty ad finem ultimum
or bonum simpliciter, or ad id quod omnimodam habet rationem boni (~~sub~~ apprehensi)
But I am sure yt Liberty is essentiall to ye will, & yt libera voluntas is not a tautology:
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agt Th. White, maintaineth (though but ludicrously) a freedome yts neither spontaneity
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& yt Indifferencye & selfdetermininge ability is its freedome: wch is no more yn to
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Bec he had naturall freewill, he had a naturall power to one act as well as another:
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not Xts Libertye in a spontaneity, but his naturall liberty in his faculty of selfdetermination
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Inclinations. || But at last you come indeed to my Argument, brought in as an objection thus
[But this is worst of all, yt God determines a sinner ad liberè peccandum, & yn punisheth ym]
To this you would have said somethinge I conjecture if you could, & yet seeing you were

loth to confess yt you could say nothinge. And so instead of an answere you say yt [God acts & ye
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Jewes should have otherwise determined their wills was possible, sed non futurum; All things possible
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though this satisfye me & I dare [illegible] to dispute no further (in a point where you & I are more Igno-
rant, yn we are, wt is in ye center of ye Earth) yet dare I follow you to evince ye comon Ignorance.
And so though I am far from assertinge ye way of knowinge future contingents as comprehensiall in
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yould say yt time coexists wth eternity yn it doth exist, but future time & past do not exist: go
Ans. They do exist in eternity: Obj. That wch is future existeth not. Ans. There is no future in
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of yor [finis mundi fuit coevus &c] [fuit] intimates a false supposition in eternity, as if there
were past present & future.|| But 2° you say [though eternity have no prius or posterius
in itselfe yet in relation to temporall things it hath, so yt its true to say, Deus erit &c] Repl.
Denominatione extrinseca, mortalls may name eternity as divisible & successive from ye respect
yt transient time hath to it. But as incapacious mortalls yt are measured by time, must speake

this of God & Eternity in their owne dialect (havinge neither proper conceptions, nor p'haps
expressions of Eternity). So God yt is eternall doth conceive of time in ye sence of eternity
whose termes of Division & succession signifye nothinge but a falshood, wth man it is a fit
notion yt Deus erit, et fuit &c. But wth God it is not so, unles as he thinks meet to speake of
himselfe to man after ye measure & manner of speech. So yt in eternity yet [Deus erat, mun-
dus non erat; futurus erat &c] import a falshood, as if eternity were divisible. And you know I
suppose how confidently it is determined by ye Thomists yt ye Relations betweene ye creatures & God
are Reall only ex parte creaturæ. And whereas you say it were fingere, non considerare,
if God should looke on yt as p'sent yt is future, I say still, yt there be no past or future in
eternity, nor present as divided from past & future (as nunc temporis signifyeth) wth
it p'sent to him in eternity, though it be future or past to us in time. || 3o you say [be-
tweene Gods transient acts there was a difference, as ye makinge of ye world before ye des-
troyinge it &c] Repl. True; as they stand in time, wch is a successive divisible measure
but not as they stand in eternity, where [before & after] are but falshoods. And truly if
this will make you [stick fast to predetermination] wn ye whole dispute is utterly needles
to yt point, a little will prevaile wth you. || 4o Lastly you say [it may justly be Question'd
whether yt notion of Eternity be right, yt it hath no prius et posterius] you must suspect
it & would have a convincinge Argumt. Repl. 1o you know it hath gott ye vote of all yt are
accounted orthodoxe; & yts enough for me: after all yt ye Schoolmen & Philosophers have
said for it, its needles for me to give you Arguments. you have enough at hand in Mr T. Bar-
lowes Exercitation of Eternity: answere those first. Here one for you at yor desire. Eter-
nity is indivisible, so it hath no past or future: Prob. Anteced. God is indivisible, so Eternity
is indivisible. The Anteced. needs no proofe. Prob. Consq. Eternity is God himselfe; so if God
be indivisible eternity is indivisible. Prob. Anteced. Eternity is a prop. attribute of God:
Gods prop. attributes are God himselfe; so Eternity is God himsf. ||. 2o But for my part I
professe more Ignorance in those matters yt ye Schoolmen do, & so (though I will not
joyne wth Twisselus, Vorstius &c as yor suspicion it seemes inclineth you to do) yet I will
be none of yor confident adversaryes; nor do I now dispute to any other end yn to prove
so uncertaine in those matters, yt you canot make good yor undertakinge. And yet I will
joyne wth you & others, in talk yt are measured by time, in sayinge yt God is & was & is
to come. || But yet let me tell you, I have no need of ye confutinge of yor doctrine of
physicall immediate, efficient predetermination as necessary a causa prima toti
specifyinge of every act naturall & free] to assert ye comprehensibility of all things in eter-
nity (though you can never prove ye contrary). It is enough for me yt God is God & not
& so his knowledge is incomprehensible, & he hath wayes of knowinge future contingents, yt we
know not of; And to dispute yt God can no way know them but thus or thus, is highest, most ir-
reverent arrogancy & p'sumption. And so much of this controversye. ||
And now in ye conclusion, Deare Brother, I desire you yt no eager expressions in these pa-
pers be misinterpreted to savor of any disrespect to you, or be used to any diminution of love.
We charge ye doctrine of one another wth horrid odious consequents, & justly on one side, wch
so ere it is): but I have not ye least thought yt those consequents are yors, or yt God will im-
pute them to you, & so neither do I: as beinge confident yt you practically beleive their con-
traryes. And I am glad to thinke yt no such apparitions of ye dishonord consequents of ye sever-
all opinions, doth hinder ye hearty closure of or affections; but yt we can as affectionately
remember one another & joyne together in ye worke of God (as yor modell now sent
me, gives some testimony) as if there were no such different apprehensions: And of
this I am ye more sensible, bec ye distractions of ye Chs do force me to bewaile the
contrary in others. To see how ye Lutherans & Calvinists are divided, & how un-
charitablenes & ye bitter fruites of it is maintained on this occasion, agt all ye healinge en-
deavors yt have bin used, & how every difference makes men looke strange at & speake
hardly of their Brethren, if not divide from them. These things & much more of yt like
wch are ye calamity, do occasion me to be ye more thankfull to God, wn I meet wth
a Brother yt can differ in controvertible points in Love. As I am confident yt it is so
wth you, so you may beleive me it is wth

Yor deare unworthy Brother

Ri: Baxter.

June 26.
1658.

No 166

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(4) Hee saith wee baptize neyther young nor old, & when desired to performe that duty, that our answer is, it is not a thing necessary to Salvation. To which I say 1 Its true that by reason of some doubts (too long now to expresse) lying upon my spirit I have as yet suspended my practice of Infant Baptisme, but 'tis as true also, that I have owned baptisme as an ordinance of Christ both in my preaching in publick, in my discourse in private, as also often in my arguings with our now baptized people, of whom wee have some in the p'ish of Clyrow, & this both the Informer & others know very well, but

2. That I should make that answer as a ground of my refusall (viz) that I would not baptize because it was not necessary to Salvation. There is nothing more contrary to truth. I have indeede (as I had just cause) laboured to beate them off their false grounds of trusting in & depending upon outward priviledges (neglecting Christ the substance) & told them they could not save them & yet also have againe & againe declared that all ye ordinances of the New Testament are usefull & in some sense necessary. Necessitate praecepti.

(5) Its objected that wee receive none into our society without the approbation of the whole or major part of our members, & they or most of them women or young people from severall p'ishes round about. For answer

1 That all that come in must be so approved of is a great mistake, & I have told them thereof many times, but that (it seemes) they resolve not to receive [illegible]tion. I have (tis true) & usually doe, when any present themselves [illegible] them to have a competent measure of knowledge, & aske our members (because [illegible] of them living neerer to them & so may be better acquainted with their conversation than myselfe) whether they know any matter of scandall of such a one. If [illegible] he is received, if otherwise I exhort him to manifest his repentance & amendment that he may the next time be received. Matth 3.7,8.

2 That most of them are women & boyes can hardly be proved neyther (though tis no matter) but that professors ought to speake truth. All ye hurt I wish the Informer is, that hee were such a boy, for the old ones generally thinke themselves too wise to goe to heaven with such boyes, or rather being too old, will sooner breake than bow, so rooted in sin & weather beaten in iniquity that they'l be noe changelings. O how hard a thing it is to convince, much harder to convert such a sinner!

3 That they are from severall parishes round about I confesse thats true, & wish there were more, but it is upon this ground, that
1 There are very few setled Ministers at all, but my selfe, in ye County
2 There is none at all setled within 8 or 10 miles of Clyrow in our said County but one & hee also bad enough.
3 I shall when the Lord brings more godly & able Ministers amongst us, be as willing that those of other p'ishes (now in our society) shall returne, as ever I was of their coming in.

(6) Hee complaines that I give the Sacramt in a high straine. For answer I know not what he intends thereby & I thinke he doth not know himselfe except he meanes because not done as formerly by their old Sr Johns.

(7) The letter affirmeth that though I invite them to come to the Sacrament yet none shall be received but such as are of our opinion & engage themselves in our way. I answer.

1 For engaging them in our way I have answered already, what it is, viz to walke in the way of Jesus Christ, but this way (it seemes) they intend not to walke in.

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2 For tying them to o[ur] opinion I know not what he meaneth except it be
that I engage them to an opinion against Infant baptisme. If that be
his meaning it is a most abominable untruth. If that be
to them to baptize their children, I have desired free liberty
not (so free in it my selfe) to procure one to doe it & have offered (because for the present I was

(8) Hee passeth by his Expressions of falsifying the glory of the Sacred Majesty of God,
he sayth that wee boast of o[ur] selves, as to be S[ain]ts & that wee know that
wee shall judge them, calling them dogs, devills &c — Answer.

1 If they & wee are not S[ain]ts here now & they shall never be S[ain]ts hereafter.

2 If any were so pharisaicall as to boast of their S[ain]tship & vilify others
I shall much suspect their sincerity, I doe not justifie them therein, yet I know
no such thing of any of o[ur] members, nay I am confident of the contrary. I know
was concerned when all these untruths were framed on the devills Anvill
who is a liar & the father thereof. — o where
wherewith wee are charged in the letter. — Thus have I answered some of the p[ar]ticulars
& hope the Lord will give you a
spirit of judgment to distinguish in yo[ur] thoughts betwixt truth & falshood
in this & the former letter that was written unto you. S[i]r I beseech you
pardon my tedious writing (in folio) unto you, resolving hereafter (though
I hope to be more frequent yet) not to be so large & brabblesome ~~[illegible]~~ as now I
am constrained to bee. Col: Taylor is now at London & his [redacted] Lady
[redacted] is here at Sallbedwyn very weake. Wee should be much gladded
if the Lord would give you an opportunity to [redacted] come to speake in some
of o[ur] pure & fresh aire. I pray you (if you please to honour mee with
a few lines from you) to let mee know ~~[illegible]~~ it is with you in yo[ur] health.
I had hoped by this time to have heard of the Enlargem[en]t & Explanation
of yo[ur] Aphorismes. I beseech you (if your kinsman come or write unto
you) to deale plainly with him. I should bee glad to see the proposition you
mention for a moderate way of Reformation, If you have any by you I desire
you to send mee one. My dearest love & service to you, with my prayers
for you, earnestly desiring you to bee a Remembrancer at the throne of
grace for him who is

Yo[ur] younger brother ye weakest & un-
worthiest of all ye Ministers of Jesus
Christ R Swayne

Sallbedwyn ye 27th
of January 52.

When you see Capt. Woodward present my kinde respects
unto him.

Sr

Wee whose names are subscribed (though unknowne to yo) being Members of ye Congregation at Clyroe make bold to certifie unto yow that there was lately a Conference betwixt or Pastor & severall of ye persons of Clyroe at Mr Chambers house where ye severall Particulers of ye letter sent unto yow by Mr Chambers were examined & not any one of those many things he therein gives as a Charge against those wch he termes Separatists (but what is in this letter acknowledged) could be made good & this we testifie as in ye presence of ye Lord whoe were then present.

Yors in or head

David Jenk.s

Lewis Pughe

Thomas Pugh

To his most deare & much honour=
=ed friend Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of the Gospell at Keder=
minster in the County of Worcester

Theese psent

No 163

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Reverend and deare Brothr

I doe heartily thanke yu both for yr booke wch I receaved fro Mr Underhill, and for yr papers wch I returned to Mr Grove and sent him then a lettr wth one inclosed to yr selfe. he beinge lately returned home tells me yt yt lettr never came to his hand, and so I believe mine to yu is lost. There are some pticulrs in yr paper wch are not so satisfactory as ye rest. yu seeme to make ye Jewes not to be so notoriously ungodly as ye pphets represent them. when they call ye rulrs rulrs of Sodom and ye people ye people of Gomorrah and say they did justify Sodom and outgoe ye infamousest sinners in their sinninge; I cannot ~~but~~ thinke yt yu qualify their sinfullnesse somewt too much. all ye pphets ~~[illegible]~~ doe so charge them wth high & generall sinninge yt I thinke wt yu say there will ly open to contradiction. Allthough I would have all that may bee said in answere to yt wch (as yu say) is ye considerablest objection yet it were bettr to leave out wt is so questionable at least. that I that will bee most offensive and be accounted little lesse then a contradiction of all yu plead for before is yr makinge customary grosse sins consistent wth Godlynesse, & yt part of yr writinge (as I suppose) will inevitably offend, both to ye hardeninge of those yt oppose in this controversy, and to ye weakeninge of ye hands of all who doe set upon reformation herein. I believe wt yt yu say yt wilfully Godly men, when they doe as ye ungodly, should be used as such; and I am confident yt Church-indulgence is the cause of yt swearinge in Scotland wch is their reproach & ye griefe of their friends. I could wish or revilinge wch is ye sin & shame of ye age were set out more in its sinfullnesse, & yt ye Church would not downe wth that neither, and I should hope God would blesse yt holy severity. The D says of revilers as well as Drunk: yt they must not enter his K: 1 Cor. 6.10. I feare ye restrictions aftrwd will not sufficiently prevent wt unhappy use ye generality of men (whose outward quiet will be setled by a larger way) will make of yt pt of yr paper. yu put it past contrad: yt pfession should be a pbable one and therein have done more to ye solution of this question then ever I saw before, and those yt have observed Xtians in England never saw I thinke one sweareinge Xtian there. nor one yt hath longe held off family dutyes and ye man yt will rathr bee out of Church-comunion then keepe up pray there, is not worthy of ye priviledge. yu know mens charityes must bee swayed by their judgements, and I am sure all judgmts & small charityes of men will never be just of ye same size. I perceive Mr Firmin yields to a moderate way, middlinge it betwixt ye rigor of some & ye unreasonable latitude of ye othrs. Mr Hooker seemes moderate also and feareful of puttinge ye veryest weaklinge in Xtianity by. It would be to ye greater shame of ye Ch: to fill it wth those ~~[illegible]~~ who would be its shame and reproach of it, & considerably would in pbability necessitate ye Ch: to be suddenly rid of them againe. yu say in one pt of yr papers yt there would not be many found notoriously ungodly amongst or people, but truly Sr the greatr part of my poore people

yt will have their Children baptized have instruction, & are as ignorant of
Xtianity I meane of ye plainest principles (wch they have heard of mee I believe
a hundred times) as if they had never heard of them. I did not thinke rationall
creatures subiect to so grosse, & affected ignorance. they seeme to be affraid
of knowledge lest it should force them upon holynesse, & unlesse I will baptize
them in all hast away they run to some idle drunken fellowes, and thinke all
well enough. deare Sr it is not my case alone, allthough my predecessor
preacht not once in many yeares, and left mee a poore people in a very sad
condition. I doe dearely love moderation and it would not a little lessen
my reproach and hatred could I but in this one particular come downe to
ye people; but I am affraid of sinfull complyance. Allthough there are
somethings in yr paper about castinge out of a particular Ch: & not out of ye
universall wch I had not observed before, and had found others agst it yet I am
perswaded by wt you say yt it is as you write. I hope yr papers would be
of exceedinge use to ye clearinge of this practicall, & so more profitable
controversy, if you would lay by only ye part of it wch I am confident would
worke effects wch you would not have it, & but under wch you have so much sound
strong evidence confirmed, at least in ye apprehensions of many good men.
If you did disswade from rigid exaction of strong probabilityes, and prove
yt weaker probabilityes might serve ye turne, I should hope it would be more
to Gods glory, ye use & benefite of ye Ch: and a very great service to this
generation. Mr Grove tells mee that you left it to mee to make publicke if I
saw good; I doe heartily thanke you for yr love, and but yt I believe it
would be better if you put it forth yrselfe wth some quickeninge preface to perswade
to some more tendernesse & studiousnesse in this matter, or else I should very
thankfully take yr grant. I have lately spoke wth some of ye Godlyest
neighbour ministers in our parts, and they are very thoughtfull about this matter,
and have desired mee to presse you further herein. You may doe farre more
good in this matter then another man, notwithstandinge all ye slightings and
fowle words of those adversaryes who have not gaind their ends. You know wt an importunate
disswader of you I have bin from controversyes and I do still heartily
wish you through them; but I hope this is such yt you will have more then
ordinary comfort in. Deare Sr you see I have taken ye liberty to tell
you my thoughts wch I leave wth you & doe commend you to ye direction of Christ
this and all yr affaires. I was not a little glad to understand by Mr Grove
yt the Lord had restored you to a greater measure of health then my hopes did
reach to; the Lord continue, and increase it, and teach you wt a worke he would
have it imployed in. Our generall meetinge is in ye beginninge of May and
one businesse wee are upon is whether ministers may doe any thinge alone. I
know you looke not upon Elders as Ch: officers jure divino, and therefore upon
that ground may assert it to be wholy and soly in ye ministers; but if
you have any argument yt may hold wth those yt are of another mind, I pray
you spare them mee, and ye exposition you judge most suitable to ye text
1 Tim. 5. 17. whether yt of Mr Medes or wt other. I was very glad of ye faire
dealinge you use to my deare friend and brother Mr Jessop, who told me
he left out a more bitinge passage of yours then those wch he put downe. I believe
now Mr Woodbridges papers are cominge forth, you will find there somewhat
more to vindicate [illegible] from ye opinion then Mr Jessop hath said. I was
about to write to you to prevent any hard words, to him whom I take to be
one of ye holyest, quietest, good men yt these parts doe yield. Deare Sr
The God of all mercy bee wth you & I once put you upon those kinds of labours

that may be of most benefit and use to his people. many godly men hereabout doe longe for more of yr practicall writeings. Mr Grove remembrs his love to yu. I should be glad to heare from yu wt yu doe about yr papers at yr leasure if yu have any. I am

Dunhead. March. 1.

Yr very thankfull and much
obliged brothr Peter Ince.

For his reverend and worthily
respected brother Mr Richard
Baxter minister
of Ct at
Kidderminster

(N 168)

Reverend and deare Sr

I returned yw an answere to yr last to mee, wherein yw wrote somewt about Mr Hotchkis his papers. I writte to yw since that, but that (through the faultynesse of one whom I trusted to) miscarryed. I am very heartily sorry to find yw still ingaged further in controversalls, and am perswaded if yw will take provocations to them yw will not want them. I am troubled at Mr K's dealings wth yw; ye Lord make yw mindfull of yt holy will of his yt yw rend not evill for evill, wch I cannot see one good man of a hundred hath grace enough to obey. I remember Calvin would have a man goe to law wth as quiet & undisturbed a mind as if hee had no controversy wth his adversary at all. Truly it were to bee wished yt there were such Licensers as might put deleaturs upon ye many hot and scornefull words wch angry authors overlooke, that although that would not redresse their secret passions, yet they might not offend meeke and quiet readers yt take little pleasure in such writings. Oh that yw would take some quicke course to shorten yr worke of this kind, and follow yt wch is of a farre wider and more extensive good. Other men are more at leasure to wrangle and those quarellsome workes are all they are skillfull at, so that ye Church of God is not so much a loser by their wranglings; but when I consider Gods mercy to yw in wt yw have done in ye other way I wonder that yw will bee diverted. Yt one controversy about ye Bapt of ye Children of openly wicked livers wch yw speake of in wt yw have writte agt Mr Blake is judged by some goodmen here to bee very necessary to have somewt said to it. Those argumts of Mr Blakes wch yw call dilute some goodmen thinke not so and Mr Firmin hath said little to them in ye end of his reply to Mr Cawdrey. The 2 argumts ye one taken from ye grosse ungodlynesse of Jewish Churchmen and ye other from their not legall excommunication are ye most potent wch stagger some who doe heartily stand for a reformation after Gods owne heart. It is yielded yt the Church should bee caula ovium not hara porcorum as Spanhemius writes to Buchanan about this businesse, but how to bringe this about is ye difficulty. I have been desired by some godly ministers to intreate yw to publish yr thoughts about this matter, wch will bee judged more usefull then some others yw are ingaged in. The Churches of Christ I am confident will never looke like themselves till some more strictnesse be used herein: for I find amongst my owne people not one or but many yt know not wt baptisme or Christ or Christianity is, nor will know, refusing, & yet of course would use it and soe I thinke (of necessity) prophane it. If yw will doe somewt this way I am perswaded yw cannot doe a more seasonable good office to ye Church of God, and yw have advantages upon some many spirits that were not be lost. The last trouble I put yw to, was for my selfe; but this is for a farre more generall good wch I hope ye Lord will incline yr heart to mind. Mr Grove desires yr prayers for him & ye rest that are now imployed in yt great councell that their indeavrs may not suffer under such sad disappointmts as have bin hitherto, but ye Church of God may have some good by them. The Lord helpe yw to doe and suffer his holy pleasure and make yw more a blessinge to yr edification. I am

Dunhead. Sept. 5.

Yr unworthy brothr

Peter Ince.

Worthy Sr

I receaved yours of Aug. 5 & perceive yt as your receiving of my letter was after a long intervall, so yt you had not another of my letters sent about 3 monthes since: To yours I returne this Answer

I am glad you agree with mee in ye Supralapsarian opinion, but I confesse I do not a little wonder how you can retaine your middle way doctrine: withall For your new distinction betweene Predefinition & predetermination: I cannot understand how ye difference should bee so weighty I know what Ruth. & Twisse say and do not apprehend so dismall a consequence & should bee very glad to have but one convincing argument for it. For my part I am prone to think yt Prescience, Predefinition, and Predetermination of mans will & doe all upon ye matter come to one i.e. to inferre an inevitable necessity of ye action: And therefore ye antient enemies Jesuites & Socinians seeing this are forced to run into a Scientia media, else they see a necessitation of ye action would follow: I beseech you Sr is there any action of mans will ~~the~~ so contingent yt comes not under gods decree & is not this decree irresistible & inevitable, & can this bee imagined without a certaine determination of ye will to this or yt and those or these circumstances? And yet no ~~ill~~ evill consequence can justly be deduced hence seeing there is a Decree & Predetermination &c yet 1 it is managed with respect to ye salvage of mans liberty (which certainly is not more impeached by Predetermination then praefinition) 2 It is unknowne & so cannot guide, answerable to Non esse & non apparere idem sunt.

The next thing I have to write of is touching yt of collecting remarkable providences & apparitions of spirits &c which I shall no longer waite to carry on in a combined way, but take ye burden of it upon my owne shoulders & by keeping a correspondency with some in all parts make a collection & print them or such as shall bee fittest: Sr this is ye platforme I have in my head, to which I pray you adde your advice in your next; ~~[illegible]~~ to write to some man of eminent worth & activity & to take for his 1 or 2 or 3 counties wch to enquire particularly & activate ye other Ministers to search into every particular business

In this manner: to enquire of every one at Lectures &c what remarkable things they have heard of, then to take a note of them, if they bee in another county, to write word of it to mee &c if there in their own County, then to get ye next Minister of judgment and piety to enquire punctually into all its circumstances & where it may be, if it bee, in gravi materia got such as knew it to sweare it before a Justice, or else that all their names yt knew it be set downe & yt they will sweare it, upon called to it lawfully: Then let ye Minister ~~write~~ gather up their attestations in a short narration, subscribed by ye witnesses hands: Then let him send it to mee, directing it to Mr Samuel Thompson Bookseller in Pauls Churchyard. Then ye Originals I would keepe in Sion Colledge (wherefore I desire it may bee written faire by ye Minister) & print either all or most of them: Now Sr my request is yt you would take care to your owne County & get some one in each of these following counties bordering upon you (to wit Shropshire, Hereford-shire, Glocester-shire & Warwick shire) a man of discretion & activity to take ye care of his owne County, (for I have no considerable acquaintance there yt I can remember or know of:) Sr if you will please to helpe mee by your advise, I shall ~~bee~~ thankfully accept of it: I pray you let mee have as speedy an Answer as you can. Also I desire you would send mee names of those you judge best in the Sacramentarian controversies (for I intend ye studie of them more seriously then yet I have done) Episcopacy ~~& [illegible]~~ point of Infant bapt. onely after I have dispatcht & ye Popish & Lutheran controversy (which I have a little looked into, as much as yet I desired for ye present those I intend to take in your controversy with Mr Blake; for ye rest yt are worthy of reading on the both sides in any other Sacramentarian controversy I pray you send me a note of their names. I shall rob you of no more of your precious time. The lord continue you long in his church & make you & mee & all of us more serviceable. I rest

London: Aug 27. 1657 Yours to ye utmost of my power

M Poole

ffor his much honoured friend
Mr Baxter at
Kedderminster
these

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Worcester-shire

LETTERS
fol. 250. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Worthy Sr 2

I received yours of Aug 31 wherein first you tell mee of one that heard mee speake distastfull speeches of yourself cannot but wonder why it should bee & what hee grounds. I do beleeve I can produce a multitude of witnesses that have heard speak of you with as much respect, as of any man in England; as in respect of your parts & learning so principally (for yt is in all unspeakably ye best) for your piety, publick spiritednesse & zeale for god &c It may bee I have declared dislike of some your opinions, as — who is ἀναμάρτητος: Hanc veniam petimusq damusq vicissim. But yt I did or do so at any time I am sure it is with a very sufficient salvo & I hold it doe never slacken to tell you what I have said &c nor should have said thus much, but yt I was necessitated by yt calumniator & talebearer, whom if you have dealt very Christianly with; I desire (if it bee convenient) to know his name, else I am indifferent; for I desire no foundation for malice &c: For commending books I believe you Sr do not thinke I complement. Though many I am sensible of my wants, & shall never ~~bee~~ thinke it a disparagement to learne of you. For Providences bee commended I go I renew my request therefore yt you would informe Mr White I [illegible] you & long agoe heard it on: Onely I dare enlarge my correspondency no further then one in a County (lest I bee overwhelmed with multitude of letters (My other studies I dare not hinder) So yt if you please to undertake for your County & let Mr Baker to whom I pray you remember mee kindly or others send in to you, & do you supervise them, for I would gladly have all in each County to come ~~[illegible]~~ under a judicious eye there: Such a thing should come but ad hominem: Now seeing you approve of this I will tell you of another designe & desire your ἐπίκρισις upon it: It is about maintaining students at university, but in this manner: That 7 or 8 score pound p annum or more bee raised & intrusted in ye hands of 6 judicious & sagacious Ministers, faithfull &c, who shall with a schoolmaster to assist them go to schooles in or about London & ch out of 6 boys most recommended by ye master, pick out ye two best (to wit such boys as are ~~towardly~~ not averse to godlinesse, nor such as have a sufficient portion otherwhere) whose parents also are not unsound in religious principles, nor averse to godlinesse — That these bee placed under such Tutors as ye Trustees shall choose, at ye University, allowing them 20 li p annum to bee obliged to study divinity in all ye Tongues (learned I meane) & ditto to intend & enter into ye Ministry (unlesse ye Trustees think fit to dispense with them) That ye Trustees or some of them once a yeare go to ye university & by ye assistance of some very able university man, examine their profiting; if any bee idle or disobedient, ye Trustees remove him out & to him yt excells 5 or 10 li bee given him: That none bee taken in upon friends recommendation &c:

For your controversiall matter thus: (1) My wonder is increased: that you should bee for supralapsarian election & sublapsarian Reprobation: ~~[illegible]~~ I suspect you are in yt pure part ~~& [illegible]~~ If not I pray you informe mee: It may bee my ignorance. (2) Surely you cannot but thinke ye eternall decrees of god about ye state of men to bee coëva both in time & nature. (3) That god should decree some to life, supposing hominem nondum conditum nec lapsum (4) & then as it were suspended for one instant of nature (5) & decree others to death supposing [illegible] circumstantiall nam et conditum et lapsum (6) Besides ye reason militates for ye one as well as ye other (6) for god could not foresee ye fall of men, but because hee foresaw yt hee would permit it (7) & this hee could not do, but because hee had decreed to permit it: & decree to permitt ye fall of those yt perish & hee did for some end, which must bee either yt which followes (which I assert) or else some other (which makes god to misse his end) (8) That even sinfull act is decreed you say you beleeve I cannot prove: But 1 That is needlesse

If I can prove but one act of sin so decreed (as Judas' &c) that is inough to shew yt makes not god ye authour of sins, even as when it is urged yt perseverance renders destroys prayers, care &c yt wee shew it the contrary in Paul yt is enough ~~to shew~~ to shew yt fruit growes not upon ye root ⑨ 2 ~~But~~ for every act I suppose you grant that ~~every~~ no act comes into ye world sine voluntate dei, aut efficiente, si bonum sit, aut permittente, si malum. 2 things are shewn ⑩ 1 ~~all~~ no acts are done ~~not~~ but by gods providence & 2 yt evill acts are not excepted: The scripture so clearly & fully asserts it in Judas Absalom Josephs brethren: ⑪ That predefinition & predetermination come to one appears to mee thus: & yt ye one inferrs ye other: This decree (being effectuall ~~&~~ ~~immutable~~) hath some influence into ye act determind (suppose ye killing of Christ i.e. ye materiality of it): This influence must bee by way of causality ⑫ And who doubts yt gods decretum creationis is causa creationis, though it did pro tunc ~~nihil~~ nihil ponere in obiecto: ⑬ Againe: This decree being immutable, there must bee an infallible meanes used for ye accomplishing of it: But such is not ye bare will of man, ~~which~~ (which is ἀλλοπρόσαλλος) unlesse it bee guided by gods predetermining, irresistible will: Then Absalom might have layen with ye concubines or not & so ye word of god might have been falsified &c

⑭ Againe This decree of god being an invincible ~~cord~~ &c who sees not yt it is as strong of it selfe as if premotion be added; for can any thing be stronger than what is irresistible &c 15 Upon these grounds you see all your 3 arguments (however I must acknowledge your acumen in them) do fall to ye ground 1 The veracity of god is no lesse infringed by supposing an irresistible decree of god that a ~~[illegible]~~ prophet shall enunciate falsly, (which was ye famous case I thinke 1 Kings 22 of Ahab) than by a premotion of him to speake false: I need not draw out ye argument for you And 2 this decree equally makes god ye cause of sin i.e. the fact, which is sinfull: For what notion can you put upon it if not yt of cause? ~~Is it not [illegible] in [illegible]~~ Hath it not an influence ad productionem effecti? And 3 That men are damned for not going against an irresistible insuperable decree is no lesse harsh, than against an insuperable predetermining cause

⑯ I confesse all these are difficulties: And who knowes not that there are many insolubilia Scripturæ & Theologiæ: It is easy to gravell any either orthodox or Arminian or Atheist with unanswerable difficulties (such is ye dimnesse of our understanding) in their wayes: wee must say ~~St~~ [illegible] ~~I~~ I thinke Amesius said rightly Suspecta est mihi in rebus fidei nimia claritas: Well then either your difficulties must dispute downe ye decree of god, (and then ye state of ye question is alterd & wee must traverse yt a little) or else what you would answer for ye one I shall apply to ye other. I adde this That a premotion seemes necessary for this reason Because a man depends upon god in esse et operari: I thinke you will hardly say yt a murderer can suis viribus act his hand in killing &c unlesse it bee acted by god, nor Adam have reached out his hand to ye apple &c If all this satisfy not I intend to answer your arguments particularly in ye reply which at present I thinke not necessary

LETTERS
fol.251. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Your Gildas Salvianus is I ſee reprinted, but your printer doth not right for there are diverſe additions, which wee yt ~~wee~~ have your former edition, cannot get apart, as in reaſon wee ſhould: I know it is not your minde: I thinke Dr Hammond did very well in putting forth his additions by themſelves: Sr I ſhall trouble you no further at preſent I pray you pardon my boldneſſe & give mee leave to aſſure yt I am one ~~[illegible]~~

London: Sept. 7. 1657 who doth cordially love & highly Honour you

Mat Poole.

ffor his much honourd friend Mr
Richard Baxter at
Kedderminster
in

B

Worcester-shire

LETTERS
Fol.252. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Jan. 29. 1657

Worthy Sr

3 I received your last & full letter & having with all impartiality read it, I must
still declare, with ye salvage of due respect to your judgment, yt I am in statu quo &
I give you this account of it. To state ye Question it is needlesse, wee are agreed about
that I shall therefore 1 speake to your arguments then my owne: ffor your argument
which you most insist on ~~[illegible]~~ this onely in ye generall
I must professe it is to mee as weighty as to you: ffor to deny predetermination is to
mee to deny ye infallibility of gods knowledge, ye independency of his will, the extent of his
providence, the surenesse of his promises, etc. I am much mistaken if I cannot make all
those out with some clearnesse I meane pro meo modulo: Only I do not hold fit to
fasten those consequences upon you, who I believe are far fro owning them, But to particulars
1 1 It not a little confirmes mee to see yt you ~~are~~ seeme to bee gone as far as Durandus, whose opinion
as you know it hath beene universally rejected (upon ye matter) so to mee it seemes to
2 bee ἄλογον κὴ ἀθεόλογον: But yt I will not meddle with now 2. It is strange
to mee to heare you say that concurse causeth but the action in genere: My quere is
this, 1 whether there bee not some entitative circumstances in speciall actions 2 whether
every thing that is entitative is not fro god? Besides indeed genus is but a notion
& cannot bee ye terminus of divine action, but as god most distinctly knows every
most speciall & individuall circumstance in an action, so hee works most distinctly. further
let us come to an instance in Adams eating: suppose there are 2 trees one to ye North
ye other to ye South, which latter is ye forbidden tree: Quere whether ~~this~~ be all yt god doth
to cause ye action in genere & leave Adam to determine himselfe, or ~~[illegible]~~
1 whether god bee not ye cause why Adam turnes his face towards ye South ~~[illegible]~~ & not to-
wards ye North? 2 Whether god did not move Adams legs so many steps as brought
him to the tree: whether hee yt numbers our haires & our dayes, numbers not our steps
3 whether then god did not concurre to his lifting up of ye hand, plucking, putting it into
his mouth & so far as ye entity reacheth: If you fly to Durand, then we must deale another
3 way. 3. You say god determines not to particular words ~~[illegible]~~ But as there are
distinct motions of ye organs of speech (according to ye variety of expressions) so must
there bee a distinct concurrence, as there is a distinct concurrence unto other distinct
motions & actions, as to ye speech of a man & ye barking of a beast 2. It seemes then
god determined not Shimei to go & curse David 3 I aske did god ~~determine~~ concurre
to those speciall words: The Messias is not come, before Christ when they were
true & doth hee not concurre to ye same words spoken by a Jew now, when they are false?
This will bee strange to make god (~~[illegible] things in one moment~~ quere
~~so~~ to concurre specially for one time & not to concurre specially for another to ye very same words. I must desire
you not to mistake my words as sometimes you do: You know how I take speciall concurrence
4 here: I 4 ffor my Answer to your first argument 1 By secret my plaine mea-
ning was this yt I know not which way god will or doth determine mee till it
bee past, not as if I knew not yt there was any Decree (as you apprehend it)
but yt I know not which way his [illegible] mee &c ~~[illegible]~~ & so this decree is no rule —
nor can bee a guide to him in any of his actions; Just as ~~predestination~~ Reprobation
being secret & unknowne administers to no man just occasion either to sin or despaire
But now where god acts morally &c there hee declares his mind, as in his word, & effectually
determines as to the one part

2 By Common Assistance I meant nothing but this that god munere primæ causæ
is as it were obliged to concurre with (say you) & to predetermine (say I) his creature
to whatsoever it shall do or determine it selfe to do whether good or bad as far
as ye line of entity is stretched. So yt this is commune auxilium: but in bonis there
is over & besides this a speciall auxilium as you well know
3 By gods morall action I meant what is commonly meant ~~ie~~ what more plaine
then this! ~~If god [illegible]~~ when god moves or determines ye Jewes to kill Christ 6
hee doth it only physically but when ~~he~~ hee moves or determines Abraham
to kill his son (supposing Abraham had done it) God determines him to it not
only physically, but also morally i.e. commanding, persuading him to it &c Ob.
But if gods nature will suffer him to ~~be~~ bee ye specifying physicall cause of —
evill, it will suffer him to make such a law, to command it, to approve it, to
persuade to it. Ans: I utterly deny it ~~that~~ that god is ye physicall specifying cause
of this or yt ~~generation~~ act of generation v.g. of Judahs act of generation with
Tamar, rather then another is to mee out of doubt, & surely to say yt any of these
circumstances were undetermined by God will bee harsh: And yet god could not com
mand that act: That god is ye physicall specifying cause of Peters killing
John is to mee out of doubt, for god ~~was ye~~ should bee ye physicall specifying cause 7
of it if Peter had killed him casually, and ye act as an act is purely ye same
thing; Peter did it animo malo, yet I hope you will not say posita hac lege &c god
might command it &c: whereas you say yt I make ~~[illegible]~~ predetermination the [illegible]
specifying cause it must needs bee ad formale I utterly deny this: Am not I the
specifying cause of this or that slower or swifter motion of my horse (as I guide
him, spurre him &c) & yet I am not ye cause of his claudication (which let mee
suppose onely to bee when hee goes fast) God was ye specifying cause of ye
Babylonians punishing of ye Jewes yet not ad formale
5 5. I further Answer to your Question what god doth more to a true prophet then to
a false. I Answer 1 God assures ye Prophet of ye truth of what hee
inspires him (though it may bee ye false prophet thinks his is fro god too. But
it follows not yt a man cannot tell when indeed hee heares a drumme in his
eare, because another oft thinks hee heares one when indeed hee doth not
2 And god doth beare witnesse to ye prophesy yt hee approves it by such —
τεκμηρια as hee hath appointed as for instance when a thing shall come to
passe &c For instance suppose with mee God predetermined both Micaiah & the
false prophets &c The Quere lies (& this I think will Answer ye whole argument)
whether supposing ~~that~~ as before ye veracity of god bee not so far infringed as
that I cannot firmly believe yt Micaiah is determined to speak truth, which
I am bound to believe; ~~things yt they are [illegible]~~ I Answer yes I may know
yt Micaiah speaks ye truth: How. Why ~~it [illegible]~~ by ye event, for that was
designed by God, & by him also there for a τεκμηριον: ~~And~~ supposing that
god physically determined to ye ~~false~~ very words which Micaiah & ye ~~[illegible]~~ false Prophets —
both did speak, it is not enough to know yt ye words are ~~[illegible]~~ fro god (for so both
& all words & things as such are, whether good or bad, as far as they are things)
I must further enquire which are fro god specially &c as approved by him. & so are Micaiahs

words & here is ye difference: Micaiahs words are sic Gods solely. Micaiah
was onely Gods instrument (as all ye prophets were in yt case). But ye words
of ye false prophets were ye devises of their owne braines, & as god determi-
ned them to them, so they determined themselves to them by a distinct &
particular causality of their owne where the sin lay

6 If I adde It followes not because god may sometimes determine to a lie
therefore hee is not to be beleeved when hee speakes ye truth (By ye way
It is as much against gods veracity to determine to one lie as to a thousand
one sin destroyes gods holinesse) For though god did determine those false pro-
phets to a lie (s. i.e. materialiter) in judgment to Ahab who had forsaken
ye true prophets, yet wee are well assured sic gods goodnesse &c yt extra casum
judicij god will not do so, and so hee no obstante Israel may beleeve ye
true prophets. So it followes not god may concurre to ye working of miracles
used to beare witnesse to an errour as in ye Revelation Ergo I cannot
beleeve god when hee seales to ye truth with miracles.

7 7 & lastly The argument for substance is as strong in your way for the
substance If god can & doth concurre ut [illegible]
scilicet proponendo objecta, substrahendo dona, permittendo malitiam: then
answer mee how I can be assured 1, that god hath not proceeded that
far with him whom I think to be a true prophet &c 2 that if god hath
done this, hee is not deceived, if I beleeve upon serious consideration the
difficulty will be as great as in my way & one answer serve for both
Thus I have answered your desire in giving a large & full answer to your
first Argument

For your second Argument I must confesse your reply to my answer satisfied mee lesse
For you say: It is true concurse & permission would make god culpable, if hee were under
the law forbidding concurse & permission &c I pray Sr may not I say in like manner
that god is under no law forbidding predetermination physicall: I confesse a Durandean
concurse makes not god concausa peccati, & such an one you mention, but the other
doth, & I speake according to that hypothesis. That predetermination is contrary to ye lawes
and government of god, which you suppose in your reply, is the thing in question & therefore
not fairly supposed. That I grant yt god is causa mali sub. physica & as far as
ye substantia actus goes, you shall not need to wonder for it is granted by most Authours
in ye world as I was assured in [illegible] & in great part made good.

To my answer sic ye laudability of good actions & no obstante predeterminatione to the
culpability of bad actions, you observe many differences betweene ye one & ye other
which I easily grant, but it sufficeth mee ~~in this~~ that they agree in this, that in
both of them there is a certaine predetermination (call it finall or sapientiall or what you please) which ye creature cannot actually
go against. That ye actions of Christ were laudable in se & properly meritorious
i.e. ex compacto, you will grant & yet hee was predetermined. I must confesse I wonder
how so acute an head as yours could satisfy it selfe with such circumstantiall differences
I see prejudices against any opinion ~~but~~ have a wonderfull power on ye best men
I professe your answers in ye point which indeed touch ye apex of it not a little confirme mee

At the tell it I was seriously imploying my thoughts about your second argument & indeavoured
to frame it as strongly as I could, wch I shall here subjoyne with what satisfied mee by
Answers. The argument I framed thus Praedetermination to euill makes god the discrimi-
nating cause of a sinner & ~~other~~ another ex parte peccatoris, so then, as gods ~~[illegible]~~ being ye dis-
tinguisher of persons in bonis & gods determining of good men ad bona &c makes the
praise of salvation due to god principally so gods determining of man ad mala &c
makes ye blame of sin & damnation due to god principally: Ans. I deny ye consequence
for in malis God determines secundum creaturae naturam & propriam determinationem
And indeed god determines ad actu qua actum (talem scilicet) ye creature ad actum
& so ye ~~[illegible]~~ blame falls ~~upon~~ upon ye creature, not god
qua malum: But in bonis God determines contra creaturae naturam et propriam determi-
nationem, god is author actus qua actus & qua boni & so ye praise is wholly to him:
Obj. But ye creature cannot determine it selfe ad malu, nisi praesupposita praedeterminatione
Ans. It cannot actualiter et complete, but antecedenter it hath an inclination & tendency
to sin, wch is culpable (as wee assert in ~~original sin~~ ye case of Concupiscence) & whence
ye culpability of ye action proceeds: ffor As ~~fire~~ a stone hath a naturall inclination to descend
in it, but cannot actually descend sine concursu &c. Inst. But what say you to Adams
case where there was no inclination ad malu Ans. God & man ~~did~~ were 2 distinct causes
in that act & had [illegible] causalities, for man was not a bare instrument. God determined
Adam [illegible] himselfe, by a particular distinct causality & Adam deter-
mined [illegible], And (wch is a ~~[illegible]~~ rock standing fast in despair of
gods [illegible] spontaneity without indifferentia ad bonum et malum &c is a suffi-
cient [illegible] culpability or culpability as plainly appeares fro ye instances of
[illegible] Christ, such as have sinned unto death, wch instances I plainly
[illegible] meddle with them: And I confesse your Answer mightily confirm
[illegible] Christ had no freedome but spontaneity. Hee had an humane
[illegible] you say [illegible]
will that had a selfe [illegible]ining power: To wch I shall answer, but first let it bee
remembred, that wee are now at ye apex of ye argument, & if this stand, it is sufficient to
acquit praedetermination fro those horrid charges cast upon it & to make ye sinner guilty
before god: I Answer therefore ~~[illegible]~~ If you meane by
a selfdetermining power, distinct fro spontaneity, that Christ could both actu primo
& actu secundo determine himselfe ad opposita, i.e. ad bonu vel malum, this, I doubt
not, you abhorre as being ye blasphemy which ~~[illegible]~~ Socinians, some Papists & Arminians
are forced into to uphold their freewill, and yet give mee leave to say it, you must flee
to this, or else quit your argument: ~~[illegible]~~ ~~(because it [illegible] to [illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ ffor if Christ had not such a power ad opposita, but was
determined certo et infallibiliter ad ~~[illegible]~~ bonum &c then ~~all~~ ye liberty hee had was spontaneity, not
indifferency. Inst. But this is worst of all that god determines a sinner ad libere peccandu and
then punisheth them: Ans. ~~[illegible]~~ In libere agendo god acts & ye creature acts & each re-
taineth his distinct causality. And the creature acts freely to please it selfe, not attending nor regarding
gods praedetermination or decree &c & so is blameworthy & liable to this: Tu quis es qui respondeas deo
which was applyed to this very case or that which was equivalent to it

Adde to this that Arminius himselfe grants yt god decreed Christum occidendum fore –
a Judaeis & simply hee decreed yt it should bee done freely: For your 3 argument I shall
~~[illegible]~~ say nothing to yt now, haveing beene thus large in answering the principall –
For my arguments I shall put out one to which I crave a faire Answer If there bee no
predetermination &c then the will of man is undetermined & hath a power actually to deter–
mine it selfe ad utrumlibet, ~~[illegible]~~: But this is absurd: The minor I prove thus That
which makes ye futurition of all such &c (to instance) of Christs crucifixion uncertaine, is absurd
& highly dangerous, as you I beleeve will grant & therefore I forbeare proofe. But if the
will of man bee not determined by god ~~then~~ & have a selfdetermining power, then the
crucifixion of Christ was uncertaine for ex causa incerta et indeterminata no sequitur
certus effectus: And posito eo quod poni potest, nihil sequitur absurdi: suppose
then (as that ye will of ye Jewes had determined it selfe in contrariam partem, this
you must needs grant possible; for suppose god to do all yt your principles allow
i.e proponere obiecta, removere impedimenta &c though upon these there is a very great
probability, yet no infallible certainty: To this nothing yt I know of can bee answered
with any plausibility or sobriety but this, that it is certaine to god, things future to
us because it is present to god & god sees it as present; And as, when I see a man
running it is certaine hee doth run, though hee runs freely. &c so &c And this Strangius
insists ~~[illegible]~~ upon because eternity hath no parts, no prius & posterius, et coexistit
cuilibet parti temporis tota aeternitas: To this I reply 1 Though there is ~~no~~ prius & pos-
terius, yet there is an indivisible permanentia, by vertue of which (things ~~[illegible]~~
were altogether, I yet) it doth not simul but successive coexistere with ye severall parts
of time, as to mee I confesse Twisse inexpugnably demonstrates ~~& also~~ (who [illegible]
showes ye vanity of that other fancy of Penottus; It is sure, yt if eternity be
to all ye parts of time then all ye parts of time are present to eternity
are relata & to deny this were as great an absurdity as to say Thomas ~~[illegible]~~
~~before Peter~~ touched ~~a~~ Peter, before Peter touched him) and then not only –
mundus fuit ab aeterno (which is a pretty fancy) but finis mundi fuit coaevus (allow ye
word) omni aeternitati 2 Therefore though eternity had no prius nor posterius in
it selfe yet in relation to temporall things it hath; so that, it is true to say Deus
supposing for present ye creation of ye world
erit post mundum &c et erat ante mundum, Deus erat, cum mundus non erat
and if so then mundus erat futurus Deo & because ye knowledge of god makes no
change in things but sees them nakedly as they are, & so god sees it as future, & if god
should looke on a thing as present which is future, this were fingere non considerare
3 Betweene ye transient acts of god there was a difference: for I demand this, was not
gods making of ye world before ye destroying of it: & so was not gods promise of Christ
Gen 3. before his exhibition? If yea, then it was future, & being future really, it must
bee certainly future, & therefore must have some certaine & irresistible cause, & else
Justice, holinesse, mercy
farewell gods veracity, & mans salvation which if it bee not enough to make one stick
fast to predetermination judge you. 4 I adde it may justly bee questioned whether ye notion
of eternity bee right yt it hath no prius & posterius; All are not of ye mind I must suspend
it I pray you give mee an convincing argument for it &c This argument I pray you
Answer mee, for to mee it is very convincing: ~~For~~ For ye designe for ye orientall dictionary
there is this circumstance changed They are advised to put in all Golius' Arabick Lexicon
which will make it 100 sheets more, so yt ye price will bee 50s, whereof 30 to bee payd
by ye time printed
downe 20 at or towards ye end

For my designe for ye universities I ~~thinke~~ have added this clause which I suppose will answer your desire: If any desire that in an ordinary way there bee some students of competent abilities & good inclinations maintained, so as yt they may bee sent forth sooner for ye service of ye Church (after 5 or 6 or 7 yeares spent in ye University as ye Trustees shall iudge fit) & that such students shall bee at ye dispose of ye Trustees to be sent into Ireland or Wales or some destitute parts of England (as ye exigencies of ye Church require) provided alwayes that they shall not bee sent to any such place without competent incouragement, that in this case such subscribers signify their desire to contribute towards this ordinary way & ye Trustees with all faithfulnesse shall dispose of it according to their desires: I rest

Yours in all sincerity
M. Poole

Though I sent no letter by Mr Underhill yet I sent a modell for ye orientall Lexicon which I suppose you have

For ye drawing of them to ioyne with mee in recommending ye designe I alwayes intended it

It is now at Cambridge for yt end. I thinke of Dr Reynolds Mr Calamy Ash, Manton & so (with others)

Sr this letter had beene with you a fortnight or 3 weeks since, but yt it pleased god suddenly & dangerously to strike mee with an universall convulsion, tending to an Apoplexy, so yt ye Physitians gave mee up, but god had mercy on mee & hath miraculously restored mee. I desire your remembrance of mee in praises & prayers & yt this mercy may bee used to gods glory & my owne good & ye good of others

I have got a recommendation for Cambridge. I desire your speedy Answer

For his much honoured friend
Mr Richard Baxter Minister
of ye Gospell at Kedderminster
Post 2d

Worcester-shire

9

No 169

Sr A little before I received yor letter, I was in conference wth one from London
yt was mentioninge severall private meetings in wch they had joyned wth you; &
wn I enquired of yor wellfare, I was answered wth a complaint of yor dis=
4 tastfull speeches of me. I replyed, yt they might better have shewed their
dislike of yt to you yn to me; but withall yt I was not apt to beleeve it: for I
had oft found, yt friends yt deale plainly in Letters, or to ones face, are least apt
to backbitings of any; & if you did any thinge yt way, I was confident it was
wth Love & moderation, & only in zeale to preserve others, from ye danger of my
errors; & at yt I had no cause to be displeased. // As to ye matter of this of yors,
(to begin at ye last) 1o ffor comendinge bookes to you, I must desire to be excu-
sed; as alsoe from wtever may imply any thinge in me, yt may adde to you; & I must
rather crave yor pdon for wt I have done in any such way allready, by yor temptation. //
2o Yor designe about gatheringe Extraordinary Providences, I thinke to be very noble
& excellent, & lament yt every age had not some to doe it: you can hardly con=
ceive ye good yt may be done by it in time, if rightly managed. I like yor way ex=
ceedinge well: Only 1o Mr Tho: White hath bin so oft upon me about it many yeares
agoe, yt I thinke it not fitt to meddle in it, without givinge him notice (by you or me):
for I know not how far he may have gone in it, though hence he had small encouragement.
2o It will take better wth ye Agents through ye land, if 4 of you joyned together, to wm
they may give in their Experiments: If you can gett Mr Calamy, or Mr Ash, or Dr Rey=
nolds, or Mr Jenkins, or Dr Annesly, or such other to subscribe ye invitation wth you,
yt they yt shall be employed in it, may be ye more confident of ye right use of
wt they do. Divers Apparitions I can mention, from ye mouths of ye eyewitnesses, some
Justices, or Gentlemen of pts &c; & some large narratives, I can comunicate to you
out of Wales, but they are too far off to have ye strict Examination you mention
but I have as much. The Diurnall about a yeare agoe or more mentioned a large
raine of Wheat in Surrey; I would you would make expert enquiry after it. This
weeke againe it mentions a vision of Hurlers in Cornwall, wch is worthy yor enqui=
ry: I have spoke wth men yt have seen ye hunters & dogs in Devonshire moores: its worthy
particular enquiry. I can furnish you wth two narratives of Col. Bowens dreadfull
apparition in Glamorgan=shire. I pray get some Merchants to secure you ye certaine
narrative of ye many hundreds said to be possessed of late in Germany. ffor your
Agents hereabout, two in a County will do well. Yor friend Mr Baker and I will
undertake this County. Write to Dr Bryan & Dr Grew in Coventry for Warwick=shire
(& tell ym I desired you, they are my very good friends). And to Mr ffrancis Talents
of Shrewsbury & Mr Porter of Whitchurch for Shropshire. & to Mr More of East=
ington & Mr Jos: Woodward for Glocestershire. It will do better if 4 of you write
to ym all, yn for me; though I know they will be willing to do wt they can wth little
intreaty. ffor Herefordshire, Mr Sam. Smith of Hereford & Mr Woodward are fitt. //
3o As to ye Controversy about predetermination, I have no mind to trouble you wth my
conceptions, especially findinge such a vast difference in or present apprehensions, as yt you take
ye difference betweene predefinition & predetermination to be so small as yt ye distinction is
nice. This implyes yt wee be not sure agreed wt ye termes signifye, & so or debates will be
to small purpose: yet for I will not be false to myself & ye truth, by refusinge such
an opportunity of better information & curinge my error, I shall venture 1o to tell you
my opinion, yt though I say I am for ye Supralapsarian way (as I understand it, yt is
for an eternall absolute decree, moved by nothinge in ye creature, presupposinge no
qualifyed object to ye first pt of its execution, but makinge its owne object) yet this is
only in ye point of Election (called predestination specially by ye antients) & not in ye
point of positive Reprobation, for I take ym not to be pfect contraryes. I do not
beleeve yt you can prove yt every act of sin in specie morali is positively decreed. 2o But
however I desire yor proofe, yt predefinition wch doth nihil ponere in objecto, is equall
to premotion & predetermination, wch is ye causality of ye first efficient cause. Afford me
yor Arguments. And seinge you have once more raised me to some hopes of better infor=
mation, I pray, closely & clearly answere me these 2 or 3 Argumts. The Question is,
Whether God as ye immediate totall principall efficient cause do by Physicall premotion prede=
termine every agent naturall & free, to every act in specie et individuo. Neg. Argt. 1.
X That Doctrine wch subverteth Xianity & all supernaturall faith & Religion is not true.

But such is this of Physicall predetermination. ergo || The minor I prove thus. That Doctrine wch destroyeth ye formale objectum fidei, destroyeth all ye beleife of God (& so all Xtianity). But such is this of predetermination. ergo || The major is unquestionable. The minor I thus prove. That Doctrine wch denyeth veracitatem Revelantis, destroyeth ye formale objectum fidei: But ye said Doctrine of Predetermination, denyeth veracitatem Revelantis. ergo || the major is past doubt, for ye veracitas Revelantis, is ye very formall object of faith. The minor is thus proved; That Doctrine wch teacheth us yt God not only may determine ye Will and tongue & pen of man to false enunciations, but alsoe yt he actually doth, as ye first efficient cause so determine all Wills, tongues or pens yt ever lyed in ye world, doth deny ye veracitatem Revelantis (as to ye object of Xtian faith): But such is ye Doctrine of ~~Phy~~ predetermination in Question (maintained by Rutherford, Twiss & ye Dominicans except ye Jansenians) ergo || The minor is matter of fact & beyond dispute. Its knowne yt this is ye opinion maintained by ym, yt its impossible for ye will, or tongue or pen, to choose, speake or write yt wch is false, but by ye said efficient premotion & predetermination of God, predetermininge not indeed to a lye as a lye, but to ye enunciation or pticular words wch are false & so ye matter of ye lye. The major is most evident in ye termes of contradiction. I suppose we are agreed wt veracity of God is, & wt his Revelation of ye materiall object of faith is. Gods veracity is his Truth telling: exprest thus by ye Apostle [God yt canot lye]. His knowinge truth is not ye formall object of or faith, but his truth in speakinge. God is not a voice: ergo he useth none but a created voice. His Revelation is 1o Intrinsicke to ye inspired Prophetts, wch is by ye impress on ye intellect & ye will, causinge a determination of ye one to conceive ye propositions, & of ye other to adhere to ye matter as good. 2o Extrinsicke 1o by ye voice 2o or pen of Angells Prophetts, Apostles or Christ himselfe. For we know not their inspirations, but by their expressions; so yt ye Scripture & ye Preachinge of those inspired ones, is this Divine Revelation to ye rest of ye world. Beinge (I doubt not) thus agreed on ye sence of ye termes, veracitas Revelantis, ye contradiction is evident. Veracity & falsity are contrary: & he yt revealeth ye Quod falsum, though not quâ mendacium, is not verax or to be credited. In forme thus. If ye veracitas Revelantis be nothinge else but ye necessary or infallible Divine determination of ye will & tongue or pen of ye instrument (Christ, Prophet or Apostle) to ye truth, yn he yt saith God may determine ye will tongue & ye pen of man to falshood, doth deny ye veracity of ye Revealer. But ye Antecedt is most certaine, ergo so is ye Consequence. For ye Antecedt as its unquestionable, so it were sufficient if I could not prove ye Identity, but only ye inseparability of divine veracity ad hominem, & of ye said determination And this inseparability none can deny. If God may determine irresistibly ye will & tongue of Xt & pen of Apostles to false enunciations, yn he is not true to us in Revealing his will; for this is his Revelation: he speaks not to us immediately from heaven, & ergo ye truth of this, is ye truth of his Revelation. As for ye Consequence, I need not prove it. He yt denyeth ye certainty of true determination, must needs deny ye veracity, if they are all one or inseparable. || Obj: But its one thinge to say God may determine ye pen or tongue to untruth, & another thinge to say he doth do it. Ans: True: wt then? I plead not yt on yor grounds all Scripture is certainly false, but yt none of it is certainly true, but may be false for ought you know. || Obj: We may have certainty yt God determineth not ye will & tongue of Christ & ye Apostles to untruths, though we have none such concerning ordinary men. Ans: I deny yt utterly. Shew us ye ground of yor certainty if you can. It must be by some promise or signe of Gods mind: for immediately by intuition you see it not: And you are still uncertaine whether ye signe or promise be true: for for ought you know God did predetermine ye penman or speaker to an untruth. Once deny yt God canot lye, yt is yt he canot determine a messenger of his to untruth, & ye Divine veracity is gone, & ye formall object of all divine faith is gone. And once conclude, yt he may determine any other man to untruth, yea yt there was never lye spoken or wrote in ye world, but God was ye chiefe cause by determination to ye matter of it, & its impossible to prove an exception for Apostles: for if God so determine all ye world to untruth, or any other you know not but he may do so by ym. For if it agree with his nature, we have no security agt ye fact. Gods nature is or first security. And yt he doth it not to a lye as a lye, is no security to or faith: for all or Question is, whether this enunciation e.g. be true [He yt beleiveth shall not perish: Christ is ye Redeemer &c] And if God can cause an Apostle to speake those words wn they are false, yn I know not wn they are true, though he cause ym not quâ false. || But indeed its a futile distinction & assertion, to say God determineth ym to speake verba quâ falsa & not quâ falsa. If quâ falsa meane but yt ye falsity, is not as such ye object of Divine volition, no more is it of ye lyer. For it is not quâ falsum no more yn quâ malum, yt men choose & love a falshood. If it meane yt falshood as such is not ye effect of Gods determination, no more is it of mans, if falshood be nothinge:

but if any thinge, it is ye effect of ye cheife cause, more yn ye instrumentall: & if a defect, it is more
to be ascribed, to ye cheife cause yt could heale it, yn to ye determined inferior cause, yt could not heale
it, nor yet prevent ye determination to ye defectiue matter. || But this last will better appeare in
my 2d Argument, wch is a comon one. ||

Arg. 2. That Doctrine wch makes God ye cause, & principall cause of sin, & of all sin, is not
true, or of God: But such is ye doctrine of predetermination afore recited. ergo. I am satis
fyed of ye truth of ye major, & will dispute wth no man yt is agt it, in order to my informa
tion. || The minor I proue thus: That Doctrine wch makes God ye principall cause of the
Law, & of ye individuall fact, wth all its circumstances, doth make him ye principall cause
of ye sin: But such is ye doctrine of predetermination opposed. ergo || The minor is past doubt.
The opposed Doctrine is, yt God doth not only make a Law to forbid & condemne sin, E.g.
Lyinge, Adultery, hatred of God &c; (wch we all grant) but alsoe yt he determineth the
will & members to ye act hic et nunc in all its reall circumstances. E.g. The man is
deliberatinge wth a harlott before him, whether he shall comitt adultery or no: his will
is undetermined: at last he determineth will & members to comitt ye fact: this way, say
or aduersaryes, by Divine insuperable premotion & predetermination, without wch he could not
possibly haue so determined, & wch wch he could not choose, & under wch as ye first cau
sality, his owne was but second as moued by it. So if a man be deliberatinge whether
he shall speake these words or no [Christ is not ye Son of God] if he speake ym, say they
it was God as ye first predetermininge efficient cause, yt insuperably premoued him to it. & so
of ye rest. The major I proue: If there be no way of causinge sin, but only by
causinge ye Law & ye fact, yn he yt causeth both ye Law & ye fact, as ye principall insup=
able cause, doth cause sin as such a cause. But ye Antecedent is true: ergo. 2o If man be
ye cause of sin, eo nomine, bec he is ye (less principall) cause of ye fact wch is contrary to
ye Law, yn God is ye principall cause of sin, eo nomine bec he is ye principall cause of ye
fact wch is contrary to Law: But ye Anteced is granted. ergo. || 3o He yt causeth ye fundamentum
causeth ye Relation, & specially if he alsoe cause ye subject, relate & correlate: But
accordinge to ye doctrine of ye foresaid predetermination, God causeth ye fundamentum (yea
ye subject &c) ergo. Here I take it for granted, yt sin is ye transgression of ye Law, & yt
ye forme of it, is ye relation of disconformity, & yn all's out of doubt. || As for ym yt
deny ye forme to be Relatiue, & make it priuatiue in ye matter as antecedt to ye Relation,
ye case comes all to one. for he yt is ye naturally=necessary first cause of ye entity, without
wch there is a naturall impossibility yt any other cause can produce it, is alsoe ye principall
cause of ye priuation, (so far as it hath any cause): But God is &c: ergo. Note here, yt I do not
make it ye consequent of yor predetermination, yt God is a sinner (for I know yt non=ob=
ligation will acquitt him from yt) but only yt he is ye cause & cheife cause of sin itselfe in
ye creature. || Arg. 3m. If ye Doctrine of predetermination be true yn God will
damne ye most of ye world, bec they are not Gods, or bec they overcome not God, insup=
ably determininge their wills & members to facts wch he forbiddeth: But ye Consequt
is false. ergo so is ye Antecedt. The consequence of ye major is plaine: To be ye prin=
cipall determiner is to be God: to be a determiner without a predetermininge cause is to
be God; accordinge to their Doctrine. And God damneth most of ye world, for not deter=
mininge their owne wills to faith, loue &c without a predetermininge cause. (for if he pre=
determine ye thing is done). To determine or wills agt ye predetermininge cause is a con=
tradiction, impossibility, or overcominge of God: And yet, accordinge to ye predeterminants
most men are damned for not determininge their owne wills, agt ye predetermininge
insuperable cause. ergo. || In one word if I euer understood their doctrine, they putt
God in ye shape of ye Devill, & make him ye only efficient principall insuperable cause of
all sin, for matter & forme, so far as its capable of a cause, & make this ye [illegible] of his
Law, & ye course of his Judgments, & ye sence of ye message wch ymsel. haue to deliuer from
him to ye people [It is as naturally impossible for any second cause to determine itselfe
without ye physicall efficient predetermininge motion of God ye first cause, as it is to be God,
or to overcome God: But if you will do this you shall be saued, if not you shall be damned]
If they preach accordinge to their doctrine, I thinke they must say to ye most [Overcome
Gods omnipotent premotion & predetermination, & you shall be saued, or else you shall be
damned for euer.] But my preachinge shall be contrary while God will use mee [Over=
come ye Devill & yor flesh & you shall be saued &c]. || Sr I craue yor speedy & cleere
answere: for if I had not taken it to be my duty to take this aduantage to be in=
formed wt you can say agt my opinion, lest I be guilty of refusinge offered light,
I should not haue putt you & myselfe to this trouble. I am

yor Brother

Ri: Baxter

August 31.
1657.

Postscript.

If you thinke I speake too eagerly about these matters. I pray know 1o yt to me it is ye greatest matter in ye world. All my Christianity, beliefe of God & hopes of salvation lye upon it. 2o I was just begining wn yors diverted me, to confute an Infidell yt hath written agt me a booke called Fides Divina, & presumed to present two to ye Court, one to a Chaplaine (Mr White) & another ——— where I had hoped he durst not have presumed. And truly I would not for all this world, & ten thousand such worlds, yt I had no better grounds yn yors of Predetermination, to furnish me agt this wretched Apostate, yt poureth out reproaches agt ye Scripture & all offices yt are pretended from it, & conclusions raised from its Authority. I may so at least expect hereafter yor charity & patience towards us yt differ from you, in points yt seeme so momentous to us, as long as they seeme but niceties to you. ||

To my Reverend Brother Mr Mathew
Poole Preacher of the Gospell in
London
These d.d.

Deare Brother
In return to yor last I shall take leave to begin with yor answere to my Argumts agt the
Dominican Predetermination, lest ye mixinge of other matters should turne you from this, or occasion
ye shortninge of yor reply herein. And againe I intreate you to let yor next be ye more full & pla
because it is a Question of so great moment, as yt all my Hopes & Religion lyes upon it; & ye first d
ment is to me of such consequence, yt yet ye Question before me seemes to be, Whether I shall be a Xtia
or believe this Predetermination (formerly described). I sticke more on ye first Argumt yn any, thoug
much on ye rest. To yor Answere I desire you by ye next to tell me, whether really it satisfye yor sel
I shall tell you why it satisfyeth not me. 1o When you thinke yt ye difficulty is ye same upon ye ac
knowledgmt of Concourse, I deny it utterly, & ye reason of my denyall is evident (as yor proofe
none) because Concurse causeth but ye action in genere, affordinge strength in potentia et actu suffic
indifferently to speake this word or another word, to Will or to Nill, & so doth not specifye ye mo
action, & make it to be either false or a lye; much less doth it specifye it, as ye first & principa
cause of yt specification. But Physicall Predetermination doth specify it as ye principall causalit
And surely rather yn I would let goe ye formale objectum fidei, I would deny concurse itselfe as fa
as Durandus did. And I must say yt I never saw A Dola's Argumts well answered: & yet I thin
ye point is out of humane reach: And Strangius seemes to me to meane as Durandus doth, whil
he seemes to differ (perhaps to avoid ye imputation of singularity). Baronius in his Metaphysicks
speaks also Durandus's sence in ye maine, while he seemes to oppose him. But still wch ever
these wayes we goe (or more fitly confess ye point unrevealed) it is but a kind of universall
sality yt we ascribe to God, as to a lye, or so much as shall cause ye words as words, but not determ
ye will or tongue as ye first cause to those particular words yt are false, rather yn others. Whe
ye will is deliberatinge whether ye tongue shall say [There is no God: or Christ cast out Devi
by Beelzebub] God doth not turne ye scales & determine ye will & tongue to speake those words
But only affords sufficient strength & Concurse, & all requisites to ye will to determine itselfe fir
And ye Protestant Divines comonly illustrate this matter, by ye comparisons of ye Suns shininge
a dunghill or stinkinge weeds, or a mans rydinge a lame horse, wch have but generall causa
of action wch is specifyed by ye nature or disposition of ye recipient or subject excited. I
would confess yt in Durandus way God causeth not ye lye by givinge life, voice, freewill, &
such requisites to action: & those yt are for Concurse intend no more specifyinge determinati
in Evill (At least I shall not believe ym if they do.) 2o Knowinge yt incomodum non so
argumentum, you answere by givinge a difference betweene Gods determinations (or actions al
& so conclude yt there are evidences of ye Divine verity of Gods testimony, though not of a
ye words yt he predetermines to. But either I understand nothinge of wt you have said, or
you have said nothinge, but wt leaves ye cause as bad as you found it, & leaves me under
necessity of beinge agt Predetermination, unless I will be an Infidell. 1o you say [On
secret & ye other manifest]. Reply: By [secret] you meane either invisible, or unknowne,
cognitum, vel non=intelligibile; & you speake either of ye Divine action as in God, or as ter
nated in ye creature, or ye effects & signes of yt action. 1o The Divine action as in God is his esse
& so is invisible in both cases & knowne but in a glass. 2o As transient & terminated in ye creatu
so it is invisible still, & not immediately intelligible by others, & whether by ye person himself is a great c
troversye amonge Philosophers: but if they be, they are so both alike. If a Prophet can know an ins
ration by immediate intuition, a man may know Predetermination or determination by immediate
tuition: (but neither of ym seemes true). 3o The effects are internall or externall. By ye interna
nearest effects only ye person himselfe may judge, & so may he do in both alike. By externall
may judge, & so they may do in both alike. Nay if there be any difference its all agt you. For if
necessary to ye very beinge of every act yt it be predetermined by God, so yt ye creature must b
fixed & God cease to be ye first cause & so to be God, if man should will to speake a lye wth
his predetermination, yn this is ye more manifest of ye two incomparably. That wch is 1o como
every act in ye world 2o & knowne by ye very beinge of ye act, is far more manifest, yt is, dayly
knowne, yn rare inspirations, by wt signes soever we can plead. Moreover, either Divine Predeterm
tion is knowne or not knowne; if not knowne, yn do not affirme it; if knowne, yn yor mention
its secrecy is to no purpose. God is no more ye secret yn ye open author of a lye. If he can do
secretly, you nor all ye world can never prove, yt he may not do it openly. 2o you say [One
comon & ye other speciall] Reply. He is no more ye author of acts by speciall inspiration,
by comon Predetermination accordinge to ye doctrine wch I oppose. And yn sure, he yt can
be ye speciall (or seldome) author of a lye, canot be ye comon author of it. And if you prov
he can be ye comon author of it, you disable yor self from provinge yt he canot be ye specia
author. He yt sometimes only is ye author of a lye, may in probability yet be partly believed:
he yt is comonly ye author of lyes, yea of all ye lyes yt ever were in ye world, is never to be beli
Had you by [comonly] meant only [by a generall causality] & by [specially] meant [by a
cifyinge causality] yn I had nothinge to say agt you, but yt you are no Predeterminant. 3o
say [One is by Physicall action, ye other by a morall]. Reply. These are meere words without
sence yt can in ye least discover any difference as to ye Question in hand. For 1o actions
called morall in man either because they have relation to a Law yt we are under, or be
we have remotely contributed so much to ym, as yt we have cause to participate accordi
in ye fruits; or at least yt it may be called ours: & so morall signifyeth either Ethical
Reputative. In ye former sence Gods actions canot be morall, for he is under no
but he may cause morall actions & his owne actions are transcendently Ethicall,

Good & holy, as they are perfectly conforme to his owne perfect blessed Being (called comonly his nature); & also as they are Legislative or make ye Rule of morality to ye Creature. 1° If you call Gods acts morall, in ye first sense (as they cause ye morall acts) yn he can no way cause ym more yn by ye Physicall Predetermination pleaded for; wch yourselfe confesse causeth their whole entity by principall & totall causality. If you call Gods acts [morall] as agreeable to his Nature so all his acts are morall. But if you could prove it agreeable to his holy Nature, physically to predetermine ye will & tongue of men to all ye Lyes yt are told, you could never prove it contrary to his Nature to determine ym to it by Inspiration. If by [morall] you meane [Legislative] 1° yt would leave ye historicall & doctrinall pt of Scripture as a granted untruth. 2° And if God can be ye author of untruths, at other times, no man livinge can prove but he may be so in Legislation. 3° And God is Legislator by ye Physicall acts of Creation & Conservation: for thus he giveth ye Law of Nature in Natura rerum et in Natura hominis, without supernaturall Inspirations. And if he be not to be beleived in ye Revelations & Law of Nature, yn not in ye Revelations or Law Supernaturall. 4° yea it would rather follow yt all Gods Lawes may be false & yt he is as good a man yt is most false as another: for certainly ye Lawes of God are agreeable to his Nature. And if his Nature consist wth his beinge ye principall specifying cause of all falshoods, yn his Lawes may be answerable. for his Nature is ye Lex eterna, or fountaine of all Lawes; & he is ye best man yt is likest God. // 4° Its possible you may have a 4th sense of ye word [morall] viz, [Purposely declaringe Gods goodnes & perfect Nature to man]. But 1° so do all ye Physicall acts of God & all his workes. 2° And if you should say yt Inspiration & not Predetermination is purposely to declare this single attribute of [Gods veracity], yts but ye plaine begginge of ye Question. As much as to say [God who is ye cheife cause of all ye untruths in ye world doth by Inspirations & miracles tell us yt in these particulars he meaneth truly as he signifyeth.] Prove once yt it will stand with Gods Nature to be ye cheife author of untruths, & yn you have no assurance yt any act yt declareth yt Nature is an act from veracity & so is true. Moreover all Gods [morall] acts, (if acts indeed (whatever you meane by [morall]) are also Physicall: & ye Morality of ym is but some kind of Modality, Relation or Denomination. And if ye very Physicall acts be ye cheife causes of untruths, they will not be capable of any morality yt is inconsistent herewith. All Gods acts of Inspiration are physicall acts: & as Physicall you'le say they may determine men to untruths: And yn if [morall] signifye [true], they canot be [morall] at all because not true. But if by [morality] you meane any Species or Caracter of ye divine acts by wch those may be proved true, wn others are untrue, I pray you tell me by ye next wt yt morality is: for hitherto it is nothinge to me but a word. // 2° And as for ye other sense as [morall] signifyeth [Reputative] so I know you meane it not. ffor 1° we must esteeme Gods acts as they are, 2° And its more to be ye neerest principall cause yn a remote reputative cause. wt a man may do himself comonly he may perswade another to. // 4° But you adde next yt this Physicall act [is ad materiale]. Repl. 1° If you meane by this to shew any reason of ye difference, & so meane yt ye Inspiration is ad formale, & predetermination not, yn you either contradict yrself, or yeild ye cause: ffor if you say yt Predetermination is ye cheife specifying cause, & yet is not ad formale, you contradict yrself. If you say, it is not ye specifying cause, yn you yeild to me, & deny ye predetermination in Question. 2° Untruth being but a Relation can have no cause of its forme, but ye cause of ye fundamentum, wch is ye Rule & action together, or ye action as compared to ye Rule: & God is made by you ye cheife author of both these, & therefore of ye forme. Or if you'le say yt its formally a privation, ye cheife cause of ye privation must needs be ye deficiency or non-agency of ye cause, yt by naturall necessity must be ye totall cheife cause of ye action. 3° But let all this go how it will, its litle to my Argumt: for if God can be ye principall cause of ye Quod falsum, we are left uncertaine whether by inspiration he determine not also to a Quod falsum & yn it will be no helpe to or faith to say, he doth it not Qua falsum. // 4° you can shew no difference at all, but yt God is as much ye cause of ye forme, in way of Predetermination as of Inspiration. // 5° You next adde [yt ye speciall act is of approbation]. Repl. 1° If it will stand wth Gods Nature to be ye cheife cause of untruths, yn also to approve of ym. wt he may do he may approve. 2° And how will you prove his approbation. 1° you mention [miracles] Repl. miracles will prove ye divine interest in ye worke, by way of signe; but no greater interest yn he hath by predetermination. If without miracles you know yt every word & action is from God as ye cheife specifying cause, yn 1° wt need you miracles to prove it of this word or act in particular? 2° wn you have ym, you have no more yn you had before, viz a discovery yt it is of God; & so are all false words & actions according to ye predeterminants: so we are never ye neerer knowinge yt to be true. for miracles do not imediately Reveale yt God is true or those words true; but yt those words (wch ye miracles confirme) are owned by God as his, because certainly ye workes are his. Now if wn we have proved ym his, they may be false for all yt, yn we are never ye better for miracles. // 2° Yet ye 2d proofe of Gods approbation is [ye convertinge of soules]. Repl. 1° This also will but prove ye Scripture to be of God, because he so concurreth to make it effectuall: But yet we are never ye neerer ye certainty of faith, if yt wch is knowne to be of God may yet be false. 2° And (wch is worse if worse may be) you canot prove conversion itselfe to be any such lovely thing, as may attest ye certainty of the scripture: for conversion is but ye beleife of ye Scriptures & conformity of ye soule therto: And if we know not whether ye Scriptures be true, we canot know yt ye beleife of ym or conformity to ym hath any speciall goodnes in it. Holynes is ye soules likenes or conformity to God in Christ; & if God himselfe be ye cheife author of all untruths & other sins in ye world, yn ye greatest sinners would be as like him as ye holyest saints, & so conversion would scarce be comendable. // Lastly you say yt [All my owne Argumts in ye Saints Rest stand good for all this] Repl. Not one of ym or any ~~other~~ yt I know of if ye Predeterminants doctrine hold. For all my Argumts & all ye Christian faith in the world is resolved ultimately into Gods Veracity in Revealinge his truth & will to man. And so where Gods veracity in his Revelations is overthrowne (wch is ye formale objectum fidei) all divine faith is overthrowne: But by ye doctrine of ye Predeterminants Gods veracity in his Revelations is overthrowne: ergo —. In himselfe Gods veracity is ye perfect goodnes of his nature (together wth his perfect knowledge) from whence it is impossible yt he can lye or be unfaithfull, but is of infallible credit in all his revelations. These Revelations are not by his immediate voice, or ye visible appearance of ye Godhead to mankind: but by inspiringe his Prophets & Apostles to speake & write his mind to ye world. This Inspiration is necessary bec ye matter is itselfe so far out of humane reach, yt we have no other evidence of it (before this). This inspiration doth but determine ~~all~~ ye mind & will & tongue of ye Prophets & Apostles to ye Conceptions & expressions wch they have left us as from God. This inspiration is knowne to none but ymselves. till they prove it by miracles or such meanes as shew it to be of God. And it is not immediately to ye veracity of ye words, but to ye words ymselves yt are true, yt God determineth ym. Now by ye way I intreate you to do these two things: 1° To shew me wt God doth more in his Inspiration to determine ye mind & tongue to truths, yn in comon predetermination of mens mindes & tongues to untruths? & prove it. He is made in Predetermination to be causa totalis, physica, efficiens, immediata, prima, predeterminans, & this of all ye effect in specie wth all its circumstances. And wt doth he more by inspiration? 2° Give us some formall Argumt from ye [more] or from any ground yt will prove ye words of an Apostle true, supposinge yor doctrine of Predetermination. //

I come now to yor answere to my 2d Argumt. wn 1° you say [it is indeed ye considerable Argumt] 1° And yn it requireth a considerable solution, 2° But I stick more on ye former of ye two, yn on this. 2° You say [divers very learned men have confessed their Ignorance] Repl. 1° I remember indeed Dr Twisse saith yt God only knowes whether we have yet found ye right way of resolvinge this doubt. 2° But if I be not Ignorant of such Argumts agt their doctrine, as they confess ymselves ignorant how to answere, I hope they will not thinke it strange if I forbeare entertaininge their opinions till they are better able to make ym good. 3° You say you [see no such great difference betweene Pred. & Con.] Repl. But there's more betweene predeterminatio & concursus, yn betweene predeterminatio & condeterminatio, scilicet ad actum in specie. 4° You confess yt [predetermination may seeme to plead more for mans excusablenes yn concurse] & yts somethinge to make us suspect it at least. 5° You thinke [Concurse would set close to make God ye Concause of sin if he were not supra legem]. Repl. 1° Not a jot: I confess if he were under a Law yt prohibited all concurse, it would: But accordinge to ye Law of nature, by wch man himselfe is governed, it would not. No more yn a Surgeon or Physician is guilty of theft or murder for healinge ye man yt stealeth & murdereth wth ye hand, wch they heale: Or yn a Parent is guilty of his Childs offences, bec he feedeth & cloatheth him & patiently beareth wth him while he offendeth. If Concurse were a Concausation of ye evill act in specie morali qua talis, yn there would be a participation in ye Imputation: but seinge it giveth only ye genericall nature to yt act wch is specifyed aliunde, there is no concausality of ye sin as sin. 2° Of ye Supremacy anon. 6° You adde yt [ye permissio malitiae would make God causa mali culpabilis were it not for his Supremacy &c.] Repl. If he were under a Law yt forbad ye permission it would: But its not true, yt man is culpable for all sin yt he permitteth (by a physicall permission). Magistrates & Parents permitt sin daily inculpably, & may do upon just cause, wch oft falls out. 2° As ye Supremacy of a Prince will not allow him to be unnaturall, unfaithfull or unjust: so though Gods Supremacy exempt him from all ye guilt of a subject wch ariseth from a breach of Law; yet it will not prove yt he can go contrary to his perfect holy nature wch is ye fountaine of all Lawes. If ye Law itselfe should comand men to lye, & yn condemne ym for it, it would not be culpable as a subject under Law; but it would be justly termed an unjust Law. God canot lye, though he be under no Law. 7° You [would know why Gods beinge above Lawes may not as well acquit his predetermination?] Repl. Bec his Concurse & permission are no whit agt ye nature of yt morality revealed in ye Lawes of God, nor agt ye tenor of ye Lawes revealinge it: But predetermination as maintained by ye opponents, is utterly destructive to all morality, & contrary to ye Lawes & Governmt of God. 2° And if ye frame of his Lawes & Governmt declare his Nature, & if ye soules Rectitude be his Image, yn predetermination is contrary to Gods Nature, wch permission is not.

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We see God here but in a glass, & so we must judge & speake of him: And if we may judge of his Goodnes & Justice & Holynes 1° by ye glass of his Lawes, 2° or of his Image on man, 3° or of his Image in his Son as manifested in flesh: yn we must say yt Gods nature is so good, so pfect, & so he is so true & faithfull & holy & gracious, yt he canot lye, nor canot do evill. // 8° you say [I must meane ye causa mali culpabilis or nothinge: wch is beinge a sinner] Repl. And so you seeme fully to grant & maintaine, yt by predetermination God is ye causa mali, ye cause of sin, but not a sinner, or ye culpable cause: yt is, yt God is ye cause of ye sin, but so he may be, wthout beinge himselfe a sinner or culpable. But 1° I do not yet thinke it vaine to distinguish betweene beinge a sinner & beinge culpable. God canot possibly be a sinner, were it possible for him to do all yt's evill: for he is no subject & so hath no soveraigne to sin agt. But yet he would be unpfect, unholy, unjust, & so no pfect Ruler or Governor or fountaine of Lawes to ye world; yt is, he would not be God: Choose you, whether you will call this culpability or not. 2° But though you thinke it nothinge, for God to be made ye cause of sin, unless he be made a sinner, I thinke it so great a matter as yt no Argumt shall ever (I hope) make me of yt mind. I have found indeed Dr Twisse & Mr Rutherford de Providentia satisfyinge ymselves as you do, yt though God cause ye sin, he is yet no sinner, being under no Law: But remember I pray you yt ye Question here is not first, whether God may justly be ye cause of sin? but whether actually he be ye cause of sin or not? yt is ye cause of mans sin? And indeed by yeildinge this 1° All ye Scripture Doctrine & Lawes are subverted. 2° Christ & his designe & worke of Redemption is overthrown so yt xtianity must be a fable if this be true, & so we must turne Infidells. 3° Gods Governmt of ye world & Judgmt of ye world is denyed. 4° The foundation of all true Civill Governmt & Societyes is subverted. 5° And consequently God denyed to be God by ye denyall of his Goodnes & pfection. All this I can certainly prove. But whether you thinke I can prove it or not, I am satisfyed myselfe yt [if ye doctrine of predetermination make God ye cause of mans sin, as you seeme without any scruple to yeild (& ye principall irresistible cause)], yn it is a doctrine wch I resolve to abhominate & perswade others to do so too. At ye best, hereby ye mischeivous Consequence of my first Argumt will follow, yt there's no certainty at all of Scripture or divine faith: for if God be ye cheife cause of all sins, yn of all lyes; & yn for ought you know Scripture may be such. The Councills yt condemned Pelagianisme, anathematized ym yt make God ye author of sin: but wt need to talke of Councills or Scriptures agt this, wn ye essence of Christianity is agt it. // 9° you next seeke to prove yt sin is culpable notwithstandinge predetermination, for good works are laudable notwithstandinge pdetermination to good. Repl. 1° There's much difference between ye meritt of good workes & evill workes. 2° And much difference between ye pdetermination to good wch we maintaine, & ye pdetermination to evill wch we deny. 3° And God can communicate a laudability wn he canot communicate a culpability. For ye first, the meritt of praise & Reward is only an improp, or at least derived, dependant, meritt, resolved into ye will of God as its principall cause: & so this sort of Meritt may stand wth pdetermination: But ye merit of blame & damnation by sin, is not a derived or dependant meritt, communicated from God & resolved into his will, but is primarily from ourselves: & so it will not follow yt this sort of meritt may stand wth predetermination. // 2° If this answere satisfye not I adde yt you canot prove yt ye predetermination to Good by Grace is of ye same nature wth yt physicall predetermination wch you plead for. Indeed no man can know how God doth this worke on ye soule: ye actions of ye Spirit beinge secret to us. And so till you can prove yt this is also such a physicall determination yor consequence will be denyed. For ye physicall predetermination is feigned upon a supposed naturall necessity to ye being of ye Act, without wch man can (as they hold) no more act, in his best condition, yn I can touch ye Sun wth my finger. So yt ye potentia naturalis is truly no potentia ad actum, but on supposition of this predetermination. But ye gracious predetermination is not necessary from any such defect of naturall power or facultyes in us, but from a want of right inclination or disposition, & from a wronge disposition: So yt without it there is a true naturall facultye or potentia, but not a right inclination, & consequently no act: And so as it is not a naturall Power wch this Grace bestoweth, but a right disposition & act, so you canot prove yt it worketh by way of physicall predetermination, seeinge God hath other wayes to do it. And if it be partly by a morall predetermination (such as Gibieuf speakes of) & partly by a sapientiall predetermination (Gods sapience havinge power hereto) yn may it suppose a true naturall power & liberty to ye contrary, wch predetermination overthrowes, & so may consist wth Laudability or yt sort of meritt, wch ye other canot wth culpability & demeritt of damnation. Doubtless God is able sapientially to determine ye will to Good, without physically predetermininge it ut causa prima: And if he be able you canot prove yt he doth it not. Or if it were proved yt ye habituall Gratia medicinalis were given by a physicall opation or creation; yet it followeth not yt ye acts of ye well-inclin'd soule are excited & educed by a physicall predetermination. A sapientiall & finall opation may serve for ye acts if not for ye habits. 3° If we should grant yor conclusion it would be this, yt, As gracious predetermination consisteth wth such a meritt as is communicated from God & resolved into his will, as ye principall cause; so naturall predetermination consisteth wth such a demeritt of blame & damnation as is communicated from God & resolved into his will as ye principall cause. And this we canot

grant 1o bec God beinge only Good can communicate good but not evill. 2o bec though in
this way we yeild yt man might be vituperable, yet should he be judged to punishmt on that accoūt
by God yt did determine his will, he would have these two things to plead 1o yt it was as naturally=
impossible for him, not to do wt God determined him to, as to move ye world wth his finger, 2o yt
God was ye principall cause: And neither of these pleas shall any man have wth God; for all
mouths shall be stopped, & all ye world be guilty before him. || 4o If you could prove
yt all this will stand with mans culpability, you speake so much the hardlyer of God: for
it is much more to cause sin & punishmt both, yn paine alone; & to make a man a sinner first
& yn torment him everlastingly for being so, yn to torment him for nothinge: specially, if sin
be worse yn sufferinge. || To my 3d Argumt yor first answere is unsound, yt it is eve=
ry whit as stronge an Argt of Arminius yt men are damned for not goinge agt an immutable
decree, non dandi fidem. ffor 1o Arminius himself confesseth yt ye Argument will not hold from
fore=knowledge: Its no whit harsh yt men are damned for not goinge agt infallible fore=know=
ledge (though indeed they are not condemned for not goinge agt Decree or fore=knowledge
but for not doinge yt wch God foreknoweth they will not do, & decreeth= justly to deny ym
grace to do): ffor Arminius confesseth yt foreknowledge causeth not ye things foreknowne,
& yt it is only necessitas consequentiæ, wch is but logicall, & not necessitas consequentis yt
followes upon it. And Dr Twisse tells him truly, yt its no other necessity but consequentiæ yt
followes upon ye decree & yt of this ye Schoolmen & we are all agreed (& so Dr Twisse &
Arminius are reconciled). The Decree as such doth no more cause mans sin or act yn ye
foreknowledge. Prove ye contrary, if you affirme it. 2o God denyeth faith to none but
for their owne sin yt forfeiteth his grace. I meane to none whom he condemneth for their
unbeleife. 2o you say [One answere serves for both; men sin freely, i.e. spontaneè, his non
obstantibus] Repl. 1o If men did sin freely, it is not less but more unlike ye nature of God,
to determine man to sin spontaneously, yt is, to corrupt his will itselfe & so his acts, & so to
condemne him; yn it is to leave his will in its integrity & force his body agt his will & damne
him for ye actions of his body so forced: for two evills are worse yn one: sin & Hell too, are
worse yn Hell without sin. 2o But indeed ye answere is good agt Arminius but not agt me
bec foreknowledge & Decree consist with true Liberty, wch this physicall predetermination by God
as ye first cause, necessary to ye beinge of ye act in specie, will hardly be proved to consist with:
At least you will easily grant yt it is not ye same Liberty yt is consistent wth one as wth ye other.
ffor a Liberty from any physicall predetermination is consistent wth ye former, but not wth the
latter. Necessitas consequentiæ is confessed to consist wth Liberty: Necessitas consequentis et causalis
doth not: why else doth Dr Twisse & all renounce it. Now predetermination causeth this later ne=
cessity, past all doubt. 3o I deny yt or Liberty is but spontaneity. Dr Twisse telleth you, it is ano=
ther thinge. A Bruite hath spontaneity; a bruite hath not Liberty (such as we speake of) &c —— ||
But you prove it bec [else Christ acted not freely] Repl. Prove yt Christ had no other freedome
but spontaneity if you can. He had a humane will yt had a self-determininge Power. || So
much for yor answere to ye Argumts. || You next adde yt you are [moved to predetermi=
nation from ye order of causes, wherein ye first cause must act first, & bec ye futurition of all
actions is necessarily to be resolved into ye will of God] Repl. ffor ye first, I shall now say but
two things. 1o On yt ground you know you must make God ye principall cause of all sinfull habits
(as of hatred of God & Godlyness &c) as well as of ye acts; wch yet Dr Twisse durst not adventure on.
2o you are never able to prove yt God is not able to make a selfe determininge will; as long
as he as ye Causa prima giveth it all its beinge & power of self determination, & all neces=
sary helps for ye actuatinge of yt power. And if he be Able to do this, you canot prove yt he
hath not done it: It implyeth no contradiction. By yt time you have truly defined ye entity
yt is in ye species of such morall acts, as distinct from their generical nature, you may see yt
ye Omnipotent God is able to make a creature, wch can do as much as yt as long as it so far
dependeth on him, as is aforesaid. || To yor 2d I answere. If you will try by any formed
Argumt to prove yt ye futurition of evill acts is from ye will of God I will try whether I can
confute ym (Beinge Strangius hath not satisfyed you) || To wt followeth wch you say is strange
to you in Strangius, I answ. 1o Adams will was not ye causa prima of eatinge as an act, but as
hic et nunc exercised or morally specifyed. And even, it was but a dependant cause.
2o I deny yt future contingents are not certainly intelligible to God. let us allow him to know
somewt more yn man. If a contingent be future it is certainly future; & so certaine fu=
turition & certaine knowledge may stand wth contingency. So yt sin comes not into ye world
by chance, but by free choice, wch is permitted & knowne by God; who so playeth no after=game
but wt his infinite wisedome hath judged best & beseeminge him. It is a glory to him to make
a free Agent & Rule it by Lawes; though he move it not by meere force as a stone, or by meere
instinct & objects of sense as a beast. And its no more dishonor to him yt he moves not a man
as a beast, yn yt he moveth not a beast as a stone. || In yor marginall answere to my Question
whether ye corrupt will would not sin of itselfe without predetermination? you say (yes
indeed, it will sin, but not this sin rather yn another]. Repl. 1o you grant me ye cause yn,
yt it will sin without predetermination. 2o Objects & temptations may be much of ye cause
why this sin rather yn another without predetermination: And of such temptations God is the
just permitter; & ye cause of ye objects, though but a blamelesse occasion of ye sin. It is ye will
itselfe yt freely determineth itselfe to this object rather yn another, though it would not do so
without somewt in ye object to entice: but without predetermination it doth it. ||

To ye rest of yt passage I easily grant yt Habitts determine not ye will, but they incline, & sometime so strongly as yt ye will doth constantly determine itselfe accordinge to yt inclination. // I purposely omitt ye vindication of Strangius, because it requireth so many words, wch now I have not roome & time for. // And as to ye passages in my letter wch you mention in ye begininge, 1o ye harsh expressions yt respect yorself, I hope you will favourably interpret or pdon. 2o ffor my Judgmt about ye Supralapsarian & Sublapsarian way, I purposely intimated yt ye names do so ill expresse ye Opinions, yt I need more yn those names to acquaint you wth mine; & ye passage you cite [of Gods decreeinge before his foreseeinge] I gave it you to shew yt I am for an absolute Election & yt I agree wth ye Supralapsarians in ye reason of their Opinion. And for my thoughts in yt point, I would here lay ym downe more fully, but yt I would not trouble you wth too much at once, or divert you from ye full reply to wt is said; wch I crave from you; especially to ye first Argumt. // But I do promise you to give you an account of my thoughts in yt pticular wn ever you shall call for it. //

To yor smaller matters 1o I did charge ye Bookseller to print ye Appendix by itselfe for so many as desired it so; & he did so for a few, yt he brought downe hither. I have never any remedye but patience for Booksellers & printers faults. ffor my pt I gett not a farthinge to myself for any Booke I print. The fifteenth booke I have to give my friends, & I extraordinarily agreed wth Symons to give 18d a Reame out of his gaines for ye poore of yt towne, & I heare some Booksellers blame me for it, as if it were to myselfe. I charge him to sell ym as cheape as possible. wn I deale wth others in London indeed, I sometime take other bookes for my 15th booke wn it is a 2d Edition, but I ever desired ym to sell ym as cheap as might be. but 2o you still mistake, it is only myselfe & my assistant yt I tye to Catechize two halfe dayes a weeke: [our comon agreemt was but for one day at least] And truly me thinks a day in sixe is no excessive proportion of or time. O wicked Papists that railed at blessed Calvin, as an Epicure, yt preached every day, besides many Lectures & all ye volumes left to posterity. And shall we thinke one or two dayes exercise too much, wn we have all ye rest to study in. I am certaine such conference is a gatheringe course. 3o ffor Bookes on ye Sacramt I shall only say now, yt for ye cleere openinge of ye nature of ye Sacramts I know none better yn ye Theses Salmurienses. And for ye confutation of ye Papists corruptions of ye Sacramts, I know none of ye old ones so strong as Pet. Martyr & none in ye world comparable for fullnes & solidity to Edmun. Albertinus. Sr I crave ye pdon of any passages in those letters yt savor of my harshnes & too comon unmannerlines they proceed from no disrespect to yor Judgmt, but ye frailty of

Yor Brother

Decemb. 12th 1657.

Ri: Baxter.

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Deare Sr

I had intended a messenger to you on purpose in order to my present
very difficult affaires, and am desirous that by this messenger you will please
6 to afford mee your speedy answer to the present. Our friends at Shrewsbury
doe persue their motion to mee, and have sent mee the consent of 3
of their ministers &c: Now I suppose you have heard of the suddaine
death of pitious Mr Hollinworth of Manchester, which was past I believe
by that time my letter came backe to you at Shrewsbury; and the
wednesday after I received a letter from severall there, to know of
mee whether I could be free in case I was elected, to succeed him.
I writ to them backe, wherein I gave them small encouragement from
any inclination in myselfe, as also I let them understand that 3 days before
I had entertained some closer treatys wth some in Shrewsbury, and that
I could not upon that account suddainely answere or much encourage
them. I really thought that the difficultys concerninge mee might
have beene a direction from God to them to some readyer & fitter
man: but providence hath ordered it otherwise. they put of their election
a moneth that I might have time to send in a fuller answer, and no longer.
since then yesterday I was informed that there would be a most generall
call, and that the honest party (wch is very considerable & judicious) had
so farre cast it, that they looked upon the place for some reasons in some
hazard if they missed of mee, I suppose it might be in that they had no
other in their eye, and might feare division & put to another election.
Their election is Dec: 5th and I am desired the day before at furthest
to send my answer concerninge my freedome to close in case I be elected.
Now Sr I desire you will seriously consider the case and give mee your
judgement & advice in it. It is some trouble to mee, and suggests some
feares, least my removall should not be pleasinge to God, whereas I
am so straitned in it as to the place whether I should goe. I desire
you will helpe mee to judge of Gods call. whether it be not towards
Manchester rather then Shrewsbury. 1 because Manchester hath
the greater necessity. you know what a losse they have sustained, Mr
Heyricke upon the matter only left, and he a very weake man of body
and altogether unable to beare the whole burthen. the congregation
and charge exceedinge great, the towne all in one parish, and it is conceived
to be above halfe as big as whole Shrewsbury. now consideringe the
supply that is already in Shrewsbury, my cominge thither could be but a
kinde of fuller supply, here there is a roome empty and a cryinge necessity;
none can say they may have some one else more then they of Shrews-
bury, and though I doe really know myselfe to be unfit to supply the
place, yet a young man of weaker abilitys ~~[illegible]~~ then the rest are in
Shrewsbury might doe better at Julians there in conjunction wth those
able men, then such a one at Manchester where much of that
great charge would ly upon him. — 2ly because the ministers there
doe generally concurre in their relinquishment of mee rather for
Manchester. & I doe ~~[illegible]~~ really believe it is ~~[illegible]~~ some of their impar-
tiall judgements. — 3 because my owne people are willinge to have
mee goe to Manchester upon the account of nearenes, and that I might
have sometimes an eye to them to whom the Lord hath made mee
instrumentall. they are generally so well satisfied in Manchester that
I thinke it would prevent clamour and offence exceedingly upon my
removall. — 4 the place at Manchester is not so high as Shrewsbury
is, and so judged more convenient in order to my outward condition. 5ly
I shall not be subject to any others envy (wch I am jealous of elsewhere)
in that there will be no occasion for it by peoples cominge to heare, in that
we are all but one congregation. — There is this only difficulty as to
Manchester and that is that the church should be too big for mee.
I am to preach there the next Lords day, where
I shall have occasion to judge of that; where the congregation of
day will much helpe that too though; good speakinge but once on a Lords
Now I desire your speady answer by the bearer, whether (provided
14 my voice may serve, and I be elected for Manchester) I may upon
the premisses refuse or close wth it. — and if you judge ~~[illegible]~~ the minde
of God to be in it, so I intreat you to direct and perswade our friends
at Shrewsbury to submit to it. I acknowledge your faithfullnes in keepinge
my confused answer to your last secret; and I suppose I am no way
engaged by it, in case this of Manchester was not. if my owne unwillingnes
might withdraw mee. — this businesse of Manchester will I
thinke be soone determined, which if it misse I feare myselfe still full
of scruples in order to Shrewsbury. ~~[illegible]~~ either place knowe mee
as I know myselfe they would see reason to ease mee of this difficulty.
I am in much hast. Good Sr. together wth your advice, remember
mee in your serious prayers in this weighty matter ~~[illegible]~~

Gawsworth.
Nov: 26th
1656.

Your unworthyest Brother

Henry Newcome.

x

LETTER

fol.262. of Baxter Letters in volume she

1° [illegible] 2° [illegible] 3° [illegible]
4° [illegible] 5° [illegible] 6° [illegible] 7° [illegible] 8° [illegible]
9° [illegible]

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ffor the Reverend, his much
honoured Brother Mr
Richard Baxter teacher
of the church at
Kederminster in
worcester shire
these present

(No 170)

LETTERS
fol. 263. of Baxter Letters in volume sho

Right Reverent Father in ye Lord Jesus Christ &c

Sr having read your Call unto ye unconverted, I am
Convinced of ye necessity of Conversion, and since I
7 have bought your Saynts rest, and you directions to prevent
miscarrying in Conversion, there you advised me for
to goe unto some minister; and I have bin with
Mr Northon, And he gave me very little Councell at
all, neither bid me Come unto him another time, and
was very backward to talke with me, whether he
thought I was to young or no I cannot tell, see
ye I am disharteneed for to goe unto any more, therefore
for I thought fit for to wright unto you, (though
you have gave a great many direction in your works
yet I thinke a particular application unto my selfe
it would be better, and if you will be pleased for
to bestow your benevolence in giving a few directions
it will be a deede of Charity unto my poore soule, Sir
your directions through ye blessing of god may be a
meanes of bringing my soule unto heaven, and then
you may see of ye travill of your soule and be satisfied.
Sir I am aboute 18 yeares of age and I thinke
now is my best time for to repent, before I am to much
hardened in Sinn, and if you thinke fit Sir ye next
letter I will acquainte you with all my sinnes, and
pray Sir if it will not be to much trouble tow you
ye you would be pleased, for to write tow or three
lines in answer of this, and see I shall rest yours
to Command

13 Aug° 1658

George Maynard

Pray Sir will you be pleased for to direct your
letter unto ye three Crownes in Cheapeside right over
against ye Conduct booke seller for if it should
come unto my master shop I know not hoe
may open it, I my selfe live at ye signe of
ye frying pan in Cheapside Jackman

I am glad yt ye Lord showeth mercy to yor soule in convincinge you of the necessity of Conversion. I have no better directions to give you in ye worke yn those yt I have printed. Breifly 1o see yt you now bind yor soule to God in a holy Covenant never to be broken, & yt you never let goe yor psent Resolution, & forsake him not any more. 2o Begin in humiliation for all knowne sin, & in selfe-abasinge before God & man, & see yt you be vile in yor owne eyes, & nothinge in yorselfe yt you may be fit for Christ. 3o In this posture apply yorself to Christ: study his Office, & promises & fullnes of grace & rejoice yt you have hope & life in him, & cheerfully give up yorself unto him as to one yt is able to save you to ye uttermost & reconcile you to God & bring you to everlastinge life. 4o Study ye blessed God who is or happines, & study ye everlastinge felicity of ye Saints in him, till you understand & feele yt holynes is not a burdensome course to be taken up for meere necessity, but is ye only gainfull, honorable, safe, delightfull life in ye world: & yn you will not make yor course of Christianity to be a Melancholy, but an active cheerfull life. 5o Keepe out of ill company, specially ye prophane on one hand, & Church dividers on ye other hand, & acquaint yorself wth some sober, peaceable judicious Christians, wth wm you may fittlyest converse for yor edification. 6o Restraine & deny ye desires of yor flesh, & keepe far off from temptations & baites & occasions of sin. 7o Be patient & rejoice yt you have any part in Christ, & are as a little Child but entered into his Schoole: but do not thinke yt you must psently have ye knowledge, & strength & comfort yt you expect. There must be time & labor & patience before you grow to ripenes. 8o Lastly I still advise you to choose some godly able Minister, & in every doubt have recourse to him, & open yor case to him; & specially venture not on any new opinions or courses without acquaintinge him. And if some Ministers yt be full of businese, be shorter wth you yn you desire, be not discouraged, but hold on, & wn you are familiar wth ym, you will find yt they are not unwillinge to helpe you. The fittest if he be a godly able man, is ye Minister of ye Parish where you live. Who you meane by [Mr Northen] I know not, but if it be Mr Nalton yt you meane, & he be ye minister of yor Parish, goe to him againe as oft as you need, for he is a very godly man. If yor owne be unfitt or unwillinge goe to old Mr Crosse in Fryday street neere you, or to young Mr Doolittle at Alphage Parish not farre from you, & either show ym this letter or tell ym it is my desire yt they would be yor Directors, & I dare warrant you they will do it to yor advantage. For neither I nor any man yt knoweth you not is capable of beinge yor Counsailor in comparison of those yt are at hand. This is ye summe of my generall advise to you, in a few words & in ye midst of so much businese, yt hardly gave me leave for this much. There is a prentice neere you of yor owne trade (at Mr Langhams at ye Angell) his name is John Brand; who wrote to me so much of ye very same case & desires wth yor owne, yt I conjectured you are acquainted wth each others case. However beinge in hast I did putt him off wth a shorter answere, I desire of you yt you would show him this, yt he may use ye same directions. The Lord confirme you, yt Sathan never recover you to himselfe againe. I rest

A desirer of yor soules everlastinge Happines

Rich: Baxter.

Aug. 25. 1658.

To George Maynard
(171)

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Sr I have Rec'd yrs, and doe now returne most hearty thankes to you, as I have welcomed the same with thanksgivin unto god and our father, who hath Caled me to the fellowship of his son Jes: Ct our Lord, and hath invested me in this great priviledge the Communion of sts. the Comfort of wch is so sweet and pretious and so great agrace. your free and ready answer, so full of love doth draw out my heart much more in love to you ward, and desire, and hope of further Converse in this kind. upon the receit of yours I did aquaint my husband wt I had done and showed him it, wch he was glad of, and doth intend to writ to you his whole heart, and to mention all thes late thoughts. we judge you have hit right of many of the Causes of his distresse of mind, and its likly also of some yt of gods designs in permiting the same. we desire to wait beleevingly upon him knowing our owne insufficiency to order our owne steps. mr L is so farr from offering you any thing in oposition to wt you assert, that he is, loathing himselfe, for his former forwardnes in that warfare, and spreading lowe in his owne eyes, if you hear not sodenly from him impute it to a present dispensation, his eldest son a hopefull youth of 18 years, lyes nygh unto death as we fear. in the meane time, by these he presents his love and thankes to you and we doe earnestly desire your prayers. he is sencable of the great evill of his separ: from ye Church where he had so good a standing to doe Christ service, and doth se that Satan got advantag thereby. I doe beleeve that Church is much the worse by it, and truely to me, ther is not much attractive to draw thyther except duty call for it. they hearing of thes new thoughts in mr L, did send severall to him to testify ther love and readynes to accept him, wth all gladnes but as yet he hath done nothing at all by way of answer, only then returned his love, and told them, he was waiting for gods guidance.

it is well mr T. presented so, he was in London about 6 mounths agoe, and then mr L went to him and he was severall times at our house, discoursing of thes things he said if he were a member of a Church yt wanted ~~ofor~~ Bap: he would not separat, being asked why he did not accept such, he said being a Pastor he was bound to looke to the keeping of the government year, mr Lambs hath thought to send his pap: to him. I ~~have~~ hope to se more union amongst the loveing members of Jesus Christ, A Church of the reBaptised at Tybbles wch we think to be one of the best, and hath many good Christians, some of whom have been latly endeavering to promote Comunion with mr yeats now minister at Chesson near Tybbles, major Packer being against it, although hath had some influence to hinder it, as yet, but he saith he would have Comunion with beleevers yt are against reBap: if he could but se the Esteme of Bap: in ye of infants, in the meane time they hould a loveing Corrispondancy togather in keeping, as ocation offers Publik fasts togather, at the Parish, and Come to each others meatings and have had mr yeats, to preach and pray at them. but now, many of them with whom we are in fellowship, are of another spirit, ~~so ridged~~ especially such as have had ther breeding ~~with~~ other Churches of ye Bap: heartofore, are so ridged that they would not hear mr Tomes preach bec: of his Judgmt in Tyths &c yea some of other Congregations hear in towne yt used to hear mr Lambe will not hear him now, because of wt he hath ~~[illegible]~~ offered to promote love and good esteem of others of deferent, yea so farr that are some yt any hint of what they accou: a disesteeme of Bap: hath mayd them say ~~[illegible]~~ it mayd them being to doubt ther was nothing in religion, wch hath been a sore affliction to mr L least he should ocation ther fall in yt kind, and here pray answr Rom 14. 21 where Paull sayes it is good to doe nothing whereby thy brother is offended &c. 266

at the begining of my husbands ~~[illegible]~~ owning thes late thoughts mr A was stirred and gave great Cation against them, and could suspect some had wrought to fix

X the same upon (as others have done) and pronosticate &c. and fell a

preaching the nesessity of regennaration and Bap: as to the orderly being of the Church
visable. and against infant B. but after some time and when he had read the
pap another temper apeared in his exspirations in prayer and he tooke a peice of s
from John: 17, 22 that all yt beleeve may be one, and very much for union amongst
all true beleevers, and did not as formerly urge the nesessity of Bap: only may not dessen
otherwise, but wt he said. and wt he did not say. did displease the iudged ~~[illegible]~~
so yt truely to me ther seemes to be an alteration in his mind, but he is a close man.
these things I declare because I so yr soule travils after vnion, and yt you ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ rejoyce in any dawnings toward it
another instance I have, a christian freind of mine whom I have had much communion wth
the lord for more then 20 years he dwels at newcastle upon Tyne, ~~whom~~ his name mr Th
leager, who I had not writ to for 3 yeares. did some mounthes agoe wn my husband
was travailing in these late thoughts, & now his conuerse, bewailing much the devision
of these times &c. he hath writ something against the quakers and is a gentelmon of som learn
he did ioyne about 16 years agoe in an independant Church. and sence that to
and in the practis of ReBap: and grew as he sayes very iudged in his principals
and spirit, now for 3 years last past he hath had another vision, accompanied
with great Temptations and weakness of body. after many letters wch I have
a mind you should ~~see~~, he sent us these enclosed ~~[illegible]~~ Arguments, wch pray returne me
your motion I will leave to mr Lambe to answer the lord helping of his through
your prayers to get above his fears and dispondencyes. and so will cease
to detaine you longer, hoping wt I have said may be of use to you, and so
~~[illegible]~~ leave you to the Church of Christ. whose breaches I mourne for, who am

your unworthy sister in Je: Ct

B L.

mr Alen hath lately printed some
sermonds of justyfycation, in the Epistle he
advisseth the ReBap: to love and esteem of those yt are
godly espesially the godly ministers of the nation. wch hath distasted some.

Sence writing hereof it is put in to my mind to propound a motion to you.
~~[illegible]~~ I presume you know mr A. now if you have not ye booke mentioned,
upon notice, I will send you one, and if you think meete and if it be of ye lord,
you may please to writ to him, and take your rise from his Epistle &c.
aboute the mischeifes of devisions and wt tendancy it hath to quakerism. but
be sure you take no notice of us, that you have any knowledg of me, for he hath
been apt to surmise that, I have ocationed my husbands late thoughts, wch
god knowes I did not in the least ~~at first~~, I blesse god I have no designs in
this world but to serve Ct &c. and to leave my Children in safe Paths under his shadow

great St Bartholomews Close ~~4~~ Sept
~~[illegible]~~

yesterday the Ld: Protector dept:ed this lif,
we heare ~~not yet who succeeds~~. Ric:
Crommell is proclamed

To Mr Rich: Baxter,
Miniſter of Chriſts Goſpele
at Kitterminſter
theſ
dd

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P Post.

(172)

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Hond Sr

London August 1

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I pray excuse my boldness, for it is your
that makes me so bold, I have had ma
of sending to you long agoe that was
call to the unconverted come out, but
case was bad I was loath to make a st
=nder with it, but now seing your directi
=nent the miscaring of Conversion and s
of delayes and the 50 Considerations
to delay no longer, and then yr directio
resolution made me to make a resolu
when I had see don I dee intend to
the directions, but I find my hart so
I can doe nothing, which makes me
for Jesus sake to pitie me, for under
resolved to give up my self to your
will as farre as ever I can obay
comand me, and if you please to doe
for me I shall give you an acount at
life if you thinke fet, and truly Sir
when you know what a life I have le
Dee nothing for my soule, having c
sines as non I beleive ever dee c
age and parentag which is a wond
am thinking that god hath given me o
me over to the delutions fury — w
for I remaine as hard harted as ev
I have given my self to reeding
& praying but for Consideration I
life keep my thoughts long upon
but ther comes thoughts into my head
no god & then I strive to put thes tho
my head and then thoughts com how
a thing that is without begining &
then ~~is~~ if I think of other things
devill will com into me and speak
have heard that he hath don in some
from one thing to another so that I
thoughts upon one thing doe what I can
Confess my sines to god my hart is as hard
and yet it never troubles me thus hum
you to direct me what I shall doe for I hav
my tim to no purposes but have wrought out

I being 21 yeares of age in ffebruary last and did not know see much as the princepalls
of religion my ffather being dead I was neglected & now have neglected my self but this day
I am going to learning mr Balls Catichisme I pray god be my gide this I wish praying you to
pardon my Ignorance & put me in the way that leads to heaven your humble & obedient
servant I will obay your commands John Brand

Apprentise with one mr Thomas
Laugham a silkman at the
signe of the Angell in
Cheapside at the corner of
milk street
pray Sr tell me how I may
send to you the sanfest way

Honord Sr

London August 10th 1658

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I pray excuse my boldnes, for it is your owne booke that makes me so bold, I have had many thoughts of sending to you long agoe that was when your Call to the unconverted came out, but because my case was bad I was loath to make a stranger acquai=nted with it, but now seeing your directions to pre=vent the miscarying of Conversion and see the danger of delayes and the 50 Considerations made me resolve to delay no longer, and then yr direction for resolution made me to make a resolution and when I had soe don I dee intend to make use of the directions, but I find my hart soe hard that I can doe nothing, which makes me beseech you for Jesus sake to pitie me, for under god I am resolved to give up my selfe to your will and will as fare as ever I can obay whatsoever you command me, and if you please to doe anything for me I shall give you an exact account of my life if you thinke fit, and truly Sir I am afraid when you know what a life I have led you will doe nothing for my soule, having commited sines as non I believe ever did considering my age and parentag which is a minesters son I am thinking that god hath given me over me over to the delutions of my — wicked hart for I remaind as hard harted as ever though I have given my selfe to reading & hearing & praying but for Consideration I cannot for my life keep my thoughts long upon one thing but ther comes thoughts into my head that ther is no god & then I strive to put thes thoughts out of my head and then thoughts come how can there be a thing that is without begining & not visible and then ~~it~~ if I think of other thinges me thinkes the devill will come into me and speak with me as I have heard that he hath don in some and thus I run from one thing to another soe that I cannot keep my thoughts upon one thing doe what I can, and when I confess my sines to god my hart is as hard as a stone and yet it never troubles me thus humbly desiring you to direct me what I shall doe for I have spent my tim to no purposs but have wrought out my

I being 21 yeares of age in February last and doe not know soe much as the principales of religion my father being dead I was neglected & now have neglected my selfe but this day I am going to learne Mr Balls Catichisme I pray god be my guide thus I rest praying you to pardon my ignorance & put me in the way that leades to heaven your humble & obedient servant I will obey your commandes John Brand

Apprentise with one Mr Thomas Langham a silkman at the Signe of the Angell in Cheapside at the Corner of milk street

pray Sr tell me how I may send to you the sauefest way

John Brand

[illegible]

ffor mr Richard Baxter
minister at Kederminster
these ddd

in Worstershire

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Most dearly beloved & much honoured in the Lord:

Sr, Yors of the 10th past I received, & have inclosed yor draught of [illegible]
tian Confession, acknowledging my selfe more & more yor debtor [illegible]
yor great readiness upon any occasion to give yor help. / I
presented yor draught at our meeting of wch you had some notice [illegible]
last. And however we make use of & take help from it, yet [illegible]
friends think good to be somewhat more particular & large
in a draught wch is preparing wth Scripture quotations an[illegible]
my endeavr, to wch also they were much inclined. Indeed [illegible]
much desired (and the rather for expedition sake) that we [illegible]
have spared ourselves that labour we are now at, & [illegible]
proceeded upon the foundation laid by you as most [illegible] [illegible]
the offerer, only wth some small alteration, if any should have
been thought convenient; but I am willing to proceed gen[illegible]
wth our friends, & to attend their motion, & to improve th[illegible]
opportunity for the end intended upon the best terms [illegible]
of more readiness as I can; but do want the company of br[illegible]
Lambe in his business, he having not been present at th[illegible]
meeting except by my selfe, though a very good & fit man [illegible]
it, as being rendered less acceptable by his declared dou[illegible]
about infant & after baptisme as not being well fixed [illegible]
either, & having publickly preached that the difference betw[illegible]
is not so great but that they may be
one & therefore is not so great but that they may be [illegible]
for that one baptisme Eph. 4. Wee have had severall [illegible]
wth some of our owne congregation, & such others as they
called to their assistance, about the point of communion [illegible]
issue of wch together wth other endeavours hath been
gaining ground upon the more ingenious & judici[illegible]
as I hope will more & more appear both at home
abroad. / It is true, it hath brought to the losse [illegible]
of the bond of our particular church communion, & [illegible]
faction in many, or the rendering our former [illegible]
table to them that differ. Yesterday in the [illegible]
in a church consultation touching what we should do [illegible]
the future our difference considered, whether dissolve [illegible]
an overture was made for brother Lambe satisfaction [illegible]
mind (beyond my expectation) by such as I looked upon
accept onely the most averse to our designe of general
communion of receiving such into communion as should be [illegible]
judged godly though not baptized after faith, & accordingly
was at first carryed by the major part of those that would [illegible]
in the case, though some after suggestions begat an alt[illegible]
in that case. But brother Lambe being unsatisfied to [illegible]
the office of Elder, his doubtfull thoughts rendering him
as he thought incapable of a full discharge of that off[illegible]
and moving to be taken off that, with intimation of [illegible]
willingness to serve them by preaching to them whilst [illegible]
should continue together; and I declaring my doubts [illegible]
our way of popular government, wherein I was forced [illegible]
brother Lambe (though I did not perceive that much dis[illegible]
yet in fine we came to this resolution to dissolve our [illegible]
church relation by consent of the Major part of such as vo[illegible]
the case, among wch were some if not all those that [illegible]
of our minde for generall communion. Only it was desired
we would continue preaching to them till midsumer

door of providence to let me out of one of them, & have had
many tremblings of heart especially for about 12 months last
past about our standing separate: yet I can say I have
been tender of forcing providence, & have desired to follow it
& not go before it, & have made my earnest prayer to God
~~[illegible]~~ both to discover his minde concerning me in this thing by
plain providence, & to give me satisfaction & peace in
the determination of providence: yet now things are brought
to this issue, I finde my selfe under some more than ordi-
nary sorrow & pressure of spirit, as if I had done some heinous thing. And whether it proceed
from God as a chastisement for any rudenesse of behaviour in ordering
me, managing of, or getting out of that office wherein I have continued about
5 yeares, or whether from the feare I have lest the adversary should
be too hard at this turne for some of our poor weake people & they
should be lost, & least I should have been accessary to their danger, either
by bringing them into the way of separation, or more instrumentall then
was meet in this new dissolution of the church; I say whether my present
trouble proceed from one or more or rather all these causes I am
not able well to judge. But am very sensible that the enemy will
not be idle at such a time & turne as this is. By which you may
easily perceive what need I have of your earnest prayers to God for me,
which I humbly beg. And that which addes to the weight of the cause of my
[illegible], is that [illegible] circumstances make a determination how
to dispose of my selfe for the future in particular [illegible] some-
what hard: whereas it may be at another time I may receive
advice, when I shall have a better opportunity to state my case to
you. Sr I have by Mr Worsall sent you a booke, that by peru-
sing the epistle (if you please) you may perceive how God (as
I think) was preparing my spirit for this thing a yeare agoe. The
epistle for some passages in it, hath wrought sundry wayes
among our Baptists, some being much offended at some passages
in it, in so much as that at a generall meeting of messengers
(as they are called) at Aylesbury about the time of its publica-
tion, ~~[illegible]~~ a disapprobation was passed upon it for the epistle
sake. Others againe of our way have been highly pleased with it, & have
blessed God for it. Some greatly pleased with the booke, but dislike
the epistle, others prize the epistle but not taken with the booke,
so various are the thoughts tempers & affections of such which
hope in the mayne intend the same thing. Its true some passages
both in the epistle & booke were it now to be done, would either
be omitted or more warily exprest. Sr The Lord prosper you
& make you ~~[illegible]~~ yet more a worthy instrument of good to all
sorts & in especiall to

Yor poor servant in the Lord

Lond: 18th Aprill 1659

Will: Allen

Reverend Sir

I had yors of the 18th past, and was sorry to understand
that one so well deserving, should be so ill
dealt withall: but hath it not been wont to be
so? take that draught of Christ, the Apostles &c.
But I was glad to receive so much by which
I was, upon more rationall ground, then
before, able to vindicate you to many that had if
not received an ill opinion, yet great jealousies
of you. The letter you hint us sent to the
councill, was made use of by him to whom it
was sent, in favour to you, he being one of those
of our former meeting for accommodation, who
had knowledge of yor proposalls, & hath sent
[illegible] for you; but it'll looke to the [illegible]
of state ~~and it [illegible]~~ only this I would acquaint
you (but not from whom I had it) that Sr George
Booth mentioned you in his confession, as if
~~you~~ he some that came to him, were either
encouraged by you, or sent by you. &
I see that you desired of Christian accommodation
among dissenting Christians, are stronger
then yet hoped. But indeed I am not without
hope of some good effect of a meeting for that
end of which I gave you some account in my
last. That meeting is now so publick & so great,
and those of such weight and quality appear
in it, that I think they cannot tell how now
to give it over till they have made somewhat
of it. At the last before this that was this day in the City;
were many [illegible] of chiefest note, Dor. Seaman,
of Mr Calamy, Doctor Reynolds, & many more
Mr Caryll, Mr ~~[illegible]~~ Nye, Independent, and other
[illegible] Anabaptists. The result of that
[illegible] was the appointing of two of each
meeting [illegible] to prepare something
[illegible] against this day, at which there was the
against [illegible] meeting, a great many
[illegible] doctor [illegible] and [illegible] aldermen and
other ministers, and severall [illegible] brought
[illegible] of quality. The b. aforesaid
in

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to his meeting 3. generall propositions for considera-
tion & debate, having first agreed them among
[illegible] [illegible] Viz. 1. That they ought
to performe all morall duties to each other as men.
2. To [illegible] each other as christians, and to endea-
vour mutuall edification. 3. That if [illegible] should
be, where imployed to preach the gospell for
the making of christians, and a [illegible] [illegible]
provided for them that attend that worke. After
a long debate upon the first of these, touching the
morall duty among differing brethren that dis-
flow from their different [illegible] decisions and the duties
with [illegible] [illegible] controversily; the [illegible] 5
is to promote [illegible] propositions [illegible] to
the same 6. and [illegible] more added to them, to
draw out some [illegible] out of these generalls
[illegible] [illegible] more practicable
[illegible] might be made, and to bring in to
as to the intended end, setting forth how farre
fourth [illegible] [illegible] charity. And indeed
[illegible] [illegible] so much of [illegible] of spirit
I perceive so much of [illegible] on all sides, that
[illegible] generallity at length [illegible] good issue, if
I cannot but [illegible] [illegible] desired.
not so much [illegible] were to be [illegible]
I [illegible] you have [illegible] fight about ye
[illegible] two bookes [illegible] out against
you; one by Mr Stubbe; another by Mr
Rogers, but they do not [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] Mr Stubbe
about the [illegible] [illegible] a little into
I have not [illegible] [illegible] you
the other, [illegible] [illegible] as if against
by [illegible] [illegible] brethren. It will
liberty of [illegible] [illegible] if I understand
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] any thing that
any thing [illegible] do or [illegible] may be
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] your [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] myself
[illegible] [illegible] obliged [illegible] faithfull servant

Lond: 6 Sept. 1659

Will: Allen

Lond: 8 March 1658

Worthy Sr

3

Yors of the 7th of January I long since received and
since that have seen & seriously perused yor draught
of an offer of agreemt wch you sent brother
Lamb, by both wch, together wth other yor christian
undertakings, my soule hath been much refreshed.
I cannot now give that particular account of what
proceedings have been had for the promoting of
a larger communion ~~amongst~~ with brethren of
different perswasion from those of our way,
wch I would have done, had not the time of
this writing made it unseasonable, being late
at night: and I had no intent to have written
by this post, but upon an occasion wch you will
presently understand. About a weeke since
two very considerable men of our way, at the
head of two severall congregations, the one of
the particular, the other of the generall de-
nomination, came to me, making it their moti-
on to think of a way & method of bringing
the differing godly nearer together: and in fine
pitched upon a small number 6. or 7. to meet
weekly hereabout, wth intent to inlarge the
number if we could agree in preparing some
thing made ready to their hands to further this
work. // The first meeting hath been this evening
at my house, where we had yor offer under
consideration, wch is well accepted by all
that I have shewed it to, only some little alter-
ations, or explanations rather, will be desired,
of wch I cannot now write. But we all agreed
that a succinct confession of faith (such as yor
draught supposeth) will be necessary as a
foundation on wch to proceed; the forming of wch
is the businesse appointed for the next meeting
this day sennight. // And I should be glad
if you have any such draught in a readinesse,
if you would please to send it, that it might
then be made use of, or if not so soon, yet by
the next meeting after. I can assure you sir,
that as you well deserve it, so you inherit
much of the affections & respects of many in
our way, & I think are most like to drawe us
to a brotherly agreemt wth such as differ, then
any one of yor judgment in the Nation besides. Sir
I have time only to thank you for yor labors already
shewed, & paines already taken, & to crave excuse for the
brevity & abbruptnesse of

Yor poor unworthy christian
brother
Will: Allen

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

To his Reuerend friend
mr Richard Baxter
Minister of the gospell.
In
Kidderminster

post pd

Sr

yors by Mr Plimley I long since received. As for the work of uniting and agreeing the different minded Christians amongst us, though the necessity of it every day
4 more & more appears, yet new occurrences seeme to render it more and more difficult. For to declare my thoughts freely, the late action of the Army (though unhappily occasioned thereunto, and they not so good at overcoming temptations as other [illegible],) carries so much odium in the face of it as will render their adherents less and less desirable, if not so say most detestable to the godly Presbyterians, and all endeavours of conjoyning, less effectuall! Though its true too that it may occasion a better correspondence among severall of the particulars of each party, though the contrary in the generall. For however the so called Sectarian party having their eye so much upon the Army as their onely visible security, are thereby under a great temptation to make the best of a bad matter, and to cast in their lot at a venture with the army, yet some there are of them that are so farr dissatisfied (among whom I should be reckoned, had not some of the Anabaptists turned me over to be numbered among the Presbyterians) with the late proceedings of the Army, as that they dare not do any thing that lookes like an espousing of their quarrell against those whose authority over them, they had so lately acknowledged as supreame; and had rather run the hazard of loosing all in this world, then make [illegible] stakes of other mens faith of so scandalous a nature. And at this render the Presbyterians and many of the honester side carried under it thus handed, if I may estimate the whole by what I have experienced in our London Militia. Where, in ~~[illegible]~~ a court or meeting of 55 Persons, 26 dissented ~~about~~ the sending of a kind of menacing letter to Gen. Monk, as being unwilling to do any thing that should looke like an action against them from whom they had received their commission, or of giving countenance to them that did so, especially whilst they were [illegible] enough from betraying that cause so much pretended for. Sr its most apparent that we are falln into those times that are perilous & difficult, and

think, and to a great degree made so by those that
have a forme of godlinesse; the Lord give them more
of the power. And I am much afraid that things
will grow worse & worse, and they drawing one
another towards the rendering ye state of our
affaires desperate. Truly Sr the greatest hope that
I have of not being swallowed up with an inundation of
Judgments spirituall and corporall, is the considerable
number of such truly ones in the land, that sigh and
mourne night & day for the abominations of the times
for the sake of whom its possible the Lord may not destr-
though he sorely chastise an unworthy Nation.
However if the Lord help us to keep our garments
unspotted, and to endeavour to be better by how much
the times are worse, he will either be a hiding place
to us when the overflowing scourge shall passe
through the land, or be besides us ye comfort and
support if we suffer in a common callamity. The
skill of the children of Issachar who had understanding
in the times to know what Israel ought to doe, is now
desireable at such a time as this to those who would not
be neuters, but actively serving their generation.
For one would be loth to be drawne in by specious
pretences to serve the lusts of men, so one would
be loth to ~~[illegible]~~ put things to a greater hazard by
sticking to farre against them, ye wise God knowing how
to make good work with crooked tooles. We are
like shortly to see the moulde of government into
wch our present founders intend to cast these Nations;
It is not unlike to me but that it will be a Senate
and parliament for the legislative part, and a Coun-
cill for the executive part: the Senate to have a nega-
tive voice in matters relating to alteration of Govern-
ment none to be agreed on and in matters of religi-
on, and ~~touching~~ the disposall of the Militia of the
Nation. What they will doe about tithes is a great
question, wch I suppose they finde a knotty piece, I presume
many of them not so little politicians as to farre
to disoblige the ministry of the Nation by rendering
the continuation of their maintenance much doubtfull.
How we shall hold up our heads in this distracted con-
dition in a day of forraigne invasion, or secure our religion
if the K. of Sc. should be brought in forcibly upon us
by popish princes, are things much to be thought
of. It is indeed a dark day, O that the great God
would be prevailed wth by his poor people, to dispers
[illegible]

think cleare that the kingdome of God be not taken
from us, but continued to us and our posterities, what
ever other difficulties we suffer. What ever
evills may come or discouragements may rise up in
yor way, yet blessed ~~you~~ shall ~~you~~ be (whilst found
giving yor masters servants their portion in due
season) for such most worthy work that you may
receive yet a more rich ~~anoint~~ anointing from
the holy one, shall (God assisting) still be the prayer
of

London 8. Nov. 1659

Yo^r affectionate friend
and servant
Will: Allen

Mr Jessy (wch you mentioned in yor last, upon what occasion
you know) I take to be a very pious man, peaceably
disposed, & full of charity, but marvellous facile
and easily drawne in to countenance any thing that
hath a face of goodnesse (as he apprehends) & when
many times a worse heart is in it, he is not so easily dis-
cerned by him: wch I judge was his case in being
drawne to signe the fifth monarchie mens paper,
called an Essay for settlement: wherein they propose
that the Rulers may forbeare to impose any Nati-
onall parochiall ministry, so as to inforce any forme
of worship suited to their interest, or compell
men of one persuasion, to maintaine any man
of another in the ministry. His congregation
consists of Anabaptists & others. And were others
as well prepared for reconciliation as he,
we should not I think be long wthout it. wch
I thought good to note, to mollifie yor thoughts
towards an old disciple whose heart is much
in his masters work though ~~probable~~ he
sometimes mistakes in some ~~p~~ particulars. If you
were acquainted wth him, his grace would more
attract ~~yor affection~~ then his weaknesses & mistakes
alienate yor affection

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(174)

letter betwixt
Allen
Lamb
& Baxter

To the Reverend and
his worthy good friend
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the gospell
in

post payd Kedderminster

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LETTER
fol.276. of Baxter Letters in volume sho

Dear Sr/

Having heard of yr bodily infirmities by yr letter to my Bro. Allen, I was not a little affected, though nothing so much as I ought to bee: wee have lately had many Symptomes of gods displeasure to the nation, and truly I judged this to bee one amongst many others, the threatning of yr life. , when the godly man ceaseth, much more when the pillars of the Church decay. tis time to cry helpe Lord, I dare say you have had the prayers of many godly soules, who for that cause have bowed their knees to the father of mercies, and I heard you have ~~had~~ the returnes of their prayers into yr bosome already to some good degree, to the rejoycing of their hearts, These are to congratulate your recovery, and to let you know that as your interest is great in heaven, so in the hearts and affections of good men on earth, notwithstanding all the foolish scoffes, disingenuous and wicked insinuations of pierce and his Companions, Its well you have some body to deliver you from that curse, woe bee to you when all men speake ~~ill~~ well of you, The Apostle paule having had much to doe wth god, wanted the divell its seemeth to have something to doe wth him, else god would not have sent him of his messengers to buffett him, holy David the man after gods owne heart, wanted a Shimei to curse him else god would not have permitted it, much lesse bidden him doe it, which yet was Davids doubt, , The apostle John that ~~[illegible]~~ man of love, was not wthout a diotrephes to prate against him wth malicious words, But what are these to the lord of glory himselfe who ~~[illegible]~~ though hee knew no sin neither was any guile found in his mouth, yet was reviled and traduced for a man mad and possessed wth the divell, Without the contradiction of these sinners what would you doe to find your conformity to the Image of christ in suffering, to which wee are predestinated Ro:8. and what for a right to the promises made to such, The promises to passive obedience ~~some~~ farre fuller of grace then to active ones. The Spirit of glory resteth on such. The man whose name is cast out as evill for the sonne of mans sake is commended by or saviour who will undertake himselfe to leape for joy, luke 6. 23 To such as had all manner of evill spoken agt them falsly for Xts sake hee doth not content himselfe to say once to them Blessed as hee doth to ye poore in spirit pure in hart, the meeke. the mercifull &, But when hee cometh to the persecuted for Righteousnesse sake To whome hee reserveth himselfe to speake last, and with whome hee concludeth his beatitudes. ~~Then~~

Math. 5/

here seemeth to make a stand, as having some greater matter to say to them then to all the rest. from whence having said they were Blessed hee goeth round againe But to the persecuted for his sake hee pronounceth them blessed with greater solemnity and not only doth hee say v. 10. Blessed, to them, but againe v. 11 Blessed and biddeth them rejoyce ~~[illegible]~~ yea to be exceeding glad and that not without reason. for Great is their reward in heaven — St James supposeth that they that are short of others in suffering will want something of that glory that others will have that are full of them, and therefore biddeth them count it all Joy when they fall into divers of them, and maketh that his argument for patience having its perfect worke under them all. That then they should bee entire and want nothing The 100 fold is the portion of them that have forsaken all, Math 19.29. Those blessed soules whom Christ arrayeth in white Robes, condescendeth to feede himselfe, and taketh by the hand and leadeth to living fountaines of waters, and from whose eyes hee wipeth away all teares. to the admiration of the beholders. who upon the complacentiall applications of Christ to them. shall put the question. what are these, and whence came these. The answer shall bee. These are they that came out of great Tribulation, and that have washed their Robes and made them white in the blood of the Lambe. ~~Revel~~ 7th /

It followeth then that though it bee troublesome to flesh and blood, to bee Calumniated, reproached, and abused, yet all things considered there is nothing lost. but ~~gott~~ gained by it. The Apostle feareth not to say that all things are the Saints 1 Cor 3.2 yea the worst of things death it selfe as well as life and sweetly [illegible] every affliction of theirs conspiring together to make their Crowne of Righteousnesse exceede so much the more in weight and glory, ~~&~~ Cor.

Neither is the reward of patient suffering for truth deferred altogether to that day. ~~but~~ No, such are wont to have some ~~pt~~ of their money in hand 2 Cor 1.4.5 Blessed bee god who comforteth us in all our Tribulations, And as our sufferings abound so our Consolation also aboundeth by Christ.

But 3ly though all this bee true of Saints suffering for righteousnesse sake, what is it to the most of Christians now adays

BAXTER
LETTERS
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~~who~~ wee are in all probabilitie drawing nigh. deepe sufferings
from the Spirit of prophanenes and superstition, but alas
alas. ~~not~~ few for righteousnes sake, but the most for rebel
lion. contempt of magistracy and ministry. breach of all manner
of engagements. Not content wth subjection to any highest
The plain doctrine of the Apostle Ro 13.1 Titus 3d. and Peter
wee like not, The judgmt and practise of ye Apostles. and
Antient Church ~~upon these scruples~~ hath beene too low
for us; wee must needs try conclusions; All humane
judgments saith Grotius is subject to error, and unles
wee will take away all judgment out of the world, wee must
acquiesce in some highest. whose errors are to be referred
to the judgmt of god. Such doctrine wee have derided, till
our sin hath found us out. and though god forgive these
wandring beguiled people their sins, tis very probable
hee is going about to take vengeance on them for their con-
tradictions. gods will be done. To receive the sword
from the highest power is one thing. To take the sword and
use it agt the command and will of the highest power. thats another
thing. They that have done so are like to feele the smart
of it. Twere well if that were the worst of it. But alas
Woe to the world because of offences. An age of holy living
will not redeeme the credit that Religion hath lost
by the late Rebellion of the professors of it. But Sir
what should be the reason. that schisme and sedition ~~are~~
still goe hand in hand as they doe. I conceive the reason
to be this. A new. distinct interest is begotten by separa
tion. which was not in being before. being borne it must
bee kept, and if it suspect protection fro the highest power
it presently falleth under a temptation to force. Not so much
for the love of domination as selfe preservation, the interest
being judged gods, any thing convenient [illegible] to preserve it
This I take to be the true roote of all ye high miscarriages
I am confirmed in this thought, for that upon the forgoeing
force upon the highest power when I have askt a reason
It hath still beene answered. The house interest lay at stake
oh this cunning divell how hath hee overreached mul
titudes

of the most savoury and well sighted professors of the nation who have very thought rebellion to be duty, I am apt to be troubled at the consideration of these things but god will give no account of his matters. No man can by searching find out god to perfection. he maketh his way in the deepe. his footsteps are not knowne. & when I am tired with thinking I am faine to take my rest where the apostle did ~~who can [illegible]~~ Ro 11.33 oh the depth of the knowledg and wisdome of god his judgmts are unsearchable. and his waies are past finding out.

To conclude, Sr I heard this morning you are writing some thing to [redacted] but I hope you'le consider of it againe before you print any such thing thus I find yor devotionall writings are of gt requeste for the present, even wth yor adversaries, I would be loath you should doe any thing to sully them, I feare they'le suffer by such a thing. because it is upon the hearts of all most all men that such worke is out of the ministers calling and savoureth of other boundalimits. Besides I feare you are not like to doe any good by it neither as to the sad condi because by breaking up the last parliament. hee hath lost his credit. And if it take not, you'le make yor selfe and many others the more obnoxious. All this in submission to better judgmt, I have now nothing more to say but to returne you all humble and harty thankes for yor kindnes to mee at Westminster. yor booke of selfdeniall I thanke you for it I have yor two little ones of the Catholick Church and unity of it, and am now reading them, The god whom you love and serve preserve and keepe you. for all evill so prayeth

Yor affectionate friend & brother in
Christ &c Tho Lambe

Aprill 5th 1660

Honoured Sr 6

Thes are only to Craue ye Evidence of your present Conditio yt I & Others who Loue & Honour you, may know wt to Thinke & Say of you when our Thoughts of you are best Improved —

Some say you are vnder Restraynt at home, Others yt you sumond To London, wee yt are known to be your very Freinds are Threatned vppo ye accompt of to much of your pswasio,

Really Sr wee know not ye Man Livinge more Fitt to bee ye Grand wheel In a Reconcilinge Motion; I haue often Thank't God when I haue Mett wth ye best of my Private & Publique Essays For Peace & accomodation better stated In your Books wch has saued mee ye smart of ye Nemesis wch you haue Taken, & Lackt yos blows wch els I had Felt. I Craued Leaue of My very Freind Dr Reynolds To haue don somethinge wth Pearce (more yn his Leysure wood pmitt) But he Coold not but Remember wt I Tould Mr Prolocutor when it Came to my Lott to Answer Miltons Booke vppo Divorce amongst Other dangerous Pamphletts yt were by Order Imposed vppon ye Assembly (viz) yt I Coold giue him ye Answer by an Abler hand, & Miltons Reply wth so much Scurrulous Feirceness, as made mee disobedient to yt Comand you May know Milton, if you know Peirce, Ilij vnum &c

Sr to waue Thos Triobulary Fellows Lett mee Bespeake you To thinke of some way how wee may vndeceaue Thos More Eminent Persons In Pour who haue Taken vpp so strange & Stronge a Preiudice agaynst our Function, Sr H. V. was My hearer at Sr Giles In ye Feilds 26 years since & then A very hopefull Gent: Mr Scott was my Chamberfellow & wee Comenced Mrs of Arts together, & many Letters wee haue Changed; O yt you Coold sett mee In a way, or yt wee wth Others Coold Find an Expedient how To Take off Thos Euell Surmises wch they haue Taken vpp agaynst our Persons & Functions.

'Tis True, Apologies Imply Guilt sometimes, But yett Tertullians was of Good vse, why might not You sett vs a Copie To wch wee may sett our hands & harts, 'Tis possible I may Prevayle In Gloucester as you In Woostershire & both Joyninge may prevayle wth others besides

And 'Tis Probable yt God may Bless ys Honest designe to Calme ye distempers of Thos yt are Incenced Agaynst vs, wee haue more Need of Ciment yn Stones Towards our Reparations Duro Con Duro ye Spanish Prverb tells vs will make noe Good Wall, & Tho such as you & I may suffer Impressions on both sides, yett if by our sufferinges wee may helpe to Edifie & Repayre our Breaches, wee Shall not need Repent of our Essayes, ye God of all Grace Continue & Increase yt vigorous & worthy spiritt of yours to doe yett some more service to ye Bleedinge Church & state of ours, For wch you haue ye prayers of Many Besides —

Eastington ys 5t of 7ber — 59

Sr

your Most Affectionate ffreind Brother
Servant

Wm: Neve.

To ye Reverend My Ever Much honourd
Mr Richard Baxter Minister

Thes present.

Sr

I haue bin very much taken wth 2 of your Later Essays, wherin I perceiue God has Enabled you to Transact wt he had putt into my thoughts For wch I humbly Thanke him as much as if ye works (as well as ye Endeauours) had bin myne owne, Tis well knowne I Framd a Petitiō of ye same Cloath wth yours some weeks before it, & yt my desigue of associatiō & accomodatiō 7 of Dissentinge partyes was on Foote certayne months if not years before I saw yours, But it did so reioyce mee to see my Ruder draughts brought Forth in such Liuely peeces yt if none woold be wiser then my self I shoold hartyly wish yt your Essay might haue ye Stampe of ye Best Authority thes Times afford to make ~~to make~~ it generally receaued Thorough our whole Natiō, & as much Farther as God shold Thinke Fitt, Pray sett mee (& as many of my perswasion as you know) in a way how ys may bee effected; Our Cōmon dilapidations need more Cyment then stones For ye repayringe of our Breaches, wee haue to many rough & hardy dissenters yt will not Easyly be brought to Lye Square & Euen, some Therefore had need be Content to Cast themselves betweene, Tho they suffer ye hard Censure on both sides of Neuters & Ambodexters; putt on Dear Sr wth Gods Blessinge I hope you will out liue your Infirmytyes of Body, & bee strengthned by a spiritt better then your Owne to doe Much more towards a Most Comfortable accoumpt, This I thought Good to lett Fall In hast uppō occasion of an opportunyty of wrightinge, & if my Body weare not as unhealthy as yours I woold Ride many Miles to Visite you In ye meane Time I shall Loue, honour, & pray For you Desiringe ye Continuance of yours for mee amongst many well wishers whome you doe not know; nor can I expect you shoold know mee by a Better Caracter then

Eastington ys 20th July. 53.

ffriend
Your unfayned well wishinge Brother

W. Mewe

I have Sir very much taken notice of yor letter [illegible]
I perceive God hath enabled you to translate [illegible]
my thoughts for wch I humbly thanke him as much as for ye
verses (as you say) ye encouragemt I had from [illegible]. For wch
reasons I framed a Tablet of verses [illegible]
[illegible] accommoda[illegible]
of [illegible] parishes [illegible]
yeares before [illegible] But it god [illegible]
my [illegible] which [illegible] in such [illegible]
of [illegible] I should [illegible]
yor [illegible] might [illegible] of ye [illegible]
[illegible] to make [illegible]
[illegible] as God shall
[illegible] yet. Pray send me as many of my parishioners
as you know [illegible] may be [illegible]. Our
[illegible] need [illegible] For
[illegible] Preachers we have [illegible]
[illegible] will not [illegible] Squire
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
I hope you will [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Calverton ye 20th July 85 yor [illegible] humble servant

W. Allen

To ye Reverend my much honoured ffriend
Mr Richard Baxter Minister

Thes present

Deare Brother

8 I thanke you for your mindfullnesse of me. A hundred threatnings I have heard from all parts of the land: but yet I have suffered nothing by violence. I hope so many warnings will help me to prepare for what I perceive they intend against me. I beseech you let me not want your praiers to that end. Truly my judgment did not leade me to act in the late insurrections, but rather to feare an unhappy issue, whatever became of it. For the motion you make about an apology for the Ministry 1°. the major pt of the parliament will take it ill to be thought to need it. 2°. Sr H. V. will not be reconciled by a thousand apologies: Mr Scot I never heard to be guilty of malignity against the Ministry. I never came in danger till I set against the papists. they do all, & are seene in nothing. If it shall be iudged necessary hereafter to apologize, wn some open assault shall call us to it, I should be forward to promote the worke (if I might live & deprive me not of liberty. at least, before (which I expect) If any motions for Reconciliation would have prevailed with Independents or Anabaptists, it had bin done. I had allmost accomplished it with many pastours of the Anabs. Churches in London: but a weeke before the change of government they sent me word they consented to my propositions which I had sent you so that I lookt immediately for a peace with them, & all the Ministers of our association likt it. But the turne set them up & then they were to high for accomodation. (yet some of them have renounct their separation, & dissolved yr church (Mr Lambe & Mr Allen), & are all for peace yet.) I thinke it very hard & strange that by the Ministers of England, I am left allmost alone to contend with such as Pierce, Stubs & the papists & sectaries of all sorts, & that none will beare any pt of the burden (save my friend Mr Hickman) when they know how impossible it is for me to answere all. Had you made me the offer that you did Dr Reighnolds I should not have disswaded you. But if the cause of God receive no wronge, I little care for all the railing pamphlets in the world. I have some short papers ready, containing the termes of an universall concord: & some practicall sermons to promote unity, but multitude of busynes hindereth much that which I desired first to promote, & causeth me to do all in madding hast, & so with that great imperfection, that giveth advantage to the adversaries for reproach: & much of this is, because none will helpe me. I thinke my worke will not be long; for I begin to feele some temptation to impatiency, & wishes to be out of this distracted, malignant & ungratefull world, which is (I thinke) a prognosticke, that my end draws neere: But as my time is in Gods hands, so I confesse his hardest worke is sweete, & such as I deserve not to be employed in that have bin employed in so much that is evill: & therfore I beg of him yt on what termes soever, he will make use of me while he will have me here. Deare Brother, pray hard, if you would not have popery set up in England. I rest

your unworthy Brother much obliged to love & honour you

Richard Baxter

Aug. 6. 1659

To Mr Mewe (177)

Mris Heynes

I thanke you for the regard of my information which you have expressed;
but you may expect more successe with many others than on me:
9 If my ignorance & unteachablenes be the cause, it is irremediable by
such meanes as yours: That which I desired of you, was only to cite the
chapter & verse of the Texts which you build on, without your comment. I am
loth to tell you what I thinke of your usage of the Scripture, lest it offend
you: For you & I must not dispute. But I intreate you let no Papist see
your booke; for they will presently say [You see what a nose of wax the
Scripture is, when our woman now can turne many score or hundred
texts cleane contrary to the sence of all the Christian world these 1500 yeares]
& they will say [You see if you goe from our Church, you must have no Church
for this woman sayes that all the Christians till she arose have bin but
antichristian blasphemers] & thus your Reformation will come to; (so humble
are you that you thinke all the Christian world these 1500 ignorant in comparison
of you) This will be the Papists use of it. // But for my selfe, I crave
only that you will answer briefly & satisfactorily these questions: (which
suppose your doctrine to be as you utter it [That the Resurrection ending
sin, Death & Devils, there is no punishment after the resurrection to any]) //
Qu. 1. I pray set downe the true meaning of these following texts, without obtruding
your owne unproved forged expositions //
2 Thes. 1. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them
that trouble you, & to you who are troubled rest with us. When the Lord Jesus
shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty Angels, in flaming fire, taking
vengeance on them that know not God, & obey not the Gospell of our Lord
Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the
presence of the Lord & from the glory of his power, when he shall come
to be glorifyed in his Saints &c // Mat. 12. 31. 32. The blasphemy against
the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven to men — whoever speaketh ag. the Holy
Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come //
Joh. 5. 25. 28. The dead shall heare the voice of the son of God & they that heare
shall live — The houre is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall
heare his voice, & shall come forth; they that have done good to the resurrection
of life, & they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation //
Luk. 12. 4. 5. Feare him who after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell
yea I say unto you feare him: // Mat. 10. 28. feare him who is able to
destroy both soule & body in hell // Mat. 5. 29. 30. — that thy whole body should
be cast into hell (Is not that after the resurrection) // Act. 24. 15. There shall be
a resurrection of the dead, both of the just & unjust // Mat. 13. 49. At the end
of the world, the Angels shall come & sever the wicked from among the just,
& shall cast them into the furnace of fire; There shall be wailing &
gnashing of teeth // v. 30 Bind them in bundles to burne them. v. 42. 43. The
angels shall gather out of his Kingdome all things that offend & them which do iniquity
& cast them into a furnace of fire &c. // Mat. 18. 8 — into everlasting fire //
Mar. 9. 43. 44. 45. 46. 4. — into fire that never shall be quenched — where the worme
dyeth not, & the fire is not quenched — // Mat. 25. 41. Depart yee cursed into
everlasting fire prepared for the Devil & his Angels — 46. These shall
goe away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternall. And
all this is v. 31 [when the son of man shall come in his glory, & all the holy
Angels with him, then shall sit on the throne of his glory, & before him
shall be gathered all nations, & he shall separate &c] // Jud. 7. suffering the
vengeance of eternall fire. // Rev. 21. 8. & 20. 10. The Devil that deceived them
was cast into the lake of fire & brimstone, where the beast & the false prophet
are, & shall be tormented day & night for ever & ever & 19. 20. &c //
Mat. 8. 29. Art thou come to torment us before the time — // Mat. 7. 23. I never
knew you — depart from me yee workers of iniquity. // Mar. 14. 21. Good were
it for that man if he had never bin borne // Joh. 3. 36. He shall not see life
but the wrath of God abideth on him. // Often everlasting life is promised
as proper to the faithfull only. // Dan. 12. 2 Many of them that sleepe in the dust
of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, & some to shame &
everlasting contempt. // To cite more is vaine, if this be not beleeved. //
Qu. 2. Did not the Saviour of the world better know how farre God would stretch
his Justice than we. And is not [farre sorer punishment] Heb. 10 threatned to them
that tread under foot his blood than to others: And they that beleeve not shall be

damned Mar. 16.16. And a fearfull looking for of judgmt & fiery indignation yt shall devour
ye adversary Heb. 10.27. And it shall be easyer for Sodome in ye day of judgmt &c. ||
Qu. 3 Is the Scripture contrary to it selfe. Is there one word of all ye texts
wch you have suborned contrary to any of this. I have read all your book
& I find but these following that an ordinary reader can need any answer
about. || I. 1 Cor. 15. The last enemy yt shall be destroyed is death. And no doubt
of it: The next words before expound it He must reigne till he hath put all
his enemies under his feet. And Luk. 19.27 Those mine enemies yt would not I
should reigne over them, bring hither & slay them before me. It is the enemy
of Christ & his undertaken salvation of his body yt is mentioned. Death
as an enemy to Christ & his body of wch he is the Saviour, shall be destroyed.
But doth it say yt death as a punishmt of his enemies shall be destroyed:
The reprobates they shall all be put under his feet, wch is not saving them;
Their end is to be burned Heb. 6.8., by fiery indignation Heb. 10.27 || II yet it
is true yt Death itselfe called ye first Death, wch is ye common effect of Adams
sin, is destroyed to all mankind, by a common resurrection. God as our Creator
& as Redeemer hath some common guifts wch goe before mans actions, & some
works of Justice that follow after. As the God of Nature he gave life to man
without mans desert; but as ye God of Justice he took it away on his desert. ||
So Christ ye Redeemer restored Nature, first by reprieve & then by Resur-
rection of just & unjust; But as a righteous judge he will punish the
abused Nature wch he restored, & ye wicked rise to Condemnation Joh. 5.
And thus its true yt as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.
Rev. 1.7. All eyes shall see him, even they yt shall say to ye mountaines to
fall on them & hide them from his wrath, Rev. 6.16. Lu. 23.30. Resurrection
as birth & death, is common to all; but not resurrection to life, yt is, to happyness,
wch is ye whole drift of ye Gospell appropriated to ye faithfull. ||
III The other text is Rom. 5. 15.16.17.18.19 where you againe overlooke ye
difference betweene Antecedent grace common to all, & Consequent grace proper
to believers. Christ hath dyed for all, redeemed all, justifyed all mankind,
yea & saved all, so farre as to purchase & give to them, a Generall
Act of oblivion, pardoning all sin, & giving them freely ye heavenly
inheritance, so they will but Accept him & his guift & grace. This uni-
versall Antecedent conditionall Pardon, Justification & salvation, is se-
conded with ye threat of remedilesse misery to the finall refusers: And
so may stand with their greater punishment, by Consequent justice. This dis-
tinction is frequently exprest: 2 Cor. 5. 18.19.20. God was in Christ recon-
ciling the world to himselfe, not imputing to them their trespasses.
This is common Antecedent grace. And he hath committed to us ye ~~ministery~~ word
of reconciliation; Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though
God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christs stead be ye reconciled to
God. wch they are not actually till they consent. So Math. 18. I for-
gave thee all yt debt — And yet Consequently he is cast into utter darkness. ||
But ye text Rom. 5 doth plainly difference ye Common Antecedent mercy from
ye Consequent proper to ye faithfull: v. 6.8.10. &c speake of ye first. & perhaps
18. But saving from wrath, & by his life, v. 9.10 are spoke only of those
yt received him by faith, without wch it is impossible to please God He. 11.6.
And v. 15.16.17.19 appropriate ye Consequent benefit to Many, & to them yt
receive abundance of grace & ye guift of righteousness. || So Rom. 8.32
differenceth [giving Christ for us] & [giving to us]. He yt spared not his owne
Son but gave him up for us all] (theres Antecedent grace) how shall he not
with him also freely give us all things] Not all things [for us] but [to us] when
he giveth Christ to us upon our believing; who gave him for us before
we believed. This & ye whole Gospel is expounded 1 Joh. 5.10.11.12. He
yt believeth not God hath made him a lyar, because he believeth not ye record
yt God gave of his Son: (And wch is:) And this is ye record yt God hath given to us
eternall life: (To all on condition of receiving Christ) He yt hath ye Son hath life;
& he yt hath not ye Son of God hath not life (as a refuser of ye free guift) ||

Qu. 4. If all sin & punishmt end at ye Resurrection, will not all ye wicked & enemies of God & Christ, yt are found alive at ye Coming of Christ to judge ye quick & ye dead, be free from all punishment, as much as Saints. Yea will they not seeme rewarded for their wickednes. David tells us Psal. 37 & 73 yt they prosper more in this life, than ye just; & Solomon saith (All things come alike to all: The great tyrants of ye earth yt murder thousands & have all yt appetite & lust desireth, & live in pleasures while through many tribulations ye just must enter into ye Kingdome of God) will be found at Christs Coming by yor doctrine ready to passe suddenly from brutish malignity & lust & blood, to salvation with ye just. Is not this to tempt all believers to thinke yt they labour & suffer in vaine, & to say to ye wicked It shall be well with thee.

Qu. 5 Yea as to all since Adams daies, I find nothing in yor booke yt tells wt sufferings ye soules of ye wicked undergoe before ye resurrection; And after you say they suffer nothing: And their bodyes suffer no more than ye just in ye grave. And is not this like saying, Let us eat & drink for to morrow we shall die; & a teaching ye world to account it folly to forsake ye pleasures of sin for Christ, much more to lay downe their lives by martyrdome. And ye way to banish Christianity from ye earth.

Qu. 6. Doth not experience prove yt even ye feare of future everlasting punishmt is too little to restraine sinfull lust. And wt then would it do to all ye wicked, if God had said; Be sinfull, Murder, sin as much as ever you will, & you shall all be saved at ye resurrection. If ye threates of eternall punishmt be needfull to ye government of ye world then with a true & righteous Judge, ye Execution must follow.

Qu. 7. Do you not believe yt any man is here tormented by gout, stone, madness, convulsions &c. And yt innocent brutes are daily killed for us, & horses, & oxen miserably toiled all their lives &c. And do you not believe yt God made toads & serpents, yt live in holes & are killd by men. &c And may not God as justly punish a sinner as torment a guiltless brute. And if God should end mens being at death as much as he doth brutes, is it not as just & as mercifull to ye sinfull. And doth not nature teach mankind, rather to choose a tollerable suffering for ever than to be annihilated, or to be a toad or serpent, wch had we never sinned God might have made us.

Qu. 8 Do you consider yt there are as various degrees of punishmt hereafter as of sin. Christ tells us yt it shall be easyer for Sodome in ye day of judgmt (not as yours yt they shall all be saved) than for ye rejecters of ye Gospell-grace. And he tells us of some yt shall be beaten with few stripes.

Q. 9. Did not God make ye soule of an Immortall nature before sin. And if men will make themselves sinfull & miserable, must God make them Mortall & change their nature to ease them. And as to the deliverance by Grace he hath said, Behold this is ye accepted time, behold this is ye day of Salvation. There is no worke in ye grave & darknes &c.

Q. 10 How sadly do you mistake when you make God bound or measurable by his Law to man. As if he must punish no more or longer than he alloweth us to do. Understand, yt every Law is made suitable to ye creature or society yt it is made for: Birds must make their nests & hatch & feed their young: All other creatures must love & cherish ym. Some serpents take them into their bellies for defence: Yet man may kill them: Had brutes reason, should they say Man hath lesse love than we have: For we would not kill ourselves, or our own kind, or so many thousand harmelesse Lambs, cattle, & fishes as man doth. And murderers would not kill yr selves, nor parents their guilty children: And yet ye magistrate must do it. And Gods governmt is fitted to ye Universall Kingdome, as man's is to particular Kingdomes, & must differ accordingly. If God had not commanded it, it were cruelty had it bin of Israel to destroy all ye Canaanites & Amalekites men women & children. Who but God might have drowned all ye world for sin. And shall any mortall dare so to blaspheme God, as to say He is cruel & like the Devil if he punish men more than it is lawfull for man to punish them. We are ingrafted in our enmity to sin; And we are not Governours of heaven, earth & Hell. Perhaps you & I could wish yt God would not kill all men, nor beasts ye world as now he doth.

Q. 11 Do you consider how little a part of ye Creation this Earth is: The whole Earth
is not so much to all the Creation, as one inch is to all Europe, yea to all ye Earth.
And if all ye world save Hell & Earth have glorious Inhabitants, will you judge
of ye Goodness of God by these few miserable sinners below. You do not judge of ye
world here by ye spiders, toads & serpents. You judge not of England by Newgate
& ye Gallowes. Hell is like the place of Execution, & ye worst of Earth like
Newgate. And if all ye Earth had but one such prison & Gallows would you
call the Governmt therefore unmercifull.
Qu. 12 Greatest punishments are not for ye good of ye offender as fatherly cor
rections, but for ye warning of others & ye good of ye Commonwealth. It is for
this yt malefactors are put to death. And do you know wt use God make[s]
for ye perpetuall punishment of immortall wicked spirits. God spared not ye
Angels yt sinned but cast ym down to hell, & delivered ym into Chains of darkness
to be reserved to Judgmt even of ye great day 2 Pet. 2. 4. Jud. 6 And ye wicked are
are judged to everlasting fire prepared for the devill & his angels. Mat. 25.
And how know ~~[illegible]~~ we but God yt made Devils a warning to men, may
make ye punishment of them for ever a warning to the worlds yt are to
us unknowne. || To conclude we are sure yt God is perfectly good; & yt
yt not darke & guilty man is ye Judge & measurer of his actions: And
yt all men in heaven will approve his judgments on men & Devils: And
yt it is not our blind conjectures & measures, but Gods owne word yt
must truly tell us wt to ascribe to God, & wt to expect from him for
all the world! And yt it is a dangerous thing to adde to or diminish from
this sacred word; much more to tosse it like a football by ignorant
rash abuse, & to use it as Satan did to Christ Mat. 4. & to affirme yt
it saith yt wch it never said; And yet more, to charge yt wth falshood &
blasphemie wch Christ most expressly saith. And I adde yt If all yt are
agt yor opinion be such blasphemers & Antichrists, then Christ hath
had no Church on earth, at least these 1300 yeares: And how then was he
Christ. No Kingdome, no King: No Body, no Head. || 2o But wt meane you so
threaten those yt come not out from among them, when you are telling
them yt they shall all be saved at the Resurrection. And in this life
who prospereth more. || 3o Beleeve it, if you publish yor opinion & it
be received, most yt beleeve it are like to take Christ for a meere
deceiver who hath so plainly said the contrary, & to conclude, The
Heathens were much sounder teachers than Christ & Christians are,
For few of them beleeved ye everlasting punishmt threatned by Christ. ||
Had you but stopt at Origenes doctrine, or some Stoicks yt taught
every thousand yeares makes a new revolution, it had bin pre
sumptuous, & confuted by many expresse texts wch I have cited:
But you go further; & feigne also all ye Infidels & persecutors to be
our Children, & so to be holy: But I had rather tremble at yor use of
a multitude of Scripture words, than confute you.
I send you with this a small Tractate long ago written, wch pleadeth
for Gods Goodness (as some yt would obscure it on ye other side) for
termes wch are agreeable to Gods word. I heartily love ye Spirit
of Love wch you discover; & I will joyne with you in daily praying
for Heathens, Infidels, Persecutors & all men. But I never yet prayed
for ye salvation of ye Devils: And I will do all ye good yt I can
for all men; And I will not judge others beyond the expresse
word of God. But yt God will save ym all, I dare not beleeve, lest
I must be drawne to beleeve yt he will save none. For if his
Threatnings are not true, his Promises are not true: And then wt
hope have any of us of salvation. If ye wicked goe not to everlasting
punishment, why should I beleeve yt ye Righteous goe (separated) to
life eternall. Thus overdoing in our presumptuous mercy is
undoing & casting away ye hope or certainty of all, & turning to
heathenish religion from Christ. The Lord pitty our darkness
& instruct us. I rest Yor unfeigned friend & willing to
know ye truth Ri: Baxter

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Jun. 17 1682

Reverend & much honoured Sr;

I am a stranger to you as you to mee; yet you are more knowne to mee then I am to you. By yor learned & godly workes of wch divers have come into my hands; wch while I peruse, & see what spirit breaths in them, I must say, Not to mr Baxter, Not to mr Baxter, but to the Free grace of God, bee all the glory of that grace & those gifts wch hee hath freely bestowed upon you. I am confounded with my owne vilenesse, & professe I am not worthy to bee called a christian, much lesse to bee a minister, while I see the grace of other men, I thinke there never trode such a wretch on Gods earth as I feele my selfe to bee, wch makes mee resolved to lay by that sacred worke wch now I am conversant in, & wch if I had a holy & an honest heart for God I could take as much pleasure in, as any man in his game. While I see the gifts of other men I am ashamed; but this is not so much, though sometimes my proud heart is apt to repine. for yor Rest, that piece I have beene a little acquainted with the Booke. for yor Notes about the scripture I thanke you, I acknowledge Sr it hath beene so with mee for a long time, my tentations at last end in working up the scriptures, or my selfe one hated of God. but I think no arguments are able to satisfie concerning ye Cr but the experimentall feeling of the script: written in ones heart./ for yor leafe inserted in yor last Edition, about Vocation, in reference to mr Hooker &c I thanke you:/ for yor opening of the true signe of Vocation &c: in some measure I have beaten upon yor notion before ever I saw you:/ that notion of the Degrees, I confesse is new: I would rather see it, then contend with it, for I see no danger in it as you carry it: I had some thoughts came in: that Degrees are but the Positive extended. so that there can bee nothing in the degree wch was not in the Positive./ That if the difference bee onely graduall, then the grace of a child of G differ not specifice, from wt the unsound hath; then not definitione; gradus non variat speciem. some other scruples I had I passe them over, yor notion drives me to sinceritie I am sure: though that wch an unsound heart hath, if extended to a hundred degrees more will not reach sinceritie./ In yor dealing with other wicked men, the duty you so presse, I stoope to the truth of it. onely Sr I pray measure not other men by yor selfe; whom God hath raised eminent in grace, in gifts, that you carry Authoritie where you come little dependance on other men: All honour you: now because you can doe this that therefore, men, low in parts, low in the world, lower in grace, beaten up & downe with wofull tentations, corruptions, that when sometimes wee would speake for God to others, & worke on them, Conscience gives a rub, wilt thou goe talke to mend him, when thy owne heart is so base within? [this hath stopt my mouth (Sr) divers times, when I would have beene doing something this way] that such should doe so, is a hard worke, when one know not what to make of his owne heart. in Meditation you nip mee, but the Booke I imbrace: for yor Aphorisms, I have enquired for them but could never get them, there I perceive is the most stickling with other Divines, Dr Crandon agt you I saw & so might have got ~~that Booke~~ something of yor Aphorisms in him, but I saw such an ugly spirit in it for charges agt you but not at all made good, & such bitter speeches, that I let it alone,

yor Annotations vpon the ministers of Worcester Agreement, I haue perused
thorowly, & if my Consent were worth any thing, I should say you haue
written wch satisfie mee to the full:/ Mr Marshal told mee, you were
pleased to take notice of mee in yor answere to mr Blake, in reference to
the question betweene him & mee: the question I perceiue troubles mr Marshal
himselfe, hee tells mee hee will giue men leaue to write pro or Con, for
hee is vnsatisfied in the parochial way as now wee stand to baptize all,
yet refuse aboue halfe at the L: supper./ but now hee is out of yt snare
being only a Lecturer./. in yor preface to that booke (wch I haue scarce
viewed yet, for I bought it but lately) I perceiue a good note of yors,
in Calling ~~it~~ faith rather a Condition of our Justif: or the Couenant, then
an Instrument. yor words sans dispute. for the rest I shall view it
as I can, but my worke is thrice in a weeke preaching, beside som
other things, & the worst is a wofull heart will troubles mee more then
all my other workes, & hinders mee from & in my worke. for that Q.
I haue expressed the ground of my first mouing it in the Epis: for mr
Blake I knew nothing of him till I had drawne vp my Reply to mr Cawdrey
who wrote a booke only agt mee, & I thinke my Reply was in the presse,
or going into it. my meanes is but small, & familie great, that I cannot
buy bookes as I would & need: But to mr Blake in reference to the Q, or if
you will please to handle it alone, I should most earnestly intreate you
to publish yor thoughts, since you haue giuen a hint: my reasons are
because I am but weake my selfe & hoped indeed some other men would haue
taken it vp who were Congregational: but because I haue opposed them
in rending of churches, & some other things, they little regard mee.
now Sr Low parts will not Carry it, when others who are taler
then I despise it. 2ly: yor workes moue more then any mans that
I see, the Lord hauing giuen you such strength of parts, & Authoritie
with yor grace going along, that men who are any thing like will
listen: I was frowned for requiring of the Consent of members to
subject to Officers & Ordinances, but when yor Worcester agreement
came out, some of the ablest Diuines in Suffolke were so startled
that they went about it presently:/ ffor Essex, wee are the deadest
County in all the Nation, Gospel-glutted professors, & these Separatis
haue almost vndone vs. wee haue some good ministers still, but for
men of Eminencie since mr Rogers died, & mr Marshal & mr Owen went
away, wee haue only mr Newcomen of Dedham left, ~~[illegible]~~
[illegible] my Reply to mr Cawdrey I send you, if you please to accept it, & I
am willing to learne my errors in it. but I beseech you if you thinke

that Ordinance of Baptiſme had need bee Looked into, let the churches heare from you. I was taken of ſtudies about 18 yeares in N.E. I followed countrey imployments, with the practiſe of Phyſick, wch I got a little inſight to, & God gave a Bleſsing beyond expectation; that I was hindered for having any great matters in Divinitie. only when I did begin those ſtudies [to wch my father at firſt did give mee up when I went to Cambridge] I shew my grounds to divers miniſters, who thought I had a Call to this wch now I follow: Sr. I pray if you pleaſe to read over my Booke, when you have done, at yor leiſure let mee have two or three Lines from you, to know my errors, & what you will doe. I am forced to ſend to my Booke ſeller mr Littlebury at the Vnicorn in Little Brittain, & get him to goe to mr Vnderhill who prints yor Bookes, to convey a Letter for mee, my Bookeſeller wil doe the ſame./ Sr, as heartily as a Beggar prayes for an Almes, I Begg for an Intereſt in yor prayers, none deſerve them leſse, none need them more: yor Life I ſhall deſire of God may bee prolonged; Sr my heart yor have, with all due reſpects, remaining

yors to ſerve you
Giles Firmin.

Shalford by Wethersfield
in Eſsex: 24. July. 54./

mr Cawdery threatned mee ſoarely in his Rejoynder, that hee ſhould reflect vpon my Credit, but this was a long while ſince, & I heare though hee ſcornes mee & ſlights the queſtion much, that his Rejoynder is laied a ſleepe.

I doubt the Coming out of yor Worceſter agreement ſpoyled his gloryeing, for I was reſolved if I had printed againe, to take thoſe principles, & ſo turne him over to you.

Sr, I pray if you have mr Shephard sound Beleever, give mee yor judgement of his Preparations: & of his Humiliation that wee muſt bee quiet though wee thinke God will never give vs his Love. p 154. & 147. 148. a hard chapter.

my father-law Mr Nath: Ward, vſe to tell mr Hooker that hee made as good chriſtians before they came to chriſt as ever they were after. by his preaching.

For the reverend & his much honoured
friend Mr Richard Baxter, minister
of the Gospel in Kedd=minster
in Worcestershire

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Mr ffirmin

may. 21. 86.

Honoured and Reverend Sr.

I have out of the Great, and Sin-
cere Veneration, I have for you, presented to your View,
and Judgment my Extricating that ~~Great~~ Grand
Apocalypticall Vision of the Beast, that is by the
wisedome of the Divine Prophetick Spirit so
Labyrinthed, and Meandered: I humbly Speake it,
Acknowledging the ~~[illegible]~~ Gracious Assistance and Illumi-
nation of God; I know I have done it to Great Clearness,
and Exactness; Attending every Jota of Prophecy con-
cerning it, as it is Expos'd Apoc: 13, compared with Apoc:
17. 6 I have the Rather presented it to you, because I
observed, your objections ran much upon it. and I was moved
under the very same dissatisfactions, that you professe your
self in, After much progress in Apocalypticall Studyes:
But I dare with great Modesty and selfe Abasement pro-
nounce; ευρηκα upon this: It must be Closely examined;
I have been full of objections my self ~~[illegible]~~
upon every Rising Suspition, and I know not a Phenomenon
that I have not solved: I begg your Speedy Returne of
it; For It is one of my Last Letters, and I hope the
week after Whitsontyde, I shall ~~[illegible]~~ have it under
the presse; my Hope may bee Deceived in that; but I have
plerophory in the substance of my Exposition, and most par-
ticularly in this very part: I desire it ~~at furthest~~ Tuesday
next precisely; If your Leisure will not allow your Considera-
tion of the Papers within so small a Time, I begg you to Returne
them now. Sr. Your very Affectionate
Humble Servant [illegible]

This
To his Honoured
Mr Baxter is the
patter Shop over against
the Kings Bench
Southwarke.

Vol. 4
BAXTER
LETTERS

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